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DEDICATED
TO THE REVERED MEMORY
OF
PROF. DR. M. WINTERNITZ, PH.D.

CHOWKHAMBA SANSKRIT SERIES OFFICE
VARANASI.

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M. Winternitz

FOREWORD

The news of the sudden passing away of Dr. M. Winternitz were most painful for us, who were used to looking upon him as one of the truest and most respected friends of India in the outer world. During my long life and extensive travels, I never met a savant more worthy of respect than the learned Doctor. His deep and broad humanity, brightened as it was with his amazingly wide scholarship, his devotion to Truth and the courage with which he held fast to his idealism in the midst of a growingly hostile atmosphere in Central Europe, are his claims to our homage. In him I have lost a faithful comrade, India has lost one of its truest Pandits and best friends, and humanity one of its most sincere champions.

Rabindranath Tagore

The late Professor Winternitz

The death of Professor Moriz Winternitz in January, 1937, has removed from this world a personality that embodied in itself the best traditions of a scholarly mind imbued with an indomitable passion for knowledge and truth. To the students of Indology, it has entailed the loss of a "friend, philosopher and guide." Dr. Winternitz belonged to the small band of Western scholars who devoted a life-time to Sanskritic studies and acted as brilliant exponents of the cultural heritage of India. India will ever remember with gratitude the very eminent services rendered by Dr. Winternitz to her as an interpreter of her ancient civilisation.

One is profoundly struck by the manner in which Professor Winternitz rose superior to the circumstances into which he was born, and all through his scholarly life maintained a unique breadth of vision and generosity of outlook that overcome all bias and prejudices. Born in 1863 in a family with commercial traditions, it was more than an accident that took him off to an entirely new career bearing not even the remotest affinity to the claims of his ancestral avocation. Even his birthplace Horn, a provincial town in Lower Austria, had nothing of the traditions of a seat of learning, and it could not, therefore, have made any tangible contribution to his intellectual make-up. The profound genius of the man early manifesting itself in the promising dawn of his boyhood which developed into a brilliant noon and eventually into a glorious evening was all his own. Yet it is true to say that his latent genius would not perhaps have unfolded itself, at least in the manner it did, had not a combination of very favourable circumstances brought him into intimate contact with some eminent Orientalists that provided the most nourishing soil for a vigorous growth. After finishing his studies at the grammar school of his native town, he entered the University of Vienna in 1880 for higher studies in classical philology

and philosophy. Here for the first time, under the inspiring guidance of Friedrich Müller and George Bühler, he was initiated into the studies of classical literature and Indology that gave a definite shape to his future academic career.

Prof. Winternitz obtained his doctorate in 1885 at the age of 23, when he was still at the University of Vienna. Shortly after, he came across the second great opportunity of his scholarly life that marked a new phase of his chequered career. In 1888 he went over to Oxford to join the post of an amanuensis to assist Prof. Max Müller in the preparation of the second edition of the *Ṛgveda*. The valuable assistance rendered by him in this connection as a Sanskritist Research Assistant to Prof. Max Müller should have alone won for him the distinction of a distinguished Indologist; indeed his contribution to the work has been referred to in very eloquent terms of appreciation by Prof. Max Müller himself. But Dr. Winternitz was pre-destined to win much higher distinctions in life, to which his unexpected transfer to Oxford helped him in more than one way. Of the sixteen years of his stay at Oxford he had to devote about a decade to the preparation of the press copy of the *Ṛgveda*. The book itself bears unmistakable testimony to Prof. Winternitz's capacity for intelligent, enthusiastic, and sustained research in a field, where the zeal of lesser talents would have flagged for the very magnitude of the task. The last six years of his stay at Oxford after the completion of his work in connection with the *Ṛgveda* attracted him to diverse fields of activities suited to his instincts, and enriched his scholarly equipments in a marked degree. The beginning of these new activities was rather very modest and in fact one that should have proved discouraging to many. In 1891 he was found to accept the post of a teacher at the Oxford High School for Girls. He was even found to act as a private tutor of German and Sanskrit. Before long, however, his services were requisitioned for works of much greater importance, and in 1891 he

was appointed a lecturer in German by the Association for the Promotion of Higher Education of Women at Oxford and a member of the Examining Board of the Indian Civil Service. While he continued in the post of a lecturer in German till 1898, he was called upon in 1895 to undertake some very important library work. The first of these was the cataloguing of the Vedic Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library which was later continued and completed by Prof. Berriedale Keith. The second which will likewise go down in history with the name of the eminent Professor was the cataloguing of the Whish Collection of the South Indian Manuscripts at the Royal Asiatic Society, London. About the same time, Prof. Winternitz had set his hands to the task of preparing a General Index to the 49 volumes of the Sacred Books of the East Series. While one should have felt amazed at the versatility of the genius which Prof. Wnitternitz must have brought to bear upon such diversified tasks, it is impossible to underestimate the extent to which his instinct for research had been stimulated and enriched by the busy years spent at Oxford.

In 1899, Prof. Winternitz was appointed lecturer of Indo-Aryan Philology and Ethnology at the University of Prague, where within three years he was appointed Assistant Professor and was eventually raised in 1911 to the chair for the subject. Here, one might say that Moriz Winternitz owed as much to the University as the University owed to the Professor,—the facilities for research given him by the University being reciprocated by the heightened reputation of its Indological Section. In 1904, Prof. Winternitz was fortunate enough to receive useful patronage from the State in the furtherance of his projects, particularly in connection with the establishment of a Special Library of Indology and Ethnology at the Prague University. It is a matter of regret that the realisation of the idea of this Institution was very materially hampered by the outbreak of the Great War, but for which, it might have blossomed into a worthy gift of

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the Professor to future students of Indological studies in Europe. The Post-War period which raised him to higher rungs of eminence witnessed him elected as a Dean of the Faculty of Letters in 1921. He came down to India in 1922 at the invitation of Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore and spent a year in this country as a Visiting Professor at the Viśvabhārati. Long before this visit, in fact from the time of his appointment at the Prague University Prof. Winternitz had been carrying on research on the *Mahābhārata*. The work that he had done at Oxford in connection with the cataloguing of the South Indian Manuscripts of the Whish Collection created in him an irrepressible urge for bringing out a critical edition of the great Epic. During all these years, Prof. Winternitz published a series of very illuminating articles on the study of the *Mahābhārata* assigning to it a place of unique importance in the research work of Indologists and at the same time throwing a flood of light on the imperfections of the existing editions of the Epic. It was mainly at the inspiration of Prof. Winternitz that the work in this connection was undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute at Poona. About the time of his arrival at Bombay, the Research Institute had been busily engaged in the work. Prof. Winternitz paid a visit to Poona immediately on his arrival to see for himself the work that had been going on. The intensity of his feelings regarding the importance of bringing out a critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* is borne out not only by his earnestness in connection with the formation of a European Committee by the International Association of Academies for this specific purpose even before the work was actually taken up by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, but also by the fact that he carried sentiments of eager watchfulness and expected culmination even to the last days of his life.

The one other great work which will ever remain associated with the memories of the distinguished Professor is his *History of Indian Literature* (Geschichte der indischen Litteratur) written in 3

volumes of about 1600 pages and published over a period of 15 years, the first coming out in 1907 and the last in 1922. It is in a sense the outstanding monument of his Indological studies, and the Encyclopædic erudition evidenced in it constitutes an unmistakable testimony of the fact that none other than Prof. Winternitz could have set his hands to the stupendous task with any amount of confidence. It is as well true to say that a man of the stamp of Professor Winternitz alone could possibly be persuaded though at the fag-end of his life, to prepare an up-to-date English version of the three volumes of his *History*. The last 14 years of his life were devoted to this work, of which a complete fruition was denied to us by the cruel hands of death. We had only two volumes by 1934; but while Prof. Winterntiz was working on the third, death took him away from our midst.

The Professor has lived a life full of years and honours. Although he was relieved of his academic duties in 1934, he never spared himself, and though his health showed marks of decline during the years of his retirement, his attachment to scientific researches never flagged for a moment. It is impossible to recount even the most important contributions made by him to the varied studies of Sanskrit literature throughout his life. The published bibliography records the total at more than 400. The number, impressive as it is, does not perhaps constitute an adequate index to their intrinsic merit. It is therefore well to point out that the writings bear a characteristic quality of the man himself; just as the Professor was naturally sparing of words, so his writings were shorn of superfluities, and his selection of subject was always made with a purpose. He never selected a subject that did not add to the store of our knowledge, and hardly did he ever take up one on which he has not thrown light of his own.

But great as the scholar was, the man was greater. If his researches were based on an indomitable thirst for knowledge, their

influence upon his emotions was profound. His pursuit of the studies of Sanskrit literature has not been like that of a mere intellectual. It has been reared upon a philosophical instinct that grew as his mental horizon widened, and revealed to him the fundamental unity of mankind leading him to approach the task with genuine sympathy and admiration. Even in his social life, Prof. Winternitz carried about him a profound intellectual sympathy and a striking dignity of manners brightened by an unfailing courtesy and a transparent sincerity. The writer had the privilege of coming into contact with Prof. Winternitz during his Indian tour, and he has not the least doubt that anybody having the opportunity of being acquainted with the distinguished Professor could not but have felt at once the ennobling influence of a truly great man.

Further interesting details about the life of Professor Winternitz will be found in the learned article immediately following, but before I introduced my readers to the same, I take the opportunity of paying my tribute of respect to the hallowed memory of the illustrious savant who is no more, and pray to the Almighty that the inspiration which he has imparted to all students of Indology in and outside this country by his life-long researches may endure as a living force among us and induce us all to continue the work he has handed down to posterity.

NARENDRA NATH LAW

Moriz Winternitz

The ninth of January 1937 was a sad one for the science of Indology. In the early hours of this day, Prof. Moriz Winternitz, one of the last "universal indologists",[1] passed away. Peaceful, as he has been during his life, he also entered the Great Unknown peacefully. Moriz Winternitz was born on December 23, 1863, in Horn, a provincial town of Lower Austria, in the family of the merchant Bernhard Winternitz. When a little boy, he proved extraordinary intelligent and he started reading and writing even Hebrew before entering the elementary school. In 1880, after having finished the grammar-school (Gymnasium) in his native town, he went to the University at Vienna where he began to study classical philology and philosophy. But soon Friedrich Müller who lectured on comparative philology and ethnography, and particularly George Bühler who was, after his return from India, in 1881, inaugurating his indological lectures at Vienna, interested the young student in the sciences of indology and ethnology. Among his teachers, we have to mention also Eugen Hultzsch, a name well-known by his activity in India, who was at that time Privatdozent in the University of Vienna. He introduced Winternitz in the Indian narrative literature and the language of the Pāli Canon. In 1886, Winternitz submitted his thesis on 'Ancient Indian marriage ritual according to Āpastamba, compared with the marriage customs of the Indo-European peoples' and got his diploma of Ph.D. (Vienna).

Only two years later, Winternitz became upon Bühler's recommendation Amanuensis of Prof. Friedrich Max Müller at Oxford

1 An expression used by Winternitz's great teacher, G. Bühler. Cf. M. Winternitz, George Bühler und die Indologie, München 1898 (an offprint from *Allegemeine Zeitung*, May 21st and 23rd, 1898), p. 23.

and assisted the famous scholar in preparing the second edition of the *Ṛgveda* with Sāyaṇa's commentary, from 1888 to 1892. After finishing this great task successfully, he stayed some years more at Oxford till 1898. In 1891 he became a teacher at the Oxford High School for Girls; from 1891 to 1898 he acted as a Lecturer of German at the Association for the Promotion of Higher Education of Women in Oxford and as a private tutor of German and Sanskrit; for some time he was on the examining board for the Indian Civil Service. In 1895, too, he became the Librarian of the Indian Institute at Oxford. It is amazing, how many duties Winternitz took upon himself, without hampering his regular scientific work. He was a man of indefatigable activity, not only in his youthful days, but even in his old age. Surely, he had to earn his living, especially since he had married Fanny Reik in 1892 and had to support a growing family.

In 1899 Winternitz shifted to Prague which belonged to Austria at that time, and was appointed a Lecturer (Privatdozent) of Indo-Aryan Philology and Ethnology at the oldest German University. In 1902 he became an Assistant Professor and in 1911 he got the chair of these subjects. Until his predecessor, Alfred Ludwig, who was the first German interpreter of the *Ṛgveda*, the study of Indology was combined with that of comparative philology of the Indo-European languages at the Prague German University. Thus, Winternitz was the first professor of Indology at that University and we may call him, in the very sense of the word, the founder of indological studies at Prague. His energy was directed to the supply of means of both instruction and scientific work. Many modern indological works were at his request acquired by the Prague University Library of which he was one of the most frequent visitors. In 1904 the Austrian Ministry of Public Instruction agreed to his request to establish a special library of indology and ethnology at the Prague German

University. The great war (1914-18) interrupted the development of this institution, but twenty years after its foundation, in 1924, Winternitz was glad to see it changed into an Indological 'Seminar' with a separate room and with better possibilities for further expansion.

In 1905, the loss of his wife was a severe blow to Winternitz. But a good fate gave him, three years later, a second wife in Berta Nagel who was not only a true guardian angel of his home, but also a veritable second mother to his five children. Her death in 1932 was surely one of the causes of his fatal illness.

In 1921, in the month of June, being just elected Dean of the Faculty of Letters for 1921-22, Winternitz could welcome his friend, the great Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore, as a guest of the German University at Prague. A year later, in November 1922, he accepted Tagore's invitation to spend a year as a visiting professor at his Viśvabhāratī in Śāntiniketan during 1922-23. There it was his aim to teach his Indian pupils what the late Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar pointed out as the drawback of Indian scholars and what was one of the few good things India could learn from the Western world, I mean, the critical methods which led the European science from success to success. Not only at Śāntiniketan but also at a few other academic centres he spent his time during his sojourn in India, to the people and culture of which he had devoted his life-work. His first trip after having disembarked at Bombay was to Poona to see the progress of the editorial work of the *Mahābhārata*. On his journeys from Kashmir down to Ceylon, he delivered lectures and speeches at many Universities and meetings of learned societies at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, etc., and he discussed the most important problems of indological research with the Indian scholars. Always he was of good health, but on his return journey he fell sick of malaria which put the germ of death into his body.

Within the last fifteen years of his life, many honours have been conferred on Winternitz. He was elected Honorary member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, of the American Oriental Society, of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute at Poona, and Corresponding Member of the Society of Eastern Asiatic Art at Berlin. Since the Oriental Institute at Prague had been inaugurated, Winternitz became a Fellow of this Institute and a member of the Committee. He was also a Fellow of the German Society of Sciences and Arts in the Czechoslovak Republic. In 1932 the Hardy Prize was bestowed upon him for his research work. When he celebrated his 70th birthday in 1933, many scholars, pupils and friends honoured him by a *Festschrift* (Leipzig 1933) as well as by a special number of the *Archiv Orientální* (VI, 1934, No. 1) published on that occasion. He retired from his academic duties in 1934 after having discharged them fully during 35 years; his only aim was to devote all his leisure now won to scientific work. Illness, however, undermined his strength more and more, leading to his sudden death.

Winternitz's literary work was very extensive. Its bibliography[2] comprises 452 items belonging to the most different branches of human knowledge. As we see from his thesis mentioned above, his first interest was devoted to the study of the ancient Indian customs and religion and their connection with those of other Indo-European peoples. At that time there were no, or at least not yet critical, editions of the Indian sources. The scholars, and among them also Winternitz, had to use often manuscripts of the texts for their work. A fruit of these studies is his first critical edition of the *Āpastambîya Gṛhyasûtra* with extracts from the commentaries of Haradatta and Sudarśanârya, (Vienna 1887), a brilliant example of the methods of text criticism. As the Mantras

2 Published by O. Stein and the present writer in *Archiv Orientální*, 6, 1934, pp. 275-291, and 9, 1937, pp. 225-228.

are not given in this Sūtra of the Āpastambins, Winternitz published them separately ten years later under the title: *The Mantrapāṭha or the Prayer Book of the Āpastambins.* Edited together with the commentary of Haradatta and translated. First Part: Introduction, Sanskrit Text, Varietas Lectionis and Appendices (Oxford 1897, Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, No. III, 8). He also enlarged his thesis, based only on the Gṛhyasūtra of the Āpastamba school, by using other Gṛhya-texts and published it in 1892 in the Transactions of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Vienna (*"Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell nach dem Āpastambīya-Gṛhyasūtra und einigen anderen verwandten Werken. Mit Vergleichung der Hochzeitsgebraeuche bei den uebrigen indogermanischen Voelkern"*). Besides these works, he wrote many other smaller essays on the ancient Indian and Indo-European religion, cult, and customs in Journals, e.g., on the sacrifice at building (*Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien,* 17, 1887, 37-40), on the Sarpabali (*ibidem,* 18, 1888, 25-52, 250-264), 'Notes on Śrâddhas and Ancestral Worship among the Indo-European Nations' (*WZKM.*, 4, 1890, 199-212). 'On a Comparative Study of Indo-European Customs, with special reference to the Marriage Customs' (*Transactions of the Internat. Folklore Congress,* 1891, London 1892, 267-291), 'Witchcraft in Ancient India' (reprinted in *Ind. Ant.*, 28, 1899, 71-83); but also in later years he returned to such topics like "on the choice of bride according to the Bhāradvājagṛhyasūtra" (*WZKM.*, 28, 1914, 16-20), or "on the doctrine of the Āśramas" (*Festgabe H. Jacobi,* Bonn 1926, 215-227).

During his stay in England, Winternitz was associated with the *Sacred Books of the East,* edited by F. Max Müller. He compiled the Indexes to G. Ṭhibaut's translation of the *Vedânta-Sûtras* (Parts I, II, Oxford 1896, Part III, Oxford 1904). This work, however, was only preliminary to his voluminous *General*

Index to the Names and Subject-Matter of the Sacred Books of the East (Oxford 1910, *The Sacred Books of the East*, vol. L) to which the publisher gave later the new and appropriate title *A Concise Dictionary of Eastern Religion*. Only a person who is acquainted with the hard work of compiling Indexes of so different topics of such various cultures will appreciate the enormous labour spent on this work and the ability with which Winternitz complied with his task.

In his capacity as Librarian, Winternitz was entrusted with the work of cataloguing Sanskrit Manuscripts in England. When he was leaving Oxford, the result of his work was brought to a conclusion by his successors; in 1902, "*A Catalogue of South Indian Sanskrit Manuscripts* (especially those of the Whish Collection) belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland" (*Asiatic Society Monographs*, No. 2) was published in London, having been finished by F. W. Thomas. Another *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Vol. II, begun by Winternitz, was continued and completed by A. B. Keith and appeared at Oxford in 1905.

While working on the Sanskrit Manuscripts, Winternitz recognised the immense value of the South Indian Mahābhārata MSS. for the reconstruction of the Mahābhārata text. In his prolegomena "On the South-Indian Recension of the Mahābhārata" (*Ind. Ant.*, 27, 1898, 67-81; 92-104; 122-136) he indicated the way in which the criticism of the Mahābhārata should proceed. Already in 1897 he had written his "Notes on the Mahābhārata," with special reference to Dahlmann's "Mahābhārata" (*JRAS.*, 1897, 713-759). From that time till the end of his life he maintained the line of his life-work *viz.*, a critical edition of the Mahābhārata. In the following year he wrote also his papers 'On the Mahābhārata MSS. in the Whish Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society' (*JRAS.*, 1898, 147-150) and

on 'Gaṇēśa in the Mahābhārata' (*IRAS.*, 1898, 380-384). In 1899 he made his first 'Proposal for the Formation of a Sanskrit Epic Text Society to be laid before the Indian Section of the XIIth International Congress of Orientalists held at Rome', published in the *Bulletins of the Congrèss,* No. 3, pp. 46-49. His next essay 'Genesis des Mahābhārata' (*WZKM.*, 14, 1900, 51-77) dealt with the authorship of the great Epic. The plan of the Sanskrit Epic Text Society was laid before the public again in *Ind. Ant.*, 30, 1901, 117-120. In the same year he presented his 'Promemoria ueber die Nothwendigkeit einer kritischen Ausgabe des Mahābhārata, insbesondere in der suedindischen Rezension' to the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Vienna (published in the *Almanach* of the Academy 51, 1901, 206-210). Later on, he dealt with the Sabhāparvan in the South-Indian Recension of the Mahābhārata (*WZKM.*, 17, 1903, 70-75), 'The Mahābhārata and the Drama' (*IRAS.*, 1903, 571f.), the serpent sacrifice of the Mahābhārata (*Kulturgeschichtliches aus der Tierwelt,* Prag 1904, 68-80), and the Bṛhaddevatā and the Mahābh. (*WZKM.*, 20, 1906, 1-36). Finally, in 1904 a new 'Promemoria' on the plan of a critical edition of the Mahābh. was drawn up by Jacobi, Lüders and himself according to a mandate of the Academies and learned societies at Göttingen, Leipzig, Munich and Vienna on the basis of which the International Association of Academies decided to accept a critical edition of the Mahābhārata among its enterprises. A fund was established to support the collators of the Mahābhārata MSS. financially. Alas, all the work was stopped by the war in 1914. Therefore, it was a great satisfaction for Winternitz, when in 1918 the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona resumed the old plan with fresh means. The papers 'The Virāṭaparvan of the Mahābhārata ed. by N. B. Utgikar' (*ABhI.*, 5, 1924, 19-30), 'The Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata' (*Indol. Prag.*, I, 1929, 58-68), 'Die kritische Ausgabe des Mahābhārata' (*Forschungen*

und Fortschritte, 8, 1932, 427f.), and 'The Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata: Ādiparvan' (*ABhI.*, 15, 1934, 159-175) are his responses to the newly inaugurated work. He himself would have contributed the Sabhāparvan to the great undertaking, but other urgent works prevented him from achieving his cherished object.

It is not surprising that a scholar who had devoted so much interest and labour to one of the most important works of the Indian literature did not reject the proposal made to him by a great publishing house at Leipzig, asking him to write a history of the Indian literature for a series known as the Literatures of the East. Thus the first part of the first volume of his *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur,* dealing with the Veda, was published in 1905; the second part, devoted to the great Epics and to the Purāṇas, followed in 1908. The second volume was issued also in two parts, comprising the Buddhist Literature (1913) and the sacred texts of the Jainas (1920). The third and last volume (1922) contains the ornate poetry, the scientific literature, a short sketch of the modern Indian vernacular literature and additions to all the three volumes. But there is a great difference between the three volumes. It was the original aim of the publisher to bring out a literary history for the general reader. With the second volume the popular character of the description receded step by step into the background and the scientific point of view became prominent. This development was quite natural as the subject-matter of the second and third volumes offered much more tough problems which were not yet sufficiently discussed by the scholars and therefore not ripe for a popular treatment. Winternitz himself felt this dissonance and wished to reconstruct the first volume and bring up-to-date the whole work that he saw developing more and more his life-work. As the German publisher, due to the bad financial condition of the post-war Germany, was not able to bring out a revised edition, Winternitz was glad to accept the offer of the Calcutta University where he

had delivered lectures on the most important problems of Indian literary history in 1923 (published in the *Calcutta Review,* 1923 and 1924, and collected in book form under the title *Some problems of Indian Literature,* Calcutta 1925) to publish an English translation in order to make this standard work accessible to all Indian students. The first volume of this revised *History of Indian Literature* which—we may say—is a quite new work, appeared in 1927, the second volume in 1933. Only the first chapters of the third volume were sent to the press when the author had to leave it for ever.

When Winternitz undertook the task of writing a history of Indian literature, he was not aware of all the difficulties he would have to face. But he was the right man to fight against any and every problem. These struggles brought forth many essays, booklets and even books. It is impossible to quote them all, we shall mention only the most important ones. Thus, the result of his preliminary research into the Buddhist literature is his anthology of Buddhism in the *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch* edited by A. Bertholet (Tübingen 1908, pp. 214-322). A new revised edition was issued in 1929 as No. 11 of the *Lesebuch* under the title *Der aeltere Buddhismus nach Texten des Tipiṭaka.* In 1930, he added a second volume (*Der Mahāyāna-Buddhismus nach Sanskrit und Prākrit texten*) giving specimens of translations of the most important Mahāyāna Buddhist texts (No. 15 of the *Lesebuch*). He wrote also papers on the Buddhist Sanskrit literature (*WZKM.*, 26, 1912, 237-252, and 27, 1913, 33-47), on the Jātakas (*Ostas. Zeitschr.*, 2, 1913/14, 259-265 and in the *ERE.*, 7, 1914, 491-494), on 'Jātaka Gāthās and Jātaka Commentary' (*IHQ.*, 4, 1928, 1-14), on 'Gotama the Buddha, what do we know of him and his teaching?' (*Arch. Or.*, 1, 1929, 235-246), on the Pāli Canon, the earlier Buddhism and its history (*Studia Indo-Iranica,* Leipzig 1931, 63-72), on 'Problems of Buddhism' (*The Visva Bharati Quarterly,*

NS. II, 1936, Part I, 41-60). The study of the Jaina Canon brought him in contact with the chief leaders of the Jaina religion, the late Jaina Saint Vijaya Dharma Sūri was his friend; Winternitz was the single European who took part in the ceremonies connected with the consecration of the commemorative temple of this Saint at Shivapuri, Gwalior State, and he described them in the *Zeitschrift für Buddhismus*, 7, 1926, 349-377, to the regret of all, the only reminiscence of his Indian travels. In that connection, we may mention also his paper 'The Jainas in the History of Indian Literature' (*Indian Culture*, 1, 1934, 143-166). The research work done with regard to the third volume of the *History of Indian Literature* brought forth many further essays, e.g., on the Dialogue, Ākhyāna and Drama in the Indian literature (*WZKM.*, 23, 1909, 102-137) where he dealt with the problem of the beginnings of the Indian drama, on the Indian narrative literature (*Deutsche Lit.-Ztg.*, 31, 1910, 2693-2702, 2757-2767), especially on the Tantrākhyāyika (*WZKM.*, 25, 1911, 49-62), on the Kṛṣṇa dramas (*ZDMG.*, 74, 1920, 118-144), on the Bhāsa problem (*Ostas. Zeitschr.*, 9, 1920/22, 282-299), on 'Kauṭilya and the Art of Politics in Ancient India' (*The Visva Bharati Quarterly*, I, 1923, 261-267), on '*Dharmaśāstra* and *Arthaśāstra*' (*Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume*, Patna 1926, Part I, 25-48), on new Arthaśāstra MSS. (*Zeitschr. f. Indol. u. Iran.*, 6, 1928, 14-27), on fairy-tales within the narrative literature of the peoples (*Arch. Or.*, 4, 1932, 225-249), on the Bhāvaśataka (*IHQ.*, 12, 1936, 134-137 and 517), again on 'Bhāsa and the Mahābhārata and Kṛṣṇa Plays of the Trivandrum Series' (*Bulletin of the Rama Varma Research Institute*, vol. V, 1937, Part I, 1-15), etc. His 'Notes on the Guhyasamāja-Tantra and the Age of the Tantras' (*IHQ.*, 9, 1933, 1-10) offered a new insight into that difficult problem.

In his works treating Indian religion and folklore, Winternitz took always notice of the Indo-European and generally e t h n o -

logical relations. During his stay in England he translated Max Müller's *Anthropological Religion* into German (Leipzig 1894) and a year later the work of the same scholar *Theosophy or Psychological Religion* (Leipzig 1895). Besides different smaller papers on ethnological subjects, we may mention his notes on the Malayan popular religion (*WZKM.*, 14, 1900, 243-264). When he was appointed also a lecturer of Ethnology at the Prague German University, he wished to throw light on the mutual relations of ethnology, folklore and philology; the result of his reflexions was the paper 'Voelkerkunde, Volkskunde und Philologie' (*Globus*, 78, 1900, 345-350, 370-377). In the essay "Die Flutsagen des Alterthums und der Naturvoelker" (*Mitteil. d. Anthrop. Ges.*, Vienna, 31, 1901, 305-333) he compared the myths of the deluge of many peoples of the world in ancient and modern times. His booklet 'Was wissen wir von den Indo-germanen?' (München 1903, being an off-print from the *Allgemeine Zeitung*) gave a clear survey of the problem of the Indo-European people ('Urvolk') and their culture. He wrote on mankind, race, and nation (*Monatschrift d. Oesterr.-Israelitischen Union*, 16, 1904, 4-31) as well as on 'The Unity of Mankind' (*The Visva Bharati Quarterly*, NS. I, 1935, Part II, 1-14) more than thirty years later. Even in the last years of his life he collected materials for a big work on the modern race questions.

In the very beginnings of his scientific work devoted to the marriage customs, Winternitz had to deal with woman of ancient India. He returned to this subject in his essay on the widow in the Veda (*WZKM.*, 29, 1915, 172-203) and in his extensively planned work *Die Frau in den indischen Religionen. I. Teil: Die Frau im Brahmanismus* (Leipzig 1920). Even this project could not be carried out. Surely, there is an inner and close connection of cause and effect between his scientific interest in the Indian womanhood and his courageous fighting for the emancipation of women,

not only in his country and in Europe, but in the whole world. In newspapers and reviews, in lectures and speeches, he defended the aspirations of political equality as well as the economical and cultural progress of women from his humanistic point of view. In many women's associations he was a leading brain till his old age. In recent times, he had the satisfaction that his intentions got their realization at least in many countries of Europe.

It is easily to be understood, that Winternitz as a historian of religion became a moral philosopher too. From his treatise on the ethics in the sacred books of the Indians, Persians and Chinese (*Deutsche Arbeit*, 6, 1906-7, 486-489, 590-592, 619-625) a direct line leads to his booklet 'Religion und Moral' (Prag 1922, *Schriften der Deutschen Gesellschaft für sittliche Erziehung*, No. 2); here he surveys the relation of religion and ethics in the history and literature of many peoples and creates the base of the working programme of the German Society for Ethical Education, founded by him and some other friends of his at Prague. According to his ethical principles, Winternitz was a thorough pacifist and condemned the war and an exaggerated nationalism on many occasions. In this connection, we may refer to the special interest shown by him in Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore in a number of papers and public lectures. His booklet 'Rabindranath Tagore. Religion und Weltanschaung des Dichters' (Prag 1936, *Schriften d. Deutsch. Ges. f. sittl. Erz.*, No. 13), dedicated to the 75th birthday of the poet, was his last reverence offered to the eminent Indian spiritual teacher.

Winternitz's style in his publications was always clear and simple. Nevertheless, he was a master of the word, and always he required of his pupils, too, to use a correct diction in their writings. There are no superfluous phrases, no vast and vague theories disturbing the logical flow of his arguments. He was a man of facts working *sine ira et studio*, and he never

constructed a higher building of conclusions than the substructure of facts allowed.

In personal contact, Winternitz was a gentle and noble-minded man. At the first moment, he seemed to be of a reserved nature. Yet under this hard exterior there was hidden a golden heart. Nobody asked in vain for his help or advice.

Winternitz has left this world, but his works are with us and with the future generations, as a well-known Indian saying runs; n a h i k a r m a k ṣ ī y a t e!

W. Gampert.

WINTERNITZ MEMORIAL VOLUME

The Relation of Hittite, Tocharian and Indo-European

The question of the relation of Hittite to Indo-European presents very substantial interest, and it is worth while examining this issue and the allied question of the relation between Hittite and Tocharian, and the place of the latter in the Indo-European family. Only the more important arguments can be considered, but it is possible thence to derive fairly definite conclusions so far as regards the evidence yet adduced.

I. *The Indo-Hittite Theory*

The protagonist of the view that Hittite is not to be regarded as Indo-European in the sense in which Sanskrit is, but that Indo-European and Hittite must be treated as branches of Indo-Hittite, is undoubtedly Professor Sturtevant, whose knowledge of Hittite lends special force to his contentions,[1] and who adds weight to his arguments by their moderation. His main points may be examined briefly.

(1) The most important in his view is the retention in Hittite of a sound signified by the signs used for the Accadian spirant, which here for simplicity will be written *h*. Thus Hittite gives *hanti* 'in front' which corresponds with the Greek *antí*, and *eshar*

1 *Language*, ix. 1-11.

'blood', Greek *éar,* while *nehhi* is no doubt the corresponding form to Sanskrit *ninaya.* It is true that the sound is usually written double and Sturtevant doubts the suggestion of W. Petersen[2] that *h* is of different origin in its uses, and that after *a* it serves as a hiatus-filler, a use which may be compared with the regular use of *w* after *u* in this manner. This suggestion is plausible for many cases of its use, while in others it may be held that a *ha* thus generated was transferred to consonantal stems.

It is, however argued[3] that Indo-European shows compensatory lengthening upon loss of *h* before a consonant, while in Indo-Hittite long vowels and dipthongs with long prior element were shortened before *h.* But the latter proposition is not supported by any cogent evidence, and the former is equally dubious. If Hittite *mahlas* 'apple tree' is equated with Latin *mālus* and Greek *mêlon,* as is obvious, it is quite possible simply to assume that Hittite represented the long *a* sound by *ah,* and the same principle can be applied to the identification of the Hittite denominative suffix *ah* and the I.E. *ā* as in *newah-,* Latin *novāre,* Greek *neân.* It seems quite otiose to seek to explain Greek *húei* as against *huetós* by the lengthening of the *u* on the loss of the *h* of an I.H. *suhio-,* and the supposed parallel with Hitt. *suhhai* 'empty, sprinkle, scatter' and *suhha* 'roof' appears singularly unconvincing. If Hitt. *lahha* 'army, battle' and Greek *lāós* are really parallel, it is just as natural to say that *ahh* is to represent the *ā* as to ascribe the former to I.H. *lahom* and the latter to *lahuos.* Hitt. *pahs-* 'protect' is equated with Latin *pāsco,* with again *ah* and *ā* as equivalents.

Sturtevant,[4] at one time dubious, is now a convert to the theory started by de Saussure and developed by others including Kurylo-

2 *A.J.P.,* liii. 193 ff.
3 *Language,* vii. 115 ff.
4 *Language,* xii. 141-4; contrast vi. 149-58.

wicz in the *Etudes indoeuropéennes* and E. Benveniste in his *Origines de la Formation des Noms en Indo-européen,* which ascribes to primitive I.E. several consonantal schwas, identified as laryngeals by Professor Sapir. Into these conjectures it is unnecessary to enter, for they do not lend any clear support to the thesis here under examination, which would set Hittite up against I.E. instead of ranking it with I.E. Sapir, for example, draws no such conclusion and plainly it could not be drawn.

(2) It is contended[5] that Hittite shows clearly the working of an I.H. rule under which *uw* and *əw* became *um,* thus creating pairs of suffixes beginning with *m* or *w* according to the character of the preceding vowel. Even accepting this not implausible theory, it is admitted that in Indo-Iranian we have traces of the rule in the distribution of the suffixes *mant* and *vant*. We are not, therefore, in any degree pressed to see anything in Hittite save the preservation of a state of things existing equally in I.E. Every I.E. speech preserved at any early date presents archaisms of an important nature.

(3) Hittite has no pronoun corresponding to the I.E. stem *to-*. Instead it has a sentence connective *ta* which, with the enclitic pronoun *-a-*, gives e.g., *tan* 'et eum'. In I.E. the forms corresponding to the assumed I.H. *tom* (supposed to be the zero grade of the connective *to* plus accusative *om*, or *to* with the vowel elided) are used only as indivisible wholes, but a trace of the original sense is suggested by the fact that the 'article' takes the initial position frequently in early Greek, Sanskrit and Germanic. The argument is plainly quite unconvincing and it is rather a very significant sign of the non-primitive character of Hittite that it (1) has nothing corresponding to the irregular *so* and *sā* of I.E., and (2) it has developed a *tas* 'et is' which Sturtevant admits to be an innovation.

5 *A.J.P.*, l. 360-9.

(4) In Hittite there are many stems in *r/n-*, and from any verb there may be formed a verbal noun ending in *war, mar, tar,* the first two of which correspond with the I.E. infinitives in *wen* and *men,* while the *tar* suffix may be connected with the I.E. instrumental suffix *dhro,* as in the Avestan infinitive *harathrai.* In I.E. we have traces of neuter nouns with final *r* in the nominative and accusative singular and with *n* before the case endings as in Sanskrit *ahar, ahnas.* But the type of formation is moribund. The conclusion that Hittite here preserves the more ancient usage is plainly quite inconclusive. We may equally well suppose that in Hittite the inherited type was developed beyond what was usual in the other speeches.

(5) Hittite has no feminine gender, but merely a distinction between animate and inanimate in the nominative and accusative. In I.E. the distinction between masculine and feminine certainly existed,[6] but it was confined to a limited number of noun types and adjectives. It is then suggested that Hittite points back to a period definitely pre-I.E. when gender did not exist. The fatal difficulty here is that Armenian has no development of the feminine, and the obvious solution is that Hittite and Armenian were spoken among peoples who did not possess the distinction of masculine and feminine and so they lost the slight amount they had inherited from I.E.

(6) I.E., it is suggested, possessed an extraordinary paucity of case distinctions for its personal pronouns; the forms were few and their use was vague, a situation found in Hittite.[7] Unfortunately Hittite is definitely not primitive in its pronouns; forms like *ug* for the nominative singular, *amug* for accusative, and *zig* in the second person are significant of contamination and analogical workings. There is nothing to suggest that here we have anything but an

6 Meillet, *B.S.L.,* xxxii. 1-28.

7 Cf. Petersen, *Language,* vi. 188.

aberrant development, among people in contact with a foreign speech, of I.E. pronouns.

(7) Hittite is conjectured at an earlier date than our texts to have had a single plural form for each type of stem but no plural case distinctions.[8] This, it is suggested, is a more primitive state of things than I.E. The argument is far from convincing. Hittite may easily have lost what other I.E. speeches preserved. It must be remembered that speech does not move from the simple to the complex only; there is every reason to suppose that there is a constant movement which at one time may simplify, at another build up distinctions.

(8) In I.E. it is accepted that, when a dental stop came to stand next a dental stop, there was developed between them a sibilant, which produced, e.g., *tst* for *tt*. In I.E. speeches this is not preserved, *st* usually being recorded, as in Greek *oistha*, Gothic *waist*, for which Sanskrit has *vettha*, probably by analogical restoration, while Germanic and Italo-Celtic have *ss*. Hittite, however, in some forms preserves, in the peculiarly unsatisfactory denotation in which it is recorded, traces of the primitive form, for the various denotations of the third person of the verb 'to eat', which gives us in the first *etmi*, really denote *etstsi*,[9] the second *ts* being the regular development of the *t* of I.E. Similarly we have *atsteni* 'you eat' and *etsta* 'he ate'. The point is interesting, but a *tst* was patently so unstable a sound that it is easily intelligible that the other I.E. speeches should not have preserved it. The development of *ti* to *tsi*, it need hardly be added, is one of the many points in which Hittite is far from primitive.

(9) In Hittite we have clear cases where a labio-velar appears as *kw* before a vowel and *ku* before a consonant, e.g., *kwentsi* 'he

8 Cf. Petersen, *A.J.P.*, li. 259.

9 I write *ts* for the usual *z*, for the sake of clearness.

strikes', but *kunantsi* 'they strike', with which compare Sanskrit *hanti* and *ghnanti*. But it is impossible to base any argument on this, for the appearance of *u* before a consonant is far from rare elsewhere, as in Sanskrit *kutra* with which compare *kva*, Latin *si-cubi*, Greek *kúklos*, where Sanskrit with the usual loss of the labial element has *cakrás*. In Hittite itself we find the loss of the labial element in the particle *-ki* or *-ka*, in the variant *sak-* or *saku-* 'know' and so forth. Once more we are dealing simply with variant treatment of I.E. elements. There is much that is obscure in the Hittite representation of the labio-velars; thus the parallelism with Sanskrit *gṛṇāti* 'he praises' of *wars-* 'be or become propitious'; with *gharma* 'heat' of *war-* 'burn'; with *gā* 'go' of *wa-, we-*, is far from convincing; but there is no reason to find any special antiquity.

(10) Hittite has an ablative in *ts* and an instrumental in *t*, which may be traced to the weak form of *-tos*, a suffix familiar from Sanskrit *-tas* and Latin *-tus*.[10] From this *ts* we are to derive in the ablative the *t* of *o* stems on the one hand, and the *s* of other stems on the other. But, even accepting this theory there is nothing to divide Hittite from Indo-European. We have merely an archaism. Moreover, we are not compelled to accept the suggested origin from *ts* of the ablative terminations. It is ingenious, but no more than that, and other explanations are current and not less likely.

(11) Little need be said of the argument that Hittite is specially primitive because it is richer in root class verbs than in thematic verbs of either the *déiketi* (Latin *dicit*) or *dikéti* (Sanskrit *díśáti*) type. It is sufficient to point out that both these types are admittedly found in Hittite beside the root class, so that Hittite appears as simply one among other I.E. speeches.

(12) As little value can be attached to the contention that Hittite is primitive because it distinguishes the nasal infix presents

10 Sturtevant, *Language*, viii. 1-10.

and presents with suffix *nu* by placing them in the *mi* conjugation, generally with causative sense, while the *nā* presents belong to the *hi* conjugation, and have intensive force. It is plain that all three formations are I.E., and that no speech shows effective distinctions of a consistent kind between them.

(13) Hittite possesses the word *nekuts* which must be connected with the Greek *núx,* Sanskrit *naktis, naktam,* Latin *nox* and other words for night. Moreover it has the verb *nekutsi* 'he undresses, goes to bed', and the impersonal preterite middle *nekutat,* meaning 'people went to bed, it was bedtime'. This suggests an older period than the isolated words in the I.E. speeches. This is ingenious, but if accepted merely shows that Hittite preserves a verbal form lost in the other speeches and, of course, the priority of the verb to the noun is open to dispute.

(14) It is claimed that Hittite *uptsi,* used of the sun, 'it comes up' is archaic. Connection with the Greek *hupó* and Sanskrit *upa* is no doubt clear, but that the formation is archaic is in no way proved. Rather it may be claimed to be a Hittite innovation of an easy kind in a language full of aberrations.

(15) Still less value attaches to the fact that while Greek *hêstai* and Sanskrit *āste* 'he sits' are isolated, except for compounds and derivatives and a few Avestan forms, Hittite has *esa, esari* 'he sits', *estsi* 'he sets', and various other derivatives. The claim for primitive character for Hittite is very difficult to follow. It is once more merely evidence that Hittite preserves, like Indo-Iranian and Greek, I.E. material lost elsewhere. What possible conclusion in favour of constructing a theoretic Indo-Hittite can be derived from the fact that Hittite has a root-class verb related to Greek *anágke,* though no I.E. language has such a verb? Is this due to a belief that verbal roots are prior to nouns? Are we to suppose that Indo-Hittite had the verb, which in I.E. was lost? Nothing whatever can be derived from such arguments.

On the other hand, there is abundant reason to suggest that Hittite shows development of I.E. as established from comparison of the older I.E. speeches. The impression left by Hittite verb is certainly of this character. It is natural to accept the present of the *hi*-conjugation as a refashioning of the I.E. perfect, affected strongly by the *mi*-conjugation. The use in Hittite in the true present *mi*-conjugation in the second person present of *-ti* besides *-si* certainly is most naturally explained, as was suggested by Friedrich,[11] as the intrusion of the perfect *-tha,* which becomes in Hittite normally *-ta,* and then takes the form *-ti* by analogy, especially to the original *-si,* which in some verbs is recorded equally as in *epsi* and *epti* 'thou takest', *kwensi, kwenti* 'thou strikest'. The preterite active of Hittite seems to be a combination of forms of the *s*-aorist with perfect forms used historically. Thus we have in the second person singular *memista* 'thou didst say', *daista* 'thou didst place'; third person *das* 'he took', *nais* 'he led'; second plural *naisten* 'ye led'. Of this last form the *n* seems clearly analogical as against I.E. *-te* These preterite forms with *s* are confined to verbs of the *hi*-conjugation, and it is a reasonable assumption that I.E. had beside the present perfect an *s*-aorist which served to express past time for the perfect presents. To the *mi*-presents Hittite has preterites without the *s,* as in second singular *daskes,* third *dasket,* which compare with Greek *élues, élue.*

In the medio-passive we find in Hittite a present tense which seems clearly a decayed form of the I.E., showing a mixture of primary and secondary terminations. This point is disputed, but the probabilities in its favour are strong. Thus to Hittite *arta* corresponds Greek *ôrto,* Sanskrit *ārta;* to Hittite *aranta,* Sanskrit *ārata.* That *-ta* and *-nta* are to be traced back to I.E. *-tai* and *-ntai,* the primary endings, is most improbable, for Hittite as a regular prin-

11 *Z.D.M.G.,* LXXVI. 167.

ciple has *a* for I.E. *o*. In the second plural Hittite *-duma* as in *iyadduma* is clearly to be compared with the secondary *-dḥvam* of Sanskrit *ábhavadhvam*, giving an I.E. *dhwem*, the final *-a* owing its existence to the analogy of *-ta* and *-anta*. On the other hand the first plural in *-wasta* may have a primary ending in *-was*, affected by the secondary ending in I.E. *-medhᵒ* which in Hittite would give *-meta*. The first person singular in *-ha* is as usual obscure, but it is plausible to suppose that the primary ending *-ai* was reduced to *-a* by analogy of the other endings, and the mysterious *h* was originally used after vowel stems to avoid hiatus, and then appended to consonantal stems. But that is uncertain, though the natural conclusion is that the present medio-passive of Hittite is less original than I.E. Of the quite secondary character of the preterite of the medio-passive there is no possible doubt. It is formed by appending *-t* or *-ti* to the present, so that we have forms like *estat, esantat, kisantati, iyawastati,* and *kisdumat,* showing once more Hittite as a developed form of I.E.

The *-ri* forms of Hittite are added without change of sense as in *artatari* beside *arta, esantari* beside *esanta, iyahhari* beside *taparha*. It seems impossible to regard this as anything but a specifically Hittite development of the use of the *-r* termination which must have been I.E., as it is found in variant forms in such various I.E. speeches. Anything primitive here seems quite out of place.

With this accords much else in Hittite. The substitution of *a* for *o* is clearly indicative of an important change, while the loss of the dual, and of the subjunctive and optative can be regarded as natural in a speech cut off from contact with the main body of I.E. speeches and developing in contact with people of alien tongues. The natural conclusion from these and the other points above noted is that Hittite broke off from I.E., when the latter was in a fairly early stage of development, but that its value for the reconstruction of I.E. is seriously diminished by the decay which rapidly affected

it when in semi-isolation. The conclusion is important in that it discounts efforts to reconstruct theories of ablaut by building on the phenomena of Hittite either as regards vowel changes or the mysterious *h*. If laryngeals are to come to honour as part of the reconstructed I.E.[12] it will be necessary to adduce much more convincing proof than conjectures based on the baffling features of Hittite, preserved as it is in a spelling offering abundant possibilities of interpretation.

II. *The Theory of Hittite-Tocharian Unity*

Accepting, as seems inevitable, the view that Hittite is merely another I.E. speech, it remains to be considered whether it has specially close connections with any other member of the group. The most definite theory on this head is that of W. Petersen who has put forward (*Language*, ix) all the possible grounds for a close connection between Hittite and Tocharian, and has made out a fair *prima facie* case for his views. The essential evidence, of course, can be given only by features of common innovation. No amount of preservation of ancient characteristics is of importance in this regard.

(1) Both languages are admittedly marked by the loss of the aspiration and voice in explosives, so that in Tocharian we have nothing but *p, t, k* to represent the rich variety of I.E., except where there are secondary developments such as that of *t* to *c* in *mācar* 'mother' or *t* for an original *dh* to *c* in *ckācar* from I.E. *dhughəter-*. In the case of Hittite, however, the matter is not so simple, for we find (a) explosives written as *t* or *d*, and so forth, and (b) explosives frequently doubled. The former feature seems to be merely graphic, and the unvoiced explosive to have been pronounced in every case. The latter presents greater difficulty, and it is a plausible view that the duplication marked out the sounds as fortes as opposed to lenes,

without any distinction of voiceless and voiced.[13] Petersen notes, but, no doubt legitimately, rejects the conjecture of Professor Einarsson[14] that the duplication indicates a diversity of duration, the view being that voiceless explosives are longer than voiced, for the distinction seems far too slight to have been thus appreciated in Hittite. Is there any reason whatever to assume that this change was accomplished in common in the two speeches, Tocharian later losing even the distinction of fortes and lenes? It seems clear that there is no justification for the theory. It is perfectly simple to suppose that the I.E. distinctions of explosives were simply lost by contact with peoples who had not the same distinction. It is quite true that the Germanic and Armenian sound changes are not parallel, because they consist of shifts of the different orders of consonants, but we have, e.g., the conversion of the consonants in Paiśācī Prākrit as a good parallel to show what might happen to I.E. speeches spoken in border lands.[15]

(2) There is no doubt that it is natural to connect Tocharian *tkaṃ* and Hittite *tegan*, genitive *taknas* 'earth', and to contrast them with the Greek *khthōn* and Sanskrit *kṣā-s*. Kretschmer[16] holds that the former forms point to an I.E. *dheghon-*, which suffered transposition of the initial consonants in Sanskrit and Greek. If this is the case, then no argument regarding the relations of Hittite and Tocharian is possible. If on the other hand the Greek and Sanskrit show the original order, we may assume independent variation in Hittite and Tocharian of an unusual initial consonant group. It is to be noted that they differ in the essential that Hittite has a full vowel between the consonant as opposed to Tocharian.

12 Sapier, *Language*, xii. 178; Sturtevant, *ibid.*, 185 ff.; cf. Kent, 250.
13 *J.A.O.S.*, Lii. 1 ff.
14 *Language*, viii .177 ff.
15 Etruscan is a speech which has something like tenues.
16 *Glotta*, xx. 66 ff.

That explanation for this reason is more plausible than the alternative views of a dialectical variation in I.E. or the descent of Hittite and Tocharian from a common derivative of I.E. which made the change.

Another metathesis performed in common has been suggested by Petersen in the case of Hittite *pahhur*, Tocharian *por* as against Greek *pûr*, Umbrian *pir*, Armenian *hur*, and against Old High German *fūir*. He suggests an I.E. *pu(w)or*, whence by metathesis *paur*, contracted to *por* in Tocharian, and with a hiatus—avoiding *h* in Hittite. It is difficult to feel any confidence in this suggestion, nor is the doubt diminished by the fact that Tocharian appears also to have a dialectical variant B *puwar* in which the *u* of the word takes its normal first place.

(3) In Hittite the only case forms which can be compared directly with those believed to have existed in I.E. are the nominative, accusative, genitive, and dative singular, and the nominative and perhaps the accusative plural. Thus we have *-s* in the nominative singular, *antuhsas, tuzzis, assus, -n* (I.E. *-m*) in the accusative, *antuhsan, tuzzin, assun; -as* in the genitive (I.E. *-os* or *-ās*), *antuhsas; -i* in the dative (I.E. *-et*), *antuhsi, assawi; -as* (I.E. *-ōs* or *ās*), *-es* (I.E. *-es* or *eyes*), and *us* by analogy in the nominative plural. The suggestion therefore is that, when Hittite separated from I.E., the latter had not yet developed a plural declension but used one form of all cases, unless the accusative plural is an exception. In Tocharian most of the cases of the noun, six out of nine, are patently secondary, being formed by addition of post-positions to the oblique case at comparatively late periods. In the plural the genitive, which is primary in the singular, is secondary and based on the oblique, leaving in the singular nominative, oblique and genitive, in the plural nominative and oblique, the two in many cases coinciding. The oblique may fairly be traced to the I.E. accusative, and the loss of the dative may have taken place in Tocharian itself, which

may indeed preserve in such a genitive as *lāntse* 'of the queen' a trace of the I.E. dative in *-ei*.

The argument of a common development of Hittite and Tocharian seems most insufficient. There must be remembered the contention of Sturtevant above noted which sees in Hittite signs of an ablative and instrumental from *-tos*, which have I.E. parallels. The simplification of the I.E. in the speeches separately seems the natural explanation of the phenomenon. Nor is Petersen's view really strengthened by the parallel which he draws between the fact that in Hittite all genitives singular and genitives and dative plural end in *-as*, while in Tocharian the *-is* of the genitive singular is added in many cases to the common nominative and oblique form of the plural, e.g. *ñemy*, gen. sing. *ñemyis*, plural *ñemintw-is*. The parallel, though interesting, is far too distant to suggest a common historical origin.[17]

(4) It is pointed out that Hittite has for the first person pronoun the nominative *uk* or *ug*, to which the only parallel is Tocharian *ñuk*, which is secondarily confined to the feminine. The strange *ñ* is no doubt from the plural I.E. *nos*, while the *u* is from the second person, in which Hittite has the accusative *tuk* or *tug*, but Tocharian has not the *k*. That the changes 'must have been made in common' is surely quite unproved. The assimilation of the vowels of the pronouns is a very natural phenomenon, and its occurrence in both speeches separately is natural enough. It would be different if the pronouns showed other important similarities of a distinctive character, but it is not claimed that this is the case nor in fact is it so.

(5) The free use in Hittite and Tocharian of the present suffix I.E. *-sko-* which appears as *s* besides *sk* in the B dialect of Tocharian

17 The suggestion that the *-ntu* is paralled to Luvian *-nza* (*-nts*), and comparable to Hittite genitive plurals like *kuenzan* is implausible.

has slight significance, as its I.E. character is clear from Sanskrit *gácchāmi*, Greek *báskō*, Latin *cresco*, but that significance is further diminished by the fact that in Hittite the tendency is to use the suffix in an iterative-durative sense as opposed to the prevalent causative sense in Tocharian. Two independent developments of an I.E. inheritance may simply be postulated.

(6) We have seen that the perfect termination of the second person *-tha* makes its way into the present; invariably is this the case in the *hi-* conjugation which is derived from the perfect, but it occurs also in the *mi-* conjugation which is a true present. Tocharian has invariably *-t* as in *knānat* 'thou knowest', *yat* 'thou doest', the short vowel disappearing as is normal. Here again a common transfer seems wholly speculative.

(7) Nor is the case better with the suggestion that Hittite and Tocharian shared the important morphological innovation of the entry of forms of the *s*-aorist into the preterite active paradigm. The parallel forms are second singular Hittite *-sta*, as above, Tocharian *-ṣt*, as in *weñaṣt* 'thou didst say', third *-s* in both, Tocharian *yāmäs* 'he made'; second plural Hittite *-sten*, Tocharian *-s*, *weñās* 'ye said'. It is quite possible to hold that the Tocharian form in the last case goes back to *-ste* as does the Hittite, but it remains purely conjectural. That the parallelism should be accidental is said to be inconceivable, but this seems to overstate the position seriously. We have forms like Latin *vidisti*, and it has been urged with energy that there is no innovation, and no *s*-aorist but a morpheme intended to facilitate inflection, the use of which for phonetic reasons is restricted to certain persons.[18] It is not necessary to adopt this doctrine to find the argument derived from the partial similarities of the two speeches quite without decisive force, even apart from the difference in usage, the Tocharian *s*-forms being found in every

18 Benveniste, *Hirt-Festschrift*, ii, 230; Meillet, *B.S.L.*, xxxiv. 127 f.

preterite, while in Hittite they are confined as mentioned above to preterites of the *hi-* conjugation.

(8) Still less promising is the theory of innovation in the treatment of the I.E. first person singular perfect. Tocharian *weñā* 'I said' is said to be the result of contraction of the normal *-a* as in Sanskrit *véda,* Greek *oîda,* in case of a vowel stem and the transfer of the vowel resulting to a consonantal stem. In Hittite the same *-a,* it is held, was added to vowel stems, *h* being developed to avoid hiatus, and then *-a* altered by analogy to *-i,* e.g., *memahhi,* 'I say', *dahhi* 'I take'. The form, of course, in Hittite is present, in Tocharian preterite, but that can be disregarded as a secondary development. This is doubtless not impossible, but the chance of the two phenomena really going back to a common source seems negligible.

(9) The medio-passives are also called into play as an argument. Here again the divergence is as great as the similarity. Tocharian has developed the rule that *-r* forms are present in use, forms without *-r* preterite. Thus the third singular present is *kälpnātär,* the preterite *kälpāt,* the third plurals are *kälpnāntär* and *kälpānt,* and so on. It seems much more natural to accept independent developments, not common innovation. Phrygian also shows a similar phenomenon of the facultative addition of *-or.*

(10) Nor is it easy to find the development of a single medio-passive, originally without tense-meaning, of forms without *r.* The resemblances between the two speeches in this regard are far from extensive. In the first person singular Tocharian has *-e,* as in *kälpe,* which looks like I.E. *-ai* as in Sanskrit *bruve,* Old Norse Icelandic *heite,* while Hittite has *-ha,* as in *taparha,* which has to be explained as analogical to the other *-a* endings of the forms. The forms for the third singular and plural *kälpāt* and *kälpānt* may correspond to the Hittite, but it is far from certain that the second plural *kälpāc* corresponds to *-dhvam.* It is clear that the first plural of Tocharian

in *-mät,* e.g. *kälpāmät,* is quite distinct from the Hittite and corresponds to Greek *-metha* and Sanskrit *-mahi,* I.E. *-medhə.* In the second singular Hittite *-ta* as in *pahhasta,* and Tocharian *-te* are supposed to go back to a common *-ta,* a contamination of the two I.E. secondary terminations *-thes* as in Sanskrit *ádithās,* and *-so* as in proto-Greek *ephereso.* The Tocharian is held to have been affected by the *-e* of the first person. It is much simpler to assume that each speech had its own history, nor is this probability diminished by the fact that the Tocharian uses these forms as past, Hittite as present.

(11) Two common roots are adduced which are not found at least in the same sense in the rest of the I.E. speeches. The first is *(i)ya-* 'make, do', Hittite *iyazzi* 'he does', Tocharian *yaṣ.* The second is *ai-* 'give' seen in Tocharian *eṣ* 'he gives', and in Hittite with the prefix *pe* in *pe-, pai-* 'give', as in *pehhi* 'I give', *pais* 'he gave'. It is suggested that the development of the use of this root goes hand in hand with the loss of I.E. *dā* 'give', because in both it became indistinguishable from *dhā-* 'place', which alone continued to exist in the sense 'take' in Hittite. The latter observation should be qualified by the reminder that with the prefix *ā dā-* in Sanskrit denotes 'take'. The root, however, is clearly I.E., for we have the Greek *aîsa,* the lot destined, and so fate; the Oscan genitive *áiteis,* 'part', Avestan *aeta* 'retribution', and perhaps the Illyrian proper name Aitor. Similarly the Hittite *eku-* 'drink' is comparable with the Tocharian *yok-,* but we can hardly insist on dismissing connection with *aqua* in Latin. We have again Hittite *kasza* (*kasts*) and Tocharian *kaṣt* 'hunger' with no close cognates. But Hittite *papars-,* Tocharian *parṣ-* 'sprinkle' remind us of Sanskrit *pṛṣat;* Tocharian *wārp-* 'enclose', Hittite *warpa tiya* of Avestan *varep-.* Without further details it is reasonably clear that there is no such close comparison in vocabulary as to cause us to postulate a common development.

(12) There is a certain similarity between Hittite and Tocharian in the signification of participles. Thus in Tocharian those in *-u* may be passive or active, while those in *-maṃ* A dialect, *mane* B dialect are not properly middle. In Hittite participles in *-nt* are passive in sense where the verb is active and *vice versa,* pointing to an original indetermination of character. But there is no close parallel, and we need not even ascribe the uses to archaism.

III. The Dialectical Grouping of Tocharian

The only conclusion possible in view of the evidence is that the idea of a common development of Hittite and Tocharian is not rendered even probable by the evidence adduced. It remains therefore to consider whether it is possible to group Tocharian, regarded like Hittite as a distinct branch of I.E., more closely with some of the speeches than with others.[19]

(1) Nothing definite can be deduced from the fact that Tocharian shows the maintenance of velars and traces of labio-velars, as in *puk* as a variant form for I.E. *pekw-,* Latin *coquo* 'I cook', as opposed to Sanskrit *pac-*. The advent of palatalization is a later development. There are many other survivals, for example the *-wā* of the first person *prakwā, yāmwā,* is akin to Sanskrit *jajñau,* Latin *amāvi,* Armenian *cnaw,* and Hittite *-un*. The third plural *weñāre* is comparable with Latin *videre,* but also with the *-er* (*-ir*) of Hittite, *-ur* of Sanskrit and *-ārə* of Avestan. If we compare *ktsai-* 'grow old' with Greek *phthínō* as against Sanskrit *kṣi-,* we have another archaism. Tocharian as we have seen uses the suffix *-sko* mainly in a causative sense, but it preserves in a few cases traces of the iterative-intensive sense which may have been specifically I.E. Archaic also is probably the existence of perfects with and without reduplication, now found dialectically divided, e.g. dialect A *cacäl,* B *cāla;* A

19 Benveniste, *Hirt-Festschrift,* ii, 227-40.

śaśärs, B *śārsa*, for there is no reason to deny the existence of both forms in I.E., just as Old Latin has *feced* and *fhefhaked* which are of distinct origin, and the Hittite *hi*-conjugation has reduplicated as well as simple forms.

(2) Certain facts of morphology are more interesting as evidence of affinity. Thus Tocharian shares with Slav and Armenian a tendency to make participial use of the suffix *-lo;* especially interesting is its expansion to *-lyo* giving Tocharian *yokalle* 'to be drunk' and Armenian *sireli* 'to be loved'. Again, the use of the prefix *p-* with the imperative is held to correspond in form and function to Slav *po*, Lithuanian *pa*, the purpose being to render the imperfect perfective, but later sinking to a normal accompaniment as in *bi-* from *pa-* in modern Iranian. A further point of interest is the suffix *-une* of abstracts, which is like the old Slav suffix of abstracts *-ynja*, Lithuanian *-une*, which is differentiated from Latin *pecunia* by the fact that the *u* there is of the stem. It is also interesting that, while Tocharian is merely archaic in its use of the adjective in place of the genitive, a trait common to Slav as well as Luvian, it makes specially frequent employment of the suffix A *-ṣi*, B *-ṣṣe*, which is I.E. *-skiyo*, found in Armenian as *-açi* and in the Slav *-isku*, as well as in Germanic *-iska*. But the Slav parallel admittedly is suspect of being merely a borrowing from Germanic[20] and is therefore not altogether cogent. With Hittite and Armenian Tocharian shares abstention from the use of the comparative affix *-tero*, the positive of the adjective with the ablative serving to express comparison as it may in Sanskrit. It is interesting also to note that in the use of *ne* after the relative-interrogative as in *kus ne* Tocharian recalls Phrygian *ios ni*, but of course we have other traces of this *ne* as in Avestan *cithe-nā*, Thessalian *hone*, and Latin *ne*.

20 There is a Ligurian suffix *-asco*, *-asca*, but that is probably not I.E., Krahe, *Hirt-Festschrift*, ii. 252, 253.

(3) From the vocabulary we have seen that no definite affinity to Hittite can be established. Equally is it impossible to see close relations with Indo-Iranian; a case like *lam-lyam*—in B as compared with Sanskrit *layate* is isolated. On the other hand Tocharian definitely shows a general affinity to the European speeches where they differ from Indo-Iranian. Striking is A *alyak*, B *alyek* against *anya* 'other'. Tocharian has *por* 'fire', *salyi* 'salt', Latin *sel;* A *wäs,* B *yasā,* Latin *aurum,* Old Prussian *ausis,* Lithuanian *aúksas* 'gold'; *kroṅśe* 'bee', Latin *crābro,* Lithuanian *sirsuo,* Old High German *hornuz;* A *mañ,* B *mem* 'moon', A *mañ,* B *meñ* 'month' from *men-* as opposed to *mes-* of Indo-Iranian but also of Slav; A *lake,* B *leke,* Greek *lékhos,* Gothic *ligan; wal-*'die'. Greek *oulé,* Lithuanian *velys,* Old Icelandic *valr,* Welsh *gweli; wal-*'rule', Latin *valeo,* 'be strong', Old Irish *flaith* 'royalty'. Interesting also is *plāk*—'make accord' with Latin *placeo; aks*—'to proclaim' with Latin *prodigium,* Greek *ánōga,* Armenian *asem* 'I say'. *saks*—'say' is clearly parallel with Greek *ennépo,* Latin *insece* (imperative), Lithuanian *sakyti,* and it may be with Hittite *sak-* or *saku-*.[21] Significant is *āre* 'plough' and Latin *arāre,* a word of a culture different from Indo-Iranian. The root *tak-* 'touch' is paralleled in Latin *tango,* Greek *tetagōn,* and Gothic *tekan* must be derived from a variant with a sonant initial. *ekro* 'poor' compares with *egeo,* Old Icelandic *ekla* 'privation', and so forth.

(4) Special similarities are believed to exist in the case of Greek, Armenian, the close relation of which to Greek is often now asserted, and Thracian and Phrygian, which are probably closely akin to Armenian, in accordance with the historical tradition, Herodotos already declaring the Armenians derived from the Phrygians. The material adduced is scanty. The word for 'hand', A *tsar,* B *śar,* is comparable with Greek *khéir,* Armenian *jern,* but Hittite *kessera* may be cognate. *ri,* 'town' is reminiscent of Thraco-Phrygian *bría,*

21 Cf. Sturtevant, *Language,* vi. 219.

and *kerciye* 'palace' of Phrygian *Gordion*, Old Slav *gordŭ*, Lithuanian *gardas*. *ime*, equivalent of *smṛti*, A *imasu* B *ymassu* 'thinking' may be akin to Armenian *imanam* 'I reflect', but possibly Latin *imago* and *imitor* are also in relation. *lap* 'top' corresponds to Greek *lóphos* 'crest'; A *se* B *soya* 'son' accords with Greek *huiós*; A *swase*, B *swese* 'rain' with Greek *húei*, *huetós*. *orkam* 'darkness' seems related to Greek *orphnós*, and ultimately to words such as *érebos*, which again is comparable with Sanskrit *rajas*. *śpāl* 'head' is akin to Greek *kephalḗ*, but also to Old High German *gebal*, and, if *oki* 'and' recalls Greek *aûge*, there is Gothic *auk* not to be forgotten . More important is the coincidence in formation of *kupre* 'if' with Greek *óphra* and Armenian *erb*.

Taken all in all, this evidence seems inadequate to support the thesis of any close relation to these speeches, which remain as before in some measure isolated.

(5) Correspondences with Slav and Baltic are also adduced. A *rake*, B *reki* 'word' correspond to Old Slav *recĭ*. *pik* 'write', Old Slav *písati* and Iranian *pis-*, 'write' are believed to be independent, and to be a cultural point of importance. B *laks* 'fish' has Slav and Lithuanian parallels but also the Old High German *lahs* 'salmon'. B *walke* 'of long duration' has a correspondent in Old Slav *velikŭ* 'great', *sark* 'disease' has Lithuanian *sergú*, but also Middle Irish *sarg* 'malady'; *pal* 'celebrate' is cognate to Lithuanian *bylà* 'voice' but ultimately also to Sanskrit *bhaṇ-*.

Here again the parallels are few, and far from unique in character, and affinity with Balto-Slav must be regarded as unproved.

It is difficult then to accept Benveniste's conclusions on the position of Tocharian. His view that connections with Italo-Celtic are remote is in accord with the view expressed by me in criticism of Pedersen's effort to group the I.E. dialects.[22] Connection with

22 *Indian Linguistics*, ii. 1-12.

Germanic is also slight, nor is it possible to ignore the great differences between Tocharian and Hittite already alluded to, to which may be added the feminine in Tocharian and the development of nominal forms. But any close connection either with the dialectical group of Balto-Slav or that of Greek-Thraco-Phrygian-Armenian seems wholly unproved by the evidence above set out, and the localisation of Tocharian so far as it is based on the linguistic evidence seems hazardous.

We may readily believe that Greeks, Thracians and Phrygians were once in close relations to the northern regions; no one doubts that the Greeks entered Greece from the north, probably the north-west. The Thracians are known to have been settled to the north of the Carpathians, stretching east to the mouth of the Don. The Slavs are usually held to have resided at one time in the Pripet basin north east of the Carpathians with the proto-Germans on their west. But to find a like habitat for the Tocharians rests on feeble evidence. The word for 'fish' corresponds with that for 'salmon' in Baltic, Slav, and Germanic, and the salmon is unknown to the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. The word for 'bee' is cognate to the term for 'hornet' in these speeches and Latin, adopted probably because of a tabu on the true name; its existence strongly suggests neighbourhood to Slavs, Balts and Germans, as bee-keepers, since the bee is relatively a new-comer to central Asia. The word for 'gold' again seems to go back to *was* as against *aus* of Baltic and Italic. We are reminded of the gold of Transylvania whence the Thraco-Phrygians obtained their ornaments[23] or the fabled riches of the Scythians in the Ural region.[24] Armenian *oski* may be another hint of a former unity. The word for 'salt' again reminds us of the wealth of salt at the mouth of the Dnieper known to Herodotos,[25], while Thracian

23 Herodotos, iv. 104.

24 Herodotos, i. 115; iv. 10, 71.

25 iv. 53.

place names often contain the element *sald-*. Between the Dnieper therefore and the Urals once dwelt the Proto-Tocharians, which accords with the lexical correspondences with Germanic on the one hand and Finnish on the other. This area was perhaps the Indo-European home, though earlier the Indo-Europeans may have lived further to the east in the Kirghis steppes, a view which I have elsewhere discussed.[26]

Ingenious as is this argument, it is right to hold that it is not made out in so far as it seeks to locate the Tocharians. The evidence, though of interest and not negligible, is too scanty to render the conclusion achieved of more than plausible character. The issue is wholly open to reconsideration. It is necessary to admit that so far as linguistic evidence goes there is no ground whatever on which we can assert with any reasonable assurance that the Tocharians ever lived in Europe or on its borders. Those who claim an Asiatic home for the Indo-Europeans are quite entitled to deny the cogency of the suggestion that we can find in the evidence above discussed any real proof of a western home. Tocharian is known at so late a date that it may easily have borrowed words from many sources and from long distances. The result reached is no doubt negative, but it is better to accept limitations of knowledge rather than adopt theories which rest on wholly inadequate evidence, and which may easily be replaced by other theories of the same unsubstantiated kind.

In the case of Hittite negation of its claim to independence is of importance, because, were the Indo-Hittite theory accepted, a wide reconstruction of Indo-European as at present understood would become necessary. We should, for example, be entitled to work out a new theory of ablaut which would differ considerably from the present doctrines, but which would take into account the vowel system of Hittite as something not to be treated as the mere dege-

26 *IHQ.*, xiii. 1-30.

neration of an Indo-European speech in conditions unfavourable to its maintenance in integrity. But the latter view seems to possess greater probability, and to render the making of a new hypothesis even more than normally speculative. It is also extremely doubtful whether the evidence of Hittite can effectively be used to impugn our present theory of a rather developed Indo-European speech. No doubt there is a widespread tendency at the present to suggest that the elaborate verbal system constructed, for Indo-European on the basis of comparison of Sanskrit and Greek is a late development, a doctrine popular with those who desire to establish the essentially I.E. character of Germanic as the speech of the Aryan people, progenitors of the National Socialists of contemporary Germany, as against the more natural conclusion from the consonantal shift in Germanic and its simplification of the verbal system that Germanic represents a speech of I.E. character as affected by its adoption by a people of alien blood.[27] Hittite, it may be said, supports the view that I.E. was originally much simpler than Greek or Sanskrit, but it must be noted that the vocabulary of Hittite suggests non-I.E. origin, and that, if this is so, it is fair to believe that a language, which could accept so largely a strange vocabulary, must have been liable to simplification in the mouths of people who must surely have been deeply influenced by non-Europeans and probably intermingled in blood.

A. Berriedale Keith.

27 Cf. Ammann, *Hirt-Festschrift*, ii. 341, A. Schmitt, *ibid*, ii. 343-62.

Naming a Child or a Person

Very elaborate rules are given in the Gṛhya-sūtras about naming a child. In this paper I propose to compare those rules with the practices deducible from the Vedic literature as also to discuss how persons were named in India from very ancient times.

In the *Ṛgveda* (VIII. 80. 9) we read[1] 'when you give us a fourth name connected with the (the performance of) a sacrifice we long for it, immediately afterwards you, our lord, take us (forward or towards glory)'. Here is a clear reference to the fact that the performer of a *yajña* took a name indicative of that fact and that was his fourth name. Sāyaṇa explains these four names thus: one derived from the nakṣatra (at birth), the second a secret name, the third a publicly known one and the fourth an epithet like Somayājī (due to one's having performed a *Soma* sacrifice). Later works like the *Vaikhānasasmārta-sūtra*[2] (III. 19) prescribe that a man may assume a name after consecration of the sacred fires (such as *Agnicit, Vājapeyakṛt* etc.). In *Ṛv.* X. 54. 4 also there appears to be a reference to four names (though Sāyaṇa here takes *nāma* as meaning *śarīra* or *karma*). *Ṛv.*[3] IX. 75. 2 has 'The son has a third name which is unknown to the parents and which is in the bright parts of the heaven.' This is a reference to the three names of a person, two being his ordinary name and his nakṣatra name and the third (which his parents could not foresee) was given for his performance of a sacrifice.[4] In the *Ṛv.*

1 तुरीयं नाम यज्ञियं यदाकरस्तदुश्मसि । आदित्पतिर्न ओहसे । ऋ. VIII. 80. 9.

2 अग्न्याधानात्परमाहिताग्न्यादि स्वकर्मान्तं प्रकाशं नाम भवेत् । वैखानसस्मार्तसूत्र III. 19.

3 दधाति पुत्रः पित्रोरपीच्यं नाम तृतीयमधि रोचने दिवः । ऋ. IX. 75. 2.

4 Vide बौधायनगृह्यशेषसूत्र I. 11. 4-8. नामास्मै दधाति नक्षत्रनामधेयेन । द्वितीयमस्य नामधेयं गुह्यमस्यान्यदभिवादनीयमोपनयनकालान्मातापितरौ संविदितौ भवतः । ...सोमयाजी तृतीयं नाम कुर्वीतेति विज्ञायते ॥

frequent reference is made to the secret name of a person. 'He does know that secret and concealed name given to these cows'[5] (*Ṛv.* IX. 87. 3). Similarly in *Ṛv.* X. 55. 1-2 there is a reference to a secret name (*guhyam nāma*). In the *Ś. Br.*, after recommending the consecration of fires (*agnyādhāna*) on the constellation of Falgunīs it is said that they are the nakṣatras presided over by Indra, that Arjuna is the secret name (*guhya-nāma*) of Indra and that the Falgunīs are called Arjunīs in an indirect (or esoteric) way. The *Bṛ. Up.* (VI. 4. 26) says that the father on the birth of his son bestows on him a name with the words 'thou art Veda' and that name becomes the boy's secret name.

In the *Tai. S.* (VI. 3. 1.) it is said[7] 'therefore a brāhmaṇa who has two names prospers (or is successful).' In another place the *Tai. S.* (I. 5. 10. 1) has 'Oh Fire Jātavedas, that first name which my father and mother bestowed on me aforetime, bear it until my return; Oh fire, I shall bear thy name.'[8] This verse occurs with several variations in other saṃhitās[9] and it is quoted in several sūtras also. In this way reverence was paid to the Āhavanīya fire by one who was about to go on a journey.

In the Vedic literature we come across some cases of three names for the same person. In *Ṛv.* V. 33. 8 we find 'Trasadasyu Paurukutsya Gairikṣita', the first being his ordinary name, the second a derivative from Purukutsa (his father's name) and the last

5 स चिद्विवेद निहितं यदासामपीच्यं गुह्यं नाम गोनाम्। ऋ. IX. 87. 3.

6 अर्जुनो ह वै नामेन्द्रो यदस्य गुह्यं नामार्जुन्यो वै नामैतास्ता एतत्परोक्षमाचक्षते फल्गुन्य इति। शतपथ II. 1. 2. 11.

7 तस्माद् द्विनामा ब्राह्मणोर्धुकः। तै. सं. VI. 3.1. This sentence is quoted in several Gṛhya sūtras.

8 मम नाम प्रथमं जातवेदः पिता माता च दधतुर्यदग्ने।
तत्त्वं बिभृहि पुनरा मदैतोस्तवाहं नाम बिभराण्यग्ने॥ तै० सं. I. 5. 10. 1.

9 E.g., the काठकसंहिता (VII. 3) reads '...दधतुर्न्वग्रे।
तत्त्वं गोपाया पुनर्ददै ते वयं बिभराम तव नाम॥'

derived from Girikṣita (a gotra). From *Ṛv.* VII. 33. 10-13 it seems to follow that Agastya was also called Māna and Maitrāvaruṇa (vide also I. 117. 11). In the *Ait. Br.* (40. 5) a king named Sutvan Kairiśi Bhārgāyaṇa is mentioned, where the second name is derived from his father's name and the third is a gotra name. In the same *Brāhmaṇa* (33.5) Śunaḥśepa Ājīgarti (son of Ajīgarta) is addressed as Āṅgirasa (a gotra name). Hariścandra (a king) is spoken of (in *Ait. Br.* 33. 1) as Vaidhasa (son of Vedhas) and Aikṣvāka (born in Ikṣvāku's family). In the *Tāṇḍya Br.* (XIII. 3. 12) we hear of a king Tyaruṇa Traidhātva (son of Tridhātu) Aikṣvāka (descendant of Ikṣvāku). In the *Śatapatha* (XIII. 5. 4. 1.) Indrota Daivāpa (son of Devāpi) Śaunaka is said to have been the priest of Janamejaya at the latter's horse sacrifice. In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (V. 3. 1 and 7) Śvetaketu Āruṇeya (son of Āruṇi and grandson of Aruṇa) is styled Gautama. In the same Upaniṣad both Indradyumna Bhāllaveya and Buḍila Āśvatarāśvi are addressed as Vaiyāghrapadya (a gotra name) by king Aśvapati Kaikeya (*Chā.* V. 14. 1 and V. 16. 1.). In the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* (I. 1. 1) Naciketas is said to be Vājaśravasa's son and in I. 1. 11 his father's name is given as Auddālaki Āruṇi and Naciketas himself is addressed by Yama as Gautama (a gotra name) in II. 5. 6. This practice of giving three names is in accordance with the recommendation of the *Śatapatha Br.* (VI. 1. 3. 9) 'therefore when a son is born (the father) should bestow on him a name, thereby he (the father) drives away the evil (pāpman) that might attach to the boy; (the father gives) even a second, even a third (name)'.[10] The same *Brāhmaṇa* has in another place 'therefore a brāhmaṇa when he does not prosper should give to himself a second name; he who knowing thus bestows upon himself a second

10 तस्मात्पुत्रस्य जातस्य नाम कुर्यात्पाप्मानमेवास्य तदपहन्त्यपि द्वितीयमपि तृतीयम्। शतपथ VI. 1. 3. 9.

name does indeed prosper (or succeed)'.[11] In the *Drāhyāyaṇa Śrauta sūtra* (I. 3. 9) reference is made to the fact that a *Yajamāna* (sacrificer) may have three names and that they were all to be recited at certain rites.[12]

Usually however a person is referred to in Vedic literature by two names. Sometimes a person is mentioned by his own name and a gotra name e.g. we have Medhyātithi Kāṇva (*Ṛv.* VIII. 2. 40), Hiraṇyastūpa Āṅgirasa (*Ṛv.* X. 149. 5), Vatsaprī Bhālandana (*Tai. S.* V. 2. 1. 6), Bālāki Gārgya (*Bṛ. Up.* II. 1. 1), Baka Dālbhya (*Chā. Up.* I. 2. 13), Cyavana Bhārgava (*Ait. Br.* 39. 7), Kabandhī Kātyāyana (*Praśna Up.* I. 1.), Patañcala Kāpya (*Br. Up.* III. 7. 1). In other cases a person is referred to by his name and another derived from a country or locality e.g. Kaśu Caidya (*Ṛv.* VIII. 5. 37), Bhīma Vaidarbha (*Ait. Br.* 35. 8), Durmukha Pāñcāla (*Ait. Br.* 39. 23) Janaka Vaideha (*Br. Up.* III, 1. 1), Ajātaśatru Kāśya (*Br. Up.* II. 1. 1.), Bhārgava Vaidarbhi (*Praśna* I. 1), Hiraṇyanābha Kauśalya (*Praśna* VI. 1). In some cases a matronymic is added to a person's name e.g. we have Dīrghatamā Māmateya (son of Mamatā, in *Ṛv.* I. 158. 6), Kutsa Ārjuneya (son of Arjunī, in *Ṛv.* IV. 26. 1, VII. 19. 2, VIII. 1. 11), Kakṣīvat Auśija (son of Uśik, in *Ṛv.* I. 18. 1 and *Vāj. S.* III. 28), Prahlāda Kāyādhava (son of Kayādhū, in *Tai. Br.* I. 5. 10. 7), Mahidāsa Aitareya (son of Itarā, in *Chā.* III. 16. 7). This practice of mentioning a man by his mother's own name or her gotra name (derived from her father's gotra) was continued till later times, as will be shown hereafter. In the *vaṃśa*

11 तस्माद् ब्राह्मणोऽनृच्यमाने द्वितीयं नाम कुर्वीत राध्नोति हैव य एवं विद्वान् द्वितीयं नाम कुरुते । शतपथ III. 6. 2. 24.

12 प्रत्येकं गृह्णीयाद्यजमाननामधेयानि यानि स्युः । द्राह्यायणश्रौत I. 3. 9, on which one interpretation in the *Dhanvibhāṣya* is that they are अभिवादनीय, व्यावहारिक and नक्षत्रनाम ।

added at the end of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad,* we have about forty names of sages that are matronymic.

The most usual method of referring to a person even in the *Ṛgveda* is to give his name along with another epithet derived from his father's name. A few examples may be given. Ambarīṣa, Ṛjrāśva, Sahadeva and Surādhas are all called Vārṣāgira (sons of Vṛṣāgir, *Ṛv.* I. 100. 17). King Sudās is called Paijavana (son of Pijavana) and in the same verse he is said to have been the grandson (naptṛ) of Devavat (*Ṛv.* VII. 18. 22). We have in the *Ṛgveda* itself such names as Trita Vaibhūvasa (son of Vibhūvas *Ṛv.* X. 46. 3), Trita Āptya (*Ṛv.* VIII. 12. 16), Dadhyaṅ Ātharvaṇa (*Ṛv.* I. 116. 12), Purumīḷha Vaidadaśvi (*Ṛv.* V. 61. 10), Pṛthuśravas Kānīta (son of Kanīta, *Ṛv.* VIII. 21. 24), Devāpi Ārṣṭiṣeṇa (son of Ṛṣṭiṣeṇa, *Ṛv.* X. 98. 5, 6 and 8), Trasadasyu Paurukutsi or Paurukutsya (son of Purukutsa, *Ṛv.* VII. 19. 3 and VIII. 19. 36), Ṛjiśvan Vaidathina (son of Vidathin, *Ṛv.* IV. 16. 13), Sṛñjaya Daivavāta (*Ṛv.* IV. 15. 4), Somaka Sāhadevya (*Ṛv.* IV. 15. 9). A few examples from other Vedic works may also be cited; Śaṃyu Bārhaspatya (*Tai. S.* II. 6. 10), Vasiṣṭha Sātyahavya (*Tai. S.* VI. 6. 2. 2-3 and *Ait. Br.* 40. 1), Bhṛgu Vāruṇi (*Ait. Br.* 13. 10 and *Tai. Up.* III. 1), Bharata Dauṣsanti (*Śatapatha* XIII. 5. 4. 11, *Ait. Br.* 39. 9), Kavaṣa Ailūṣa (*Ait. Br.* VIII. 1), Nābhānediṣṭha Mānava (*Ait. Br.* 22. 9), Brahmadatta Caikitāneya (son of Caikitāna and grandson of Cikitāna, *Br. Up.* I. 3. 24), Satyakāma Śaibya (*Praśna Up.* I. 1).

We find that sometimes the same speaker is referred to by his own name, sometimes by his gotra name and sometimes by a name which is patronymic. For example, Naciketas is addressed as Naciketas (in *Kaṭha Up.* I. 1. 19, 21, 24, I. 2. 3 etc.) and sometimes as Gautama (II. 4. 15, II. 5. 6). Śvetaketu Āruṇeya is throughout addressed as Gautama by Pravāhaṇa Jaivali (*Chā.* V. 3ff.).

In some of the Gṛhyasūtras the ceremony of giving a name to the child is included in the Jātakarma rite following apparently the

passage of the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* quoted above (note 10). For example the *Āśvalāyana Gṛ. S.* (I. 13 Trivandrum ed.)[13] says 'when a son has been born (the father) should, before other people touch him, give him to eat from a golden vessel clarified butter and honey in which gold has been rubbed . . . . And let (them) give the son a name beginning with a sonant, with a semivowel in it, with a *visarga* at its end, consisting of two syllables or four syllables; of two syllables if he is desirous of firm position, of four syllables if he is desirous of spiritual glory; but in every case with an even number of letters for men, an uneven for women. And let (the father) thoughtfully find out (for the son) a name to be used at respectful salutation (at the time of Upanayana); that (name) his mother and father alone should know till his Upanayana'. This shows that the boy was to have a public name (*vyāvahārika*) and an *abhivādanīya* name, which was to be kept secret by his parents and to be used at the time of respectfully bowing to his teacher at the Upanayana. Even now boys at the time of Upanayana have a name communicated to them which they are to keep secret. The *Āpastamba-gṛhya-sūtra*[14] similarly prescribes that on the birth of a son the father indicates the

13 कुमारं जातं पुरान्यैरालम्भात् सर्पिर्मधुनी हिरण्यनिकाषं हिरण्येन प्राशयेत् ।...नाम चास्मै दद्युः । घोषवदाद्यन्तरन्तःस्थमभिनिष्ठानान्तं द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा । द्व्यक्षरं प्रतिष्ठाकामश्चतुरक्षरं ब्रह्मवर्चसकामः । युग्मानि त्वेव पुंसाम् । अभिवादनीयं च समीक्षेत तन्मातापितरौ विद्यातामोपनयनात् । आश्व० गृ० सू० I 13. 1 and I. 13. 4-9. Sonants (ghoṣa) are the 3rd, 4th, 5th letters of the five classes from कवर्ग to पवर्ग, य, र, ल, व and ह. पाणिनि (VIII. 3. 86) derives अभिनिष्ठान.

14 जातं वात्सप्रेणाभिमृश्य...जापः । नक्षत्रनाम च निर्दिशति । तद्रहस्यं भवति ।... दशम्यामुत्थितायां स्नातायां पुत्रस्य नाम दधाति पिता मातेति । द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा नामपूर्वमाख्यातोत्तरं दीर्घाभिनिष्ठानान्तं घोषववदाद्यन्तरन्तःस्थम् । अपि वा यस्मिन्स्वित्युपसर्गः स्यात्तद्धि प्रतिष्ठितमिति ब्राह्मणम् । अयुजाक्षरं कुमार्याः । आप० गृ० VI. 15. 1-3 and 8-11. Such names with two or four syllables would be गोप्रीः, हिरण्यदाः, द्रविणोदाः, सुदर्शनः ।

nakṣatra name which is kept secret and that 'on the 10th day after the mother has risen (from the lying-in chamber) and bathed, the father and the mother give a name to the son, which is of two syllables or four syllables, the first part being a noun, the latter part a verb; it should have a long vowel in the middle, or it should contain the *upasarga* 'su', since such a name has a firm basis; thus it is said in a Brāhmaṇa. A girl's name should have an odd number of syllables.' The *Gobhila-gṛhyasūtra*[15] also prescribes the giving of a secret name at the time of Jātakarma and says that the Nāmakaraṇa is to be performed after the passing of ten nights, a hundred nights or a year from birth.[16] It then prescribes that the name to be given on that day must be a word ending in a *kṛt* termination and must not be *taddhita*, the other requirements are the same except that the names of girls were to end in the syllable 'dā'. The *Gobhilagṛhya*[17] (II. 10. 22-25) says that in the Upanayana rite the teacher asks the student what his name is and adds 'the teacher settles for him a name which he is to employ when bowing at the feet of his teacher, (a name) derived from a deity or a nakṣatra or also from his gotra, according to some teachers'. We know from the story of Satyakāma Jābāla that his teacher asked him what his gotra was (*Chāndogya* IV. 4. 4). It will be noted that in the *Chāndogya* (V. 14. 1, V. 16. 1, V. 17. 1 etc.), *Bṛ. Up.* (III. 7, 2), *Kauṣitaki Up.* (1. 17) when a person approaches another for knowledge, the latter very frequently addresses him by his gotra name such

15 पुमानयं जनिष्यतेऽसौ नामेति नामधेयं गृह्णाति । यत्तद् गुह्यमेव भवति । गोभिलीय गृह्य II. 7. 15-16.

16 जननाद्दशरात्रे व्युष्टे शतरात्रे संवत्सरे वा नामधेयकरणम् । आहस्पत्यं मासं प्रविशासाविति नन्ते च मन्त्रस्य घोषवदा...निष्ठानान्तं कृतं नाम दध्यात् । एतदतद्धितम् । अयुग्दान्तं स्त्रीणाम् । गोभिलीय II 8. 8. and 14-16.

17 को नामासीति नामधेयं पृच्छति तस्याचार्यः । अभिवादनीयं नाम कल्पयित्वा देवताश्रयं नक्षत्राश्रयं वा । गोत्राश्रयमप्येके । गोभिलीयगृह्य II. 10. 21-25.

as Vaiyaghrapadya, Gautama etc. The *Śāṅkhāyana gṛhya-sutra*[18] (I. 24) first prescribes the giving of a name at the time of Jātakarma almost in the same words as the *Gobhilagṛhya* (but adds that the name may be of six syllables also) and proceeds 'that name only his father and his mother should know. On the tenth day a name be given common use which is pleasing to the brāhmaṇas'. The *Khādira gṛhya*[19] (II. 2. 30-31, II. 3. 6 and 10-12) prescribes the giving of a secret name immediately on birth, of another name after ten nights, a hundred nights or a year from birth, but adds no further details. The *Khādira gṛhya*[20] (II. 4. 12) further lays down that in the Upanayana rites "the student who has been asked by the teacher 'what is thy name' should declare a name derived from (the name of) a deity or a nakṣatra, which he is to use while bowing to his teacher with the words 'I am so and so'". This follows the custom which is referred to even in the *Br. Up.* (I. 4. 1), "Therefore even when a person is called he first says 'here am I' and then pronounces his name whatever it may be." The *Hiraṇyakeśigṛhya-sūtra* (II. 4. 10-15) is silent about giving a name in Jātakarma and prescribes that on the twelfth day after the birth of a child a name is to be given to a child (and the details are the same as in *Āpastambagṛhya*) and adds "let the father and the mother pronounce that name first. For it is understood 'my name first O Jātavedas' (*vide* note 8). He should give him two names. For it is known 'therefore a brāhmaṇa who

18 अथ जातकर्म ।...असाविति नामास्य दधाति घोषव.....चतुरक्षरं वापि वा षडक्षरं कृतं कुर्यान्न तद्धितम् । तदस्य पिता माता च विद्याताम् । दशम्यां व्यावहारिकं ब्राह्मणजुष्टम् । शाङ्खायन (कौषीतकि) गृह्य I. 24.

19 असाविति नाम दध्यात् । तद्गुह्यम् । खादिरगृह्य II. 2. 31-32. The com. adds नामापरिज्ञाने अभिचाराद्यसिद्धिः फलम् ।

20 को नामासीत्युक्तो देवताश्रयं नक्षत्राश्रयं वाभिवादनीयं नाम ब्रूयादसावस्मीति । खादिरगृह्य II. 4. 12; the com. रुद्रस्कन्द exemplifies the names derived from नक्षत्रs (such as कार्त्तिकेय, रौहिणेय, चैत्र) and the names derived from deities presiding over नक्षत्रs (such as आश्विन, याम्य, आग्नेय, मैत्र).

has two names has success' (note 7). The second name should be a nakṣatra name. The one name should be secret; by the other they should call him. He gets a third name; thus it is known (from the Vedas)".[21] The *Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhya* tells us that in the Upanayana rite the teacher asks the student his name and the student pronounces his name with the word 'This' and with the words 'Hail, O Savitṛ etc.' he mentions two names (I. 5. 4-6).[22] The commentator explains that these two are his vyāvahārika name and his nakṣatra name. The *Bhāradvāja-gṛhya* I. 26 (ed. by Salomons) speaks of giving a name only in Nāmakaraṇa and closely follows the *Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhya*. The *Pāraskaragṛhyasūtra* (I. 17) speaks of giving a name only on the tenth day after birth, specifies the details as in *Gobhila-gṛhya* (II. 8. 14) and adds "with an uneven number of syllables ending in 'ā', with a Taddhita suffix, in the case of a girl. The name of a brāhmaṇa (should end in) *śarman,*[23] that of a Kṣatriya in *varman,* that of a Vaiśya in *gupta.*" It will be noticed that here for the first time we come across the words śarman, varman and gupta added at the end of the names of individuals respectively belonging to the three varṇas. The *Mānavagṛhyasūtra*[24] (I. 18. 1-2) says "on the tenth night (after birth) he (the father) should give

21 पुत्रस्य नाम दध्यात्। द्व्यक्षरं...प्रतिष्ठितमिति विज्ञायते। पिता मातेत्यग्रे अभिव्याहरेयाताम्। विज्ञायते च मम नाम प्रथमं जातवेद इति। द्वे नामनी कुर्यात्। विज्ञायते च तस्माद् द्विनामा ब्राह्मणोर्धुक इति। नक्षत्रनाम द्वितीयं स्यादन्यतरद्गुह्यं स्यात्। अन्यतरेणैनमामन्त्रयीरन्। सोमयाजी तृतीयं नाम कुर्वीतेति विज्ञायते। हिरण्यकेशिगृह्य II. 4. 10-15.

22 तं पृच्छति को नामासीति। असौ इत्याचष्टे यथानामा भवति। स्वस्ति देव सवितरहमनेनामुनोदचमशीय इति नामनी गृह्णाति। हिरण्यकेशिगृह्य I. 5. 3-6.

23 दशम्यामुत्थाप्य.....पिता नाम करोति द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा घोष...भिनिष्क्रानं कृतं कुर्यात्र तद्धितम्। शर्म ब्राह्मणस्य वर्म क्षत्रियस्य गुप्तेति वैश्यस्य। पारस्करगृह्य I. 17.

24 दशम्यां रात्र्यां पुत्रस्य नाम दध्यात्। घोषव...स्थं द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा। व्यक्षरं दान्तं कुमारीणाम्। तेनाभिवादयितुं त्यक्त्वा पितुर्नामधेयम्। यशस्यं नामधेयं देवताश्रयं नक्षत्राश्रय देवतायाश्च प्रत्यक्षं प्रतिषिद्धम्। मानवगृह्य I. 18. 1-2.

a name to the son, which should have a sonant at the beginning and a semi-vowel in the middle, a name of two syllables or four: (the names) of girls should have three syllables and end in '*dā*,' in order that he may bow at the feet (of his teacher), (a name should be given) avoiding the father's (own) name; a name derived from a deity or nakṣatra tends to fame; but it is forbidden to give the name of a deity directly" (i.e. one may be called Rudradatta but not Rudra). The *Vārāhagṛhya*[25] after stating the usual rules about the names of males on the 10th day after birth adds "the father's name should be avoided, or the son should have a name derived from a nakṣatra or a deity or (any other) desirable one; but a brāhmaṇa should have two names; in this way the name of a girl should end in 'ā' and should have an 'a' intercepted, should have an odd number of syllables, and should not be the name of a river, a nakṣatra, the moon, the sun, the god Pūṣan, or it should not be a name ending in 'dattā' or 'rakṣitā' preceded by the name of a god". Manu also recommends that one should not marry a girl who bears a name which is the name of a nakṣatra, a tree, a river (III.9). The same gṛhyasūtra (5) refers to the abhivādanīya name in Upanayana. The *Baudhāyana gṛhyasūtra*[26] (II. 1. 23-31) refers only to the giving of a name on the 10th or 12th day after birth, gives almost the same details as to the letters of the name (but allows even six or eight syllables) as in *Āp. Gṛ.* and adds 'the name should show that the child is a descendant of a ṛṣi or connected with a deity or he should have one out of the names of the father's ancestors'. The *Baudhāyanīya Gṛhyaśesa-*

25 एवमेव दशम्यां कृत्वा पिता माता च पुत्रस्य नाम दध्याताम्। घोष...ष्टानान्तं कृतं न तद्धितं द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा त्र्यक्षपितृनामधेयान्नक्षत्रदेवतेष्टनामानो वा। द्विनामा तु ब्राह्मणो नामैवं कन्याया अकारव्यवधानमाकारान्तमयुग्माक्षरं नदीनक्षत्रचन्द्रसूर्यपूषादेवदत्तरक्षितावर्जम्। वाराहगृह्य 2.

26 नामास्मै दधाति।...षडक्षरमष्टाक्षरं वा।...प्रतिष्ठितमिति विज्ञायते। ऋष्यनूकं देवतानूकं वा। यथैवैषां पूर्वपुरुषाणां नामानि स्युः। अयुगक्षरं कुमार्याः। अमुष्मै स्वस्तीति। बौ. गृ II. 1. 24-31.

sūtra[27] (I. 11. 4-18) gives more details about Nāmakaraṇa on the 10th or 12th day after birth. It says "he bestows on the boy a name by means of a nakṣatra name, he has another and a second name which is used at the time of bowing down (abhivādanīya), which only his father and mother are acquainted with till (the boy's) upanayana. ..... It is known that one who performs a Soma sacrifice should take a third name. To a girl (one should give) a name consisting of an odd number of syllables and ending in a long vowel as Śrī, Somyā. They also recite:—the name of a brāhmaṇa should end in śarman, of a Kṣatriya in 'varman', of a Vaiśya in 'gupta' and of a 'Śūdra' in 'bhṛtya' or 'dāsa' or it may only end in 'dāsa'..... In the case of the nakṣatras Rohiṇī, Mṛgaśīrṣa, Maghā, Citrā, Jyeṣṭhā, Śravaṇa, Śatabhiṣak, Revatī and Aśvayuk, the first vowel undergoes 'Vṛddhi'; and the name Rauhiṇa is given after the the nakṣatra Rohiṇī; others also (are similarly formed). In the case of Tiṣya, Aśleṣā, Hasta, Viśākhā, Anurādhā, Asāḍā, Śraviṣṭhā the name is the same as the original (nakṣatra) as in Tiṣya (from Tiṣya); the ohers (also yield the same names). In Phalgunī the name of Phālguna" (results), etc. Saṅkha-Likhita as quoted in Aparārka prescribes Nāmakaraṇa on the tenth day after birth and add '(the father) or some other elder in the family should bestow on males a name containing four or two syllables having a sonant at the beginning and a semi-vowel in the middle, in the case of girls (a name) ending in 'ī'; if a name is bestowed in this way the family becomes pure.'[28]

27 Vide note 4 above for a portion. 'अयुगक्षरं कुमार्यै स्वस्तिश्रीसोम्येति दीर्घवर्णान्तम्। अथाप्युदाहरन्ति—शर्मान्तं ब्राह्मणस्य वर्मान्तं क्षत्रियस्य गुप्तान्तं वैश्यस्य भृत्यदासान्तं शूद्रस्य दासान्तमेव वा। अथ नक्षत्राणि रोहिणीमृगशीर्षमघाचित्राज्येष्ठाश्रवणशतभिषग्रेवत्याश्वयुक्तु प्रथमाक्षरवृद्धिः स्याद्रौहिण्यां रौहिणायेति। तथेतराणि। तिष्याश्लेषाहस्तविशाखानुराधाषाढाश्रविष्ठासु प्रकृतिवत्तिष्यायेति। तथेतराणि। फल्गुन्यां फाल्गुनायेति। बौ. गृ. शेषसूत्र I. 11. 9-18.

28 'अन्यो वा कुलवृद्धश्चतुरक्षरं द्व्यक्षरं घोष...न्तःस्थं पुंसामीकारान्तं स्त्रीणामेवं कृते नाम्नि शुचि तत्कुलं भवति। अपरार्क p. 27.

The Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya 1.12 quotes a passage of Śaṅkha that the father should give a name connected with the family deity. Baijavāpa[29] as quoted by Aparārka says 'the father gives a name containing one, two, three, four syllables or more without any restriction, which (name) has a kṛt (termination) and is not a Taddhita; for a girl he gives (a name) ending in 'ī'." The *Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra*[30] (III. 19) after prescribing a name of two or four syllables ending in a long vowel or a past participle ending in 'ta' and having a sonant etc. proceeds '(he should give) two names (of which) the nakṣatra name is the secret one; after a man consecrates the solemn Vedic fires he gets a public name (prakāśa) such as 'āhitāgni' ending in the solemn rite he may have performed.' The same sūtra (1.7) shows that in Puṇyāhavācana when requesting the brāhmaṇas to pronounce puṇyāha the man's nakṣatra name, gotra name, his father's name, a matronymic name and his own name should be repeated. Some of the gṛhyasūtras speak of a name derived from a nakṣatra. In the whole of the Vedic literature hundreds of names occur, but there is hardly any name of a teacher or well-known person derived directly from a nakṣatra. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (VI. 2. 1. 37) we are told of a person called Āṣāḍhi Sauśromateya (son of Aṣāḍha and Suśromatā) for whom the heads of unconsecrated animals were put and who on account of that mistake quickly perished. Here the name Āṣāḍhi is probably connected with the nakṣatra Aṣāḍhā. It appears therefore that in ancient times the Nakṣatra name was a secret name and so we do

29 वैजवापः। पिता नाम करोत्येकाक्षरं द्व्यक्षरं त्र्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरमपरिमितं वा कृतं कुर्यान्न तद्धितम्। ईकारान्तं स्त्रियै। अपरार्क p. 27.

30 अथ नामकरणमाचत्वारिंशाद्दिवसात्.....। दीर्घान्तमभिनिष्ठानान्तं घोषवदाद्यन्तरं द्विप्रतिष्ठितान्तस्थं मृष्टाक्षरपदस्वरं द्विवर्णं चतुर्वर्णं वा नाम शस्यते यथोक्तं मम नाम प्रथममिति गोत्रनामयुक्तं तदर्हं नाम कुर्यात्। द्वे नामनी तु नक्षत्रनाम रहस्यमग्न्याधानात् परमाहिताग्न्यादि स्वकर्मान्तं प्रकाशं नाम भवेत्। वैखानसस्मार्तसूत्र III. 19. The printed text is rather corrupt.

not find it mentioned in most of the Vedic texts. Gradually however names derived from nakṣatras became very common and ceased to be used as secret names. We find that for several centuries preceding the Christian era, names derived from nakṣatras were very prominent. Pāṇini (who cannot be placed later than 320 B.C. and may be several centuries earlier still) gives some elaborate rules about names derived from nakṣatras. He says (IV. 3. 34) that names of males (and females also) are derived from Śraviṣṭhā, Phalgunī, Anurādhā, Svāti, Tiṣya, Punarvasu, Hasta, Aṣāḍhā, and Bahulā (i.e. Kṛttikā) without adding any termination in the sense of 'born on'. Examples would be Śraviṣṭhaḥ, Phalgunaḥ etc. In another rule (IV. 3. 36) he states that in forming names from Abhijit, Aśvayuk and Śatabhiṣak, the termination is optionally dropped, e.g., we shall have Śatabhiṣak, Śātabhiṣajaḥ and Śatabhiṣaḥ. By VII. 3. 18 he says the name Proṣṭhapādaḥ is derived from Proṣṭhapada. He states (in IV. 3. 37) that terminations are frequently dropped when names are formed from nakṣatras; e.g. we have both Rauhiṇaḥ and Rohiṇaḥ from Rohiṇī. In the Junāgaḍh Inscription of Rudradāman (150 A.D.), we are told that the brother-in-law of Maurya Candragupta was a Vaiśya named Puṣyagupta (*EI.*, vol. VIII, p. 43). This is a name derived from the nakṣatra Puṣya and used in the 4th century B.C. We know that the founder of the Suṅga dynasty was Senāpati Puṣyamitra (*EI.*, vol. XX, p. 54). The *Mālavikāgnimitra* also mentions him and so does Patañjali on Pāṇini III. 2. 123. His name also is derived from Puṣya. This is not the place to go into the interesting question of the formation of Buddhist names. But a few examples of Buddhist names derived from nakṣatras will be interesting. We have the well-known name of Moggaliputta Tissa (from Tiṣya) in which a gotra name and nakṣatra name are both combined. A parivrājaka Poṭṭhapāda (Proṣṭhapāda) occurs in *Dīgha* I. p. 187 and III. p. 1. In the Sāñci Inscriptions of the 3rd century B.C. (*E.I.*, vol. II, p. 95) we have

such names as Asāḍa (from Aṣāḍhā), Phaguna (from Phalgunī), Svātiguta (Svātigupta), Pusarakhita (Puṣyarakṣita). In the Karle Inscription there is Sātimita (Svātimitra) from Sopara (*E.I.*, vol. VII, p.54) and a nun Asāḍhamitā (p. 56): In the Sarnāth Inscription of Kāniṣka's time there is a Bhikṣu called Puṣyavṛddhi. In the Palitana Plate of Dhruvasena I dated (Valabhi) Saṃvat 210 (about 529 A.D.) there is a brāhmaṇa named Viśākha. In the plates of Śivarāja dated (Gupta Saṃvat) 283 (i.e. 602-3 A.D.) we find such names as Puṣyasvāmī, Rohiṇīsvāmī, Jyeṣṭhasvāmī and Revatisvāmī (*EI.*, vol. IX, p. 288). The Ājñapti of Cārudevī, queen of Pallava Vijayabuddha-Varman was Rohiṇīgupta (*E.I.*, vol. VIII, p. 146). It is not necessary to adduce more examples.

Another rule stated about Abhivādanīya names was that they should be derived from deities. From the times of the *Tai. S.* (IV. 4. 10. 1-3) different presiding deities had been assigned to the nakṣatras from Kṛttikā (such as Agni, Prajāpati, Soma, Rudra etc. for Kṛttikā, Rohiṇī, Mṛgaśirṣa, Ārdrā etc.). When it was said that the name should be derived from a deity, what was understood according to the commentators was a name derived from the presiding deity of the nakṣatra on which a man was born (e.g. Āgneya for one who was born on Kṛttikā). In modern times we find people named after the names of deities (e.g. such as Viṣṇu, Śiva, Śaṅkara etc.). But ancient works do not show that that was the usage then. In the Vedic literature we hardly find any individual name which is the same as the names of the Vedic gods, Mitra, Indra, Pūśan, etc. We no doubt find from the *Tai. Up.* III. 1. that Bhṛgu learnt Bhārgavī Vāruṇī vidyā from his father who was named Varuṇa. But this is a solitary instance. So also we have such names as Indrota (protected by Indra) and Indradyumna (both cited above); but we have in the Vedic literature no human being who is named Indra. In the *Praśna Up.* (I. 1.) there is a Sauryāyaṇī Gārgya, whose first name is derived from Sūrya. Gṛhyasūtras like the Mānava (note

24) prohibited the giving of the names of deities to human beings directly. When the practice of giving the names of gods to human beings arose it is difficult to say. It is clear however that it could not have been much earlier than the first few centuries of the Christian era. We have historic examples from the 5th century onwards where persons bore the same names as gods; e.g. in the Eran stone pillar inscription of Budhagupta of Gupta Saṃvat 165 (484-5 A.D.) there is a brāhmaṇa Indraviṣṇu, son of Varuṇa-Viṣṇu, son of Hari-Viṣṇu.

There is also another way of deriving names from Nakṣatras. In some of the mediæval Jyotiṣa works, each of the 27 nakṣatras is divided into four pādas and to each pāda of a nakṣatra a specific letter is assigned (e.g. cū, ce, co, and lā for the four *pādas* of Aśvinī) from which a person born in a particular pāda of Aśvini was called either Cūdāmaṇi, Cediśa, Coleśa, Lakṣmaṇa. Even so late a work as the *Dharmasindhu* (1790 A.D.) disapproves of such names, as not warranted by Śruti. These names are called nakṣatra-nāma; they are secret and muttered into the ear of the brahmacārī at his Upanayana even now.

Manu omits all these elaborate rules about giving a name in the case of males, makes no reference to the nakṣatra name or abhivādanīya name given to a boy, but gives two simple rules (II. 31-32) viz. that the name of a brāhmaṇa should be indicative of maṅgala, of a Kṣatriya strength, of a Vaiśya wealth and of Śudra lowness (or contempt) and that to the name of a brāhmaṇa an upapada (addition) should be joined indicating śarman (happiness or blessing), of a king an upapada connected with protection, of a vaiśya indicating prosperity and of a śūdra indicating dependence or service. We find that the Gṛhyasūtras (except *Pāraskaragṛhya*) are silent about these upapadas added after the names of individuals of the four varṇas. Therefore it may be inferred that this practice had come into vogue only sometime before the extant Manu and long after the older

gṛhya-sutras. Even among the Buddhists we find names ending in Śarman: e.g. in the Amarāvati Buddhist sculptures the word 'Mugudasamaputasa' (Mukundaśarma-putrasya) occurs (*Arch. S. of S. I.*, vol. I, p. 103). The rule of Manu was not universally observed but there were frequent breaches. In the Udayagiri cave inscription of Candragupta II dated (Gupta Saṃvat) 82 (401-2 A.D.) there is a Mahārāja Viṣṇudāsa (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 21). In *EI.*, vol. X, p. 71 (of 436 A.D.) we have a Viṣṇupālitabhaṭṭa (a Brāhmaṇa whose name ends in Pālita as that of a Vaiśya should). We find that 'Vadhana' (Vardhana) is added to the names of Śaka kings (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, p. 16). Brāhmaṇa names ending in bhūti (which should be the upapada of Vaiśyas) and dāsa are found in *EI.*, vol. XIX, pp. 248-49. In the Sabhāparva (30. 13) both Śarmakas and Varmakas are described as Kṣatriya tribes. On the other hand in the Talguṇḍa Inscription of the Kadamba King Kākustha-varman (*EI.*, vol. VIII, p. 24) we find that the original founder of the family was a brāhmaṇa Mayūra-śarman, while his son and great-grandson who had become kings had 'varman' affixed to their names (viz. Kaṅgavarman and Kākusthavarman).

A few words may be said about matronymics. In the first place they are not at all so many nor so frequent as the other names. They were probably mentioned to show the high or pure descent of the persons so described on their mother's sides also. Vaśiṣṭha (III. 19) in enumerating those who are *paṅktipāvanas* mentions one whose ten ancestors in the father's and mother's families were śrotriyas. Similarly Yājñavalkya (I. 54) lays down that the wife should be selected from a big family of *śrotriyas* who have been famous for ten generations. In the Nasik Inscription No. 2 (*EI.*, vol. VIII, p. 60) Siri Puḷumāyi is described as Vāsiṭhīputa. Similarly the Ābhīra King Īśvarasena is described as Māḍharīputra (*EI.*, vol. VIII, p. 88). Here the mother's gotra names are probably

specially emphasized to show that though the paternal side may not be of the bluest Aryan blood, the mothers were of the best Aryan families. In the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Inscription (*EI.*, vol. XX, p. 6) Siri Virapurisa is said to be Mādharīputa and his father Siri Chāntamūla is said to be Vāsiṭhīputa. We find comparatively late writers describing the gotra of their mother's family; e.g. Bhavabhūti says that he was a Kāśyapa while his mother was a Jātūkarṇī. We learn from a kārikā in the *Mahābhāṣya* that the great grammarian Pāṇini was styled Dākṣīputra.[31]

In some of the later smṛtis names derived from the presiding deities of the twelve months of the year are prescribed. The *Laghu-Āśvalāyana smṛti* (published by the Ānandāśrama Press, Poona) prescribes (VI. 2-3) three names, one derived from the pāda of the nakṣatra on which one is born and so called 'Janmanāma', another called Saṃvyāvahārika (i.e. in ordinary use) which may be the same as the child's paternal grandfather's and a third name derived from the presiding deities of the months beginning with Mārgaśīrṣa. The *Śaunaka Kārikās* (ms. in the Bombay University Library) quotes Garga to the effect that a name derived from the month of birth should be given and says that Kṛṣṇa, Ananta, Acyuta, Cakrī, Vaikuṇṭha, Janārdana, Upendra, Yajñapuruṣa, Vāsudeva, Hari, Yogīśa, Puṇḍarīkākṣa, are respectively the names of the twelve months (*Cāndra*) of the year (from Mārgaśīrṣa). The *Nirṇayasindhu* quotes this verse and says that according to the *Madanaratna* these names are meant for months beginning with Mārgaśīrṣa or Caitra. These names are being given to this day in various parts but not necessarily in accordance with the month of birth.

31 सर्वे सर्वपदादेशा दाक्षीपुत्रस्य पाणिनेः । महाभाष्य on पाणिनि I. 1. 20 (vol. I, p. 75). Pāṇini is also called शालातुरीय । Vide भामह's काव्यालंकार VI 62, 'शालातुरीयमतमेतदनुक्रमेण' and the Nogawa plate of ध्रुवसेन II (Gupta 320 i.e. 649-50 A.D.) where the name occurs राज्यसालातुरीयतन्त्रयोरुभयोरपि निष्णातः (*E.I.*, vol. VIII at p. 192) पाणिनि (IV. 3. 94) derives the word.

Résumé

The above discussion may be summarised thus:

(1) In the times of the *Ṛgveda* and *Tai. S.* usually two names were given to a person, one of which was a secret name (vide note 7 above); but the *Ṛgveda* was not unacquainted with even three or four names for a person (vide notes 1 and 3).

(2) Throughout the Vedic literature, the names given to a person were his own secular name and one or more other names derived either from his father's or grandfather's name, or from his gotra or from a locality or from the name of his mother. The *Śatapatha* speaks of giving even a third name, but how it was to be formed is not stated. Most of the names of authors whose views are mentioned by such an ancient work as Yāska's *Nirukta* are either gotra names or patronymics e.g. Āgrāyaṇa, Aupamanyava, Audumbarāyaṇa, Kautsa, Gārgya, Maudgalya, Vārṣyāyaṇi, Śākaṭāyana, Śākalya, Sthaulāṣṭhīvi, though a few like Carmaśiras and Śākapūṇi are probably individual names.

(3) It is not quite clear from the Vedic literature how the secret name was given. Hardly any secret name except that of Indra as Arjuna is known as given to any person in the Vedic literature. It is natural that the names being secret do not appear in the texts.

(4) All the Gṛhyasūtras (except *Baijavāpa*) insist on the name given to a boy being one containing an even number of syllables, usually two or four, though even six syllables or eight are allowed by a few sūtrakāras. This rule is deduced from the Vedic usage. Most of the names in the Vedic literature contain either two syllables (like Baka, Trita, Kutsa, Bhṛgu) or four (like Trasadasyu, Purukutsa,

Medhyātithi, Brahmadatta, Satyakāma), though names of three syllables (like Cyavana, Kavaṣa, Bharata) or five syllables (Nābhānediṣṭha, Hiraṇyastūpa) are not wanting.

(5) Most of the sūtras recommend that the names should begin with a sonant and contain in the middle a semi-vowel. That this is a very ancient rule follows from the fact that even Patañjali (about 140 B.C.) in his *Mahābhāṣya*[32] (ed. by Kielhorn vol. I, p. 4) mentions the rule that 'the father should bestow on the son on a day after the 10th from birth a name having a sonant at the beginning, a semi-vowel in the middle, (a name) the first syllable of which is not long, or which shows the descent from one of the three male ancestors (of the father) and which is not borne by the adversary (of the father).'

(6) Some Sūtras (vide notes 16 and 23) prescribe that the name should end in a visarga or a long vowel. This rule is probably deduced from such names as Sudās, Dīrghatamas, Pṛthuśravas (occurring even in the *Ṛgveda*), and such names as Vatsaprī Bhālandana (*Tai. S.*, V. 2. 1. 6).

(7) Some gṛhya-sūtras like *Āpastamba* say that the name should have two parts the first being a noun and the second being a derivative from a verb (generally a past passive participle ending in 'ta'). This rule is derived from such ancient names as Brahmadatta (which occurs in the *Bṛ. Up.*, I. 3. 24 and which figures very much in ancient Pāli Buddhist works), Devadatta and Yajñadatta

32 याज्ञिकाः पठन्ति। दशम्युत्तरकालं पुत्रस्य नाम विदध्याद्घोषवदाद्यन्तरन्तःस्थमवृद्धं त्रिपुरुषानूकमनरिप्रतिष्ठितं तद्धि प्रतिष्ठिततमं भवति द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा नाम कृतं कुर्यान्न तद्धितमिति। महाभाष्य Vol. I. p. 4. अनूक means 'descent, family. कैयट explains it as 'पिता तस्य ये त्रयः पुरुषाः ताननु कायति अभिधत्ते'.

(which figure very frequently in the *Mahābhāṣya,*[33] *Śabarabhāṣya* as the stock names of persons).

(8) Most are agreed that a secret name is to be given to the boy by the parents (notes 13, 15, 18, 19) according to some at birth (notes 18, 19), according to others at the time of Nāmakaraṇa on the 10th or 12th day after birth (note 21).

(9) There is some divergence of opinion as to the secret name among the sūtrakāras. Āśvalāyana appears to prescribe that the name with a sonant at the beginning etc. is to be one known to all and the parents have to find out at the same time a secret name which the boy is to use at the time of upanayana for respectful salutation; while the *Śāṅkhāyanagṛhya* prescribes that the ordinary name (which is required to be only pleasing to brāhmaṇas) is to be given on the 10th day, while the secret name is to be given at the time of birth and is to have all the characteristic details of being 'ghoṣavadādi' etc. There is a further difference of views. *Hiraṇyakeśigṛhya, Baudhāyanagṛhyaśeṣasūtra* and *Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra* prescribe that the nakṣatra name is to be the secret one (notes 21, 27, 30), while others like the *Khādira-gṛhya* speak of a secret name but do not connect it with nakṣatras. There is a further difficulty. Several gṛhyasūtras like *Gobhila, Khādira* require that there should be an abhivādanīya name (notes 17, 20). This is an ancient practice. But these say that the Abhivādanīya was to be derived from a

33 Vide महाभाष्य vol. I. p. 38. लोके तावन्मातापितरौ पुत्रस्य जातस्य संवृतेऽवकाशे नाम कुर्वाते देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्त इति। तयोरुपचारादन्येपि जानन्तीयमस्य संज्ञेति। This shows that in Patañjali's time the ordinary name was given immediately on birth and that was the vyāvahārika name.

nakṣatra or a deity and *Gobhila* adds that according to some the *abhivādanīya* name should be derived from the gotra. This latter is supported by the usage of the Upaniṣads. When the abhivādanīya was a gotra name there could have been no secrecy about it.

(10) The name derived from a deity was originally derived from the deity presiding over the nakṣatra of birth. Later on the names of gods were directly used as the names of individuals, though this appears to have been originally forbidden.

(11) The upapadas śarman, varman, gupta, dāsa were added at a later date than most of the gṛhyasūtras.

(12) Some later smṛtis prescribe names derived from the names Kṛṣṇa, Ananta etc. given to the twelve months.

(13) The names of girls were to contain an odd number of syllables, generally three; and were to end in a long letter either 'ā' according to some and 'ī' according to others. Some said that it should end in 'dā',

P. V. KANE

The Vēlāḷas in Mohenjo Daro

Elsewhere I have shown how the Paravas,[1] the Kolis[2] and the Tirayars[3] are referred to in the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions. In this paper I shall explain those inscriptions that mention another ancient tribe, well known as a caste in South India at present—the tribe of the Vēlāḷas.

They use two different signs to form the combination *Vēlāl:* the *vēl,* 'trident' and the *vēl,* 'acacia'. The Mohenjo Daro people did not pay attention to the quantity of their vowels in their way of writing.[4] But there is no doubt that they read the vowels either short or long according to the meaning of the context, for they knew metrics.[5] Thus which originally means a quarter *kāl,* may also be read *kal,* 'stone', 'measure', etc.

This being presupposed, we shall now be able to read some of the inscriptions referring to this ancient people. The first epigraph speaks of one Vēlāḷa only:[6]

1 Heras, 'The Minavan in Mohenjo Daro,' *Journal of Oriental Research,* X, pp. 282-87.

2 Heras, 'The Kolikon in Mohenjo Daro', *The New Indian Antiquary,* vol. I.

3 Heras, 'The Tirayars in Mohenjo Daro', Paper read at the IX All-India Oriental Conference, Trivandrum *J.B.B.R.A.S.,* 1938.

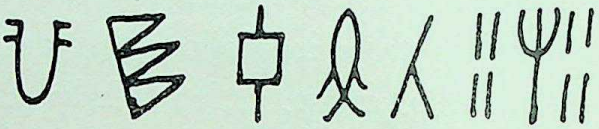
4 Cf. Heras, 'The Longest Mohenjo Daro Epigraph', *J.I.H.,* XVI, p. 236.

5 Cf. Heras, 'Mohenjo Daro, the Most Important Archaeological Site in India, *J.I.H.,* XVI, pp. 5-6.

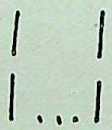
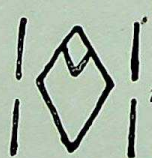
6 Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 7040.

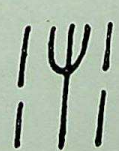
ilil ire vēlāḷ meṭ, i.e. "the fence of the Vēlāḷa who is in the house". This seal was very likely impressed over the soft clay of the fence, thus establishing its ownership.

The other inscriptions speaks of the Vēlāḷas in plural:



[7]

Vēlirir tiru mīn naḍ mala adu, i.e. "those are the middle mountains of the holy Fish of the Vēlāḷas." Elsewhere I have explained that the Mohenjo Darians formed the plural of male nouns in three different ways, the most primitive form perhaps being in *-ir,* the numeral two, for whatever is more than one is plural in Dravidian language.[8] Thus *Vēlir* means the men of the trident, just as *Vēlāḷ* means the man of the trident. But in our sign there is a double plural, for two strokes  placed on each side of any sign are the determinative of collectivity; thus *maramir* means "the men of the tree",  *ililir,* "the men who are in the house".

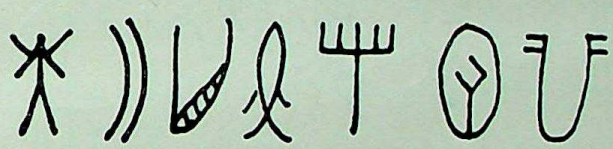
Our sign has a double determinative of collectivity  and therefore it will read *vēlirir* with double plural termination. Such double plural is very common in Dravidian languages and gives more emphasis to the sentence.

7 Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization,* III, M.D., No. 130.

8 Cf. Heras, 'Karnataka and Mohenjo Daro', *Karnataka Historical Review,* IV, p. 4; Heras, 'Numerals in Mohenjo Daro', *Journal of the Benares Hindu University,* III.

This epigraph speaks of "the middle mountains". This expression seems to refer to some mountains placed between India and another country. If this is admitted "the middle mountains" *naḍumala* will be the Himālayas which stand between India and China. It is interesting to notice that the sign meaning middle is found as in Proto-Chinese and in modern Chinese, both reading *tshung*, 'middle'.

These middle mountains are said to be of the holy Fish. This sort of genitive may be called 'a votive genitive'. The mountains are called of the holy Fish for they were devoted to the holy Fish. The holy Fish is the eighth form of God according to the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions.[9] One of the inscriptions says:

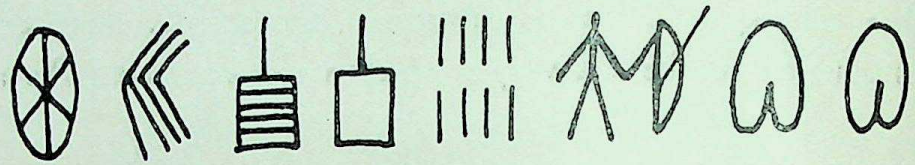
 [10]

Aḍu taḷi per mīn oriḍa eṭ kaḍavuḷ, i.e. "that (is) the eighth (formed) god whose one side (form) is the sprinkled great Fish". Now these mountains dedicated to the holy Fish are of the *Vēlilrir, i.e.* the Vēlāḷas. This is a real genitive of possession. The mountains belong to the Vēlālas. Supposing therefore that the mountains are the Himālayan range, the Vēlāḷas would be near, say, about the northern

9 Cf. Heras, 'The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People according to the Inscriptions', *Journal of the University of Bombay*, (Hist. & Econ. Section), V, pp. 8-9.

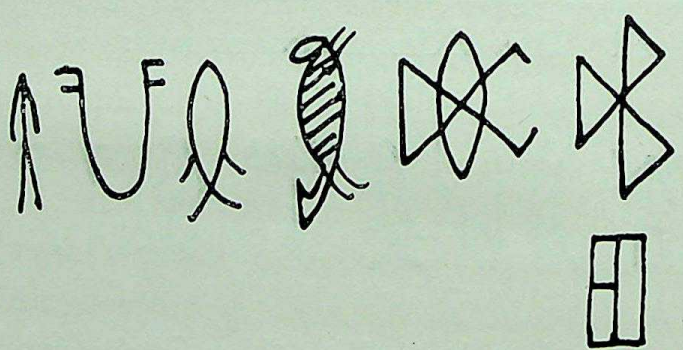
10 Marshall, *op. cit.*, M.D., No. 419.

side of the present U.P. and the Punjab. This *habitat* of the *Vēlāḷas* will be confirmed by the following inscription:

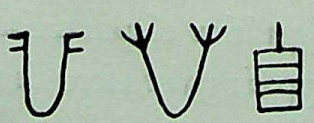
 [11]

Vēlir vilāḷ eṭ paṭi cuṇi arup uyarel, i.e. "the high sun of the harvest of the *liṅga* of the eight villages of the Bilavas of the Vēlāḷas."

The expression "the high sun of the harvest" seems to refer to the time when the harvest is reaped. This harvest is said to be of the *liṅga* of the eight villages of the Bilavas. It apparently belonged to the *liṅga* worshipped in these eight villages of the Bilavas. From a number of inscriptions it is evident that temples or images of god possessed lands or villages, the revenue of which was dedicated to the worship of the image, in the same way as the large temples of South India at present:

 [12]

nila naṇḍūr eḍu mīn adu Āṇ val, i.e., "let the Lord of the Ram and of the Fish of Naṇḍūr that has lands be happy." Or this:

 [13]

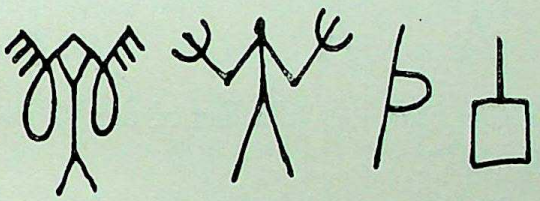
cuṇi ten adu, i.e. "that (is) the palm grove of the *liṅga*."[14]

11 Marshall, *op. cit.*, H. No. 99.
12 *Ibid.*, I, pl. XII, No. 18.
13 *Ibid.*, III, M.D., No. 488.
14 For other similar inscriptions, Cf. Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

That in these villages of the Bilavas the *liṅga* should be worshipped, it is but natural. For they together with the Kavals seem to have been the original worshippers of this symbol,[15] from whom this strange cult passed to the Mīnas.

These Bilavas are said to be of the Vēlāḷas; the territory of the Bilavas seems to have been towards the east of the Indus. So these two tribes might easily have lived in contiguous territories. The inscription seems to suggest that the Bilavas were subdued by the Vēlāḷas. Later on the Bilava territory was annexed to Mīnāḍ.[16]

The following inscription will introduce a king of the Vēlāḷas;

 [17]

paṭi nila vēlvēlāḷ taltal mukililmukan, i.e. "the ruler (one who draws house of clouds) of the tridented Vēlāḷas of the moon of the village". This was doubtless the seal of the Vēlaḷa king. The sign for ruler phonetically reads "one who draws (rules) the house of clouds".[18] Now the Vēlāḷas are called in a similar way from very ancient times, *kārāḷar,* the rulers of the clouds.[19]

In this inscription the Vēlāḷas are called tridented. In fact their name means those of the trident as seen above. The reason of their special attachment to this weapon will be seen below. Besides these Vēlāḷas are styled 'of the moon'. This denomination shows that there were at least two sorts of Vēlāḷas. Some were called Vēlāḷas of

15 Cf. Heras, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-16.

16 Heras, 'Mohenjo Daro, the People and the Land,' *Indian Culture,* III, pp. 709-710.

17 Photo, H. Neg. 3050, No. 15.

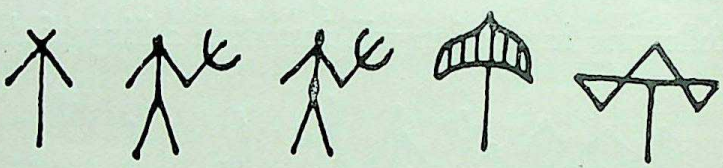
18 Cf. Heras, 'The Story of Two Mohenjo Daro Signs', *Journal of the Benares Hindu University,* II, No. 1, pp. 4-5.

19 Pillai, *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago,* pp. 113-14.

the moon. May we not rightly deduce from the comparison of these Vēlāḷas with the two sorts of Paravas[20] that the Vēlāḷas of the other section were called *pagal velāḷ*, i.e. "the Vēlāḷas of the Sun"?

The inscription refers to the Vēlāḷas of one village, the name of which is not given.

The name of a king is actually mentioned in this inscription:

 [21]

Mūmaga kuḍe vēlāḷir koḍi, i.e. "the flag of the Vēlāḷas of the rule (umbrella) of Mūmaga".

The Vēlāḷas in plural are shown here by the repetition of the sign, according to what we have shown above. The umbrella, *kuḍe*, is a symbol of authority and government, for only kings could use it. That is the reason why here umbrella means "rule".

The first sign of the inscription phonetically reads *Mūmaga*, which literally means 'third son', *i.e.* 'grand son'. But here the name Mūmaga must be taken as a proper name, and therefore, becomes the name of one of the kings of the Vēlāḷas.

Another inscription has an extraordinary reference to the clouds of the Vēlāḷas. Here it is:

[22]

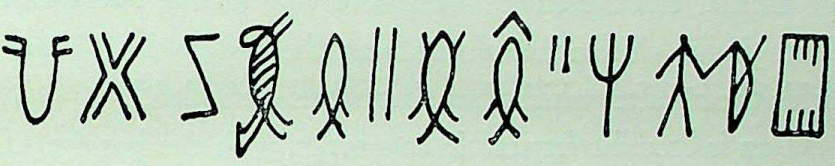
20 Cf. Heras, 'The Minavan in Mohenjo Daro', *Journal of Oriental Research*, X, p. 284.

21 Von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell* pl. III, No. 23. (Chicago, 1934).

22 *A.S., of I., Report, 1928-29*, pl. XXXII, No. 1; Photo, H. Neg. 4394, No. 11.

Vēlāḷ mukil adu Mīnan Mīn Kaḍavuḷ adu, i.e. "whatever is of the clouds of the Vēlāḷas is of the God of Mīna of the Mīnas". Let us try to disentangle this riddle.

The God is said to be of Mīna of the Mīnas. He seems to be the king of the Mīnas. In another inscription he is presented as waging war against the Bilavas and capturing their king:

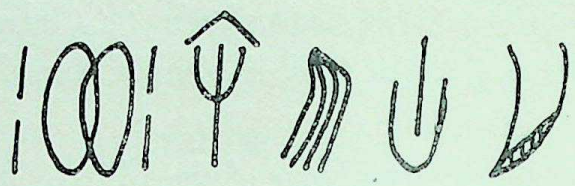
 [23]

ḍug vilāḷ vēl ire Mīnan Mīn ir mīn ēḍu oḍu kaḍekodi adu, i.e. "that (is) the complete month of the Ram of the two Fishes of Mīna of the Mīnas who has the king of the despised Bilavas". This king Mīna, as is evident from this inscription, had two Fishes as a symbol on his flag, and therefore, as we know from another inscription, had the title of Mīnavan.[24]

The other part of the inscription refers to the clouds of the Vēlāḷas. Since as seen above, the Vēlāḷas are called "the rulers of the clouds", the clouds evidently were a symbol of their power. Therefore, the inscription is a clear acknowledgement on the part of the Vēlāḷas of their belief that their power and strength proceeds from God. Their association with the Mīnas and their king Mīna in this inscription, seems to point to a recognition of a supreme power. The Bilavas allied with the Vēlāḷas, according to the preceding inscriptions, were finally subdued by the Mīnas. Such seems also to be the fate of the Vēlāḷas themselves.

This union with the Mīnas or perhaps the above mentioned union of the Vēlāḷas with the Bilavas is referred to in the following inscription:

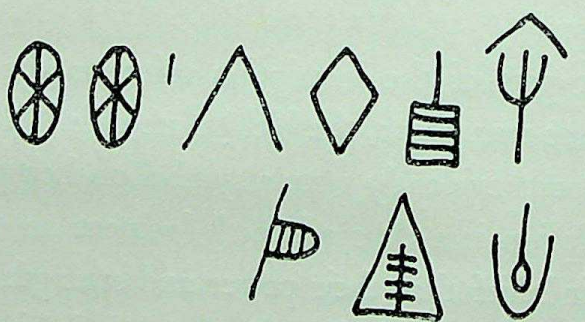
23 Marshall, *op. cit.*, III, M.D., No. 87.
24 Cf. Heras, 'The Minavan in Mohenjo Daro', *op. cit.*, p. 287.


25

oriḍa eṇ arūp vēlan kalakūrir, i.e. "the people of the united countries of Vēlan of the harvest counted on one side". Vēlan means "the one of the trident" and is even at present used as a name of Subrāhmanya in South India. Vēlan has always been the god of the Vēlāḷas for he holds the *vēl* after which they themselves are styled.[26]

Vēlan is brought forward in connection with the harvest. Did he preside over the harvest, or at least over its reaping? This harvest is said to be counted on one side. This passage is not easy to explain. The mention of one side seems to suggest the existence of another side or party, which had also to do the counting later on.

Once more Vēlan is spoken of in this inscription: —


27

The first line of this inscription, contrary to the usage, reads from left to right and the second from right to left. Very likely, the first line of the inscription is missing. Its reading is as follows: (two verses): —

Īruyarelir/pag il cuṇ/i
Vēlanavan ven/kō nil/a

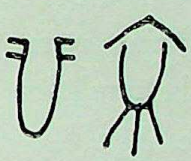
25 Marshall, *op. cit.*, III, M.D., No. 397.

26 The name of this caste is usually written as *Velāḷa*. Yet some times it is also spelt as *Vēlāḷa*. This seems to be the original spelling considering the meaning of the word and the signs used by the Mohenjo Daro writers.

27 Photo, M.D., 1930-31, Dk. 10551.

which means: "the moon (is) over the white mountain of he of Vēlan of the *liṅga* of the divided house of the two high suns".

The inscription states that the moon is over the white mountain of he of Vēlan. The latter being a son of Śiva in the historic period, he should also be a son of Āṇ in the proto-historic period. Now Āṇ has only one son, styled Āṇil, literally meaning 'the son of Āṇ'. This therefore is not his proper name. It is only a filial designation. Vēlan is not properly his name either. His real name is Murugan, the ancient Dravidian name of Subrāhmanya found in one of the inscriptions of Mohenjo Daro, which reads as follows: —

 [28]

The first sign of this inscription is a compound sign. Its elements are: —

mū, "three"

ru, "noise"[29]

determinative of personality corresponding to the termination. "*-an*"

Therefore this sign will read: *muru...an*, and finally *Murugan*. The epigraph therefore reads: *Murugan adu*, "that (is) *Murugan*".

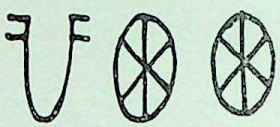
Now returning to the original inscription, we may safely state that he of Vēlan (or Murugan) is Āṇ, the proto-type of Śiva. Quite properly the White Mountain, one of the Middle Mountains men-

28 Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 5890.

29 Cf. Heras, 'Karnataka and Mohenjo Daro', *op. cit.*, p. 4.

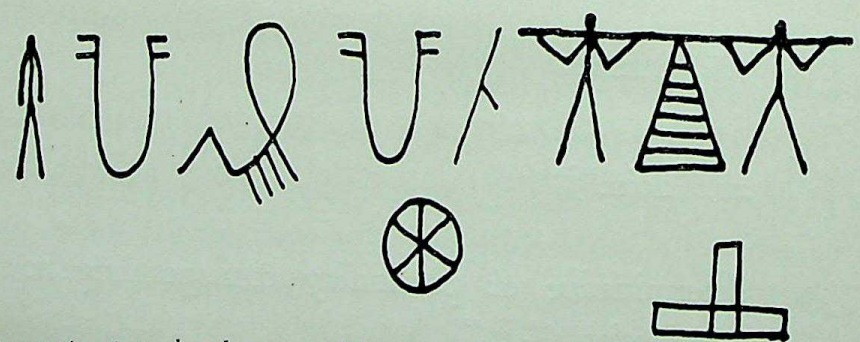
tioned above, is said to belong to Āṇ, for Śiva is supposed to have his dwelling in Kailāsa, a peak of the Himālayas.

The *liṅga* is said to belong to Āṇ, which is in accordance with later developments, though this cult is connected with a house divided on account of the rites of the two suns. These two suns are also mentioned in other inscriptions. For instance,


[30]

uyarelir aḍu, i.e. "those (are) the high suns". It is therefore evident that there was a sect who worshipped two suns instead of one. At the present state of our knowledge, it is impossible to say how this sect originated, but it seems to have been the cause of division of a house or family, as the inscription avers. Perhaps this expression refers to an event similar to the revolution caused in Mīnāḍ by the introduction of the cult of the *liṅga*.[31]

Very likely, the following inscription also refers to the division of the royal house on account of this strange practice of sun worship.


[32]

Kōpoṛutir tīrtadu karumukil adu Āṇ uyarel ūril, i.e. "In the city of the high sun of the Lord of the rain clouds, the carriers of domi-

30 *A.S., of I., Report*, 1929-30, pl. XXVIII, No. 11466 (H). Cf. Marshall, *op. cit.*, M.D., No. 490.

31 Cf. Heras, 'The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People', *op. cit.*, pp. 14-16. These two suns may correspond to the two Egyptian forms of the sun, the Gods Khepera and Tun, or morning and evening sun.

32 Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 7221.

nation have finished (perished)". The inscription evidently refers to a change of dynasty in the city of the high sun. Notice that God is called the Lord of the rain clouds, which title discloses some sort of association between this city and the Vēlāḷas, "the rulers of the clouds".

These few inscriptions suffice to disclose the importance of the Vēlāḷas in the proto-historic period of India. Moreover, they give us some data to settle the original *habitat* of these people in North India before they were driven towards the south. Finally they show how ancient is the association of God (Āṇ, Śiva) with the Himālayas.

H. Heras

Candra-Gomin

Of the very few early important writers who can be claimed for Bengal with great probability, it is fortunate that we possess some account, from Tibetan and other sources, of Candra-gomin, who is recognised as the founder of the Cāndra school of Sanskrit Grammar, and who enjoyed great reputation in the Buddhist world not only as a grammarian but also as a poet, philosopher and Tantric devotee. In his *Vākyapadīya* (ii. 489-90) Bhartṛhari mentions Baiji, Sauva and Haryakṣa as grammarians who went before Candrācārya and who by their uncritical methods contributed not a little to the neglect of the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. As this observation accords well with Kahlaṇa's account of the fate of the *Mahābhāṣya,*[1] as well as with the curious legend recorded in a late Tibetan work[2] of the censure of Patañjali's work by Candra-gomin, it has been assumed that this Candrācārya is no other than our Candra-gomin.[3] B. Liebich who has recovered and edited the *Cāndra-Vyākaraṇa*[4] (Sūtra, Uṇādi

1 It is noteworthy that Kahlaṇa also refers (i. 176) to Candrācārya and his grammar and to his *reviving* the study of the *Mahābhāṣya;* but he places Candrācārya in Kashmir under Abhimanyu (*cir.* third century A.D.). On this passage see F. Kielhorn, *IA,* iv, 1875, pp. 107-8; B. Liebich, *Kṣīra-taraṅginī* (Breslau 1913) pp. 270-72.

2 Sumpā Mkhan-po, *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan,* ed. Sarat Chandra Das, Calcutta 1908, pt. 1, pp. 95-6. The story is reproduced in S. C. Vidyabhusan, *Hist. of Indian Logic* (Calcutta 1921), pp. 334-35.

3 H. P. Shastri (*Descriptive Cat. of Sansk. Mss. in the ASB.,* vi, *Vyākaraṇa,* Preface, p. 1.) does not accept this identification.

4 Edited from Sanskrit Mss., as well as from the Tibetan version, with full indices, Leipzig 1902. The *Gaṇa-pāṭha,* as well as the *Liṅgānuśāsana,* which is quoted by Puruṣottama-deva in his *Varṇa-deśanā* (Eggeling, *India Office Mss. Catalogue,* ii, no. 1039/1475[a], p. 295), Ujjvaladatta (ed. Aufrecht, iv. 1), Sarvānanda (on ii. 6. 62) and Rāyamukuṭa on Amara (R. G. Bhandarkar, *Report 1883-84,* p. 468), is missing. But the Cāndra *Gaṇa-pāṭha,* as well as a *Upasarga-vṛtti,* exists in Tibetan. A short *Varṇa-vṛtti* by Candra-gomin is published by S. K. Belvalkar in his *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* (Bombay-Poona 1915), p. 117 (Appendix i); Cf. *JASB.* 1908, pp. 549f. A Pārāyaṇa by Candra is quoted by Kṣīra-svāmin in his *Kṣīra-*

and Dhātu-pāṭha), as well as its *Vṛtti*,[5] is of opinion[6] that Candra wrote both the text and the commentary and that he flourished probably in the period between 465 and 544 A.D. The work is probably earlier than the Kāśikā of Jayāditya and Vāmana, for this commentary on Pāṇini appropriates without acknowledgment the thirty-five original Sūtras of Candra's grammar which had no parallel in Pāṇini,[7] but which Kayyaṭa distinctly repudiates as un-Pāṇinian.

taraṅgiṇī (ed. Liebich, x. 82). Liebich has given a bibliography of *Cāndra-Vyākaraṇa* and its accessory literature in *Nachrichten der Göttingischer Gesellschaft*, 1895, pp. 272-321, summarised in *IA*, 1896, pp. 103-5.

5 Ed. B. Liebich, Leipzig 1918. In the colophon it is called the work of Dharmadāsa, but Liebich takes it as the name of the pupil who wrote down the master's words. Liebich has given a detailed study of the *Vṛtti* in his *Zur Einführung*, pt. iv (Analyse der Cāndra-vṛtti).

6 *WZKM*, xiii, 1899, pp. 308-15 and *Das Datum Candra-gomins und Kālidāsas* (Breslau 1903). The chief ground is that the sentence *ajayad gupto* (Ms. *jarto* or *japto*) *hūṇān* in the *Vṛtti* (i. 2. 81, p. 43) mentions the victory of the Gupta over the Hūṇas as an illustration of the use of the Perfect to describe an event in the life-time of the author. The identity of Jarta or Japta, as given by manuscript-evidence, is, however, not clear; and the conjecture that it is a mislection for Gupta is problematic. A. B. Keith appears to think (*Sanskrit Drama*, Oxford 1924, p. 168) that Jarta refers to a Jāṭ prince! Belvalkar (*op. cit.*, p. 58), however, approximates Liebich's dating further to 470 A.D., assuming that the victory over the Hūṇas refers to their defeat by Skandagupta. S. Lévi (*BEFEO*, iii, 1903, pp. 38f), relying on the mention by Yi-tsing (Takakusu, *I-tsing*, p. 164, 183) of a great man named Candra Kouan (=official) or Candradāsa, who lived, like a Bodhisattva, in his time in Eastern India and composed a musical play about Viśvāntara, would identify this Candra with Candra-gomin. This identification would palce Candra-gomin sometime before Yi-tsing, although it must be admitted that the reference is not free from doubt. Minayeff, on the other hand, believes (Liebich, *Pāṇini*, Leipzig 1891, p. 11) that Candra-gomin lived as early as the beginning of the 5th century. N. Peri (*Extrait du BEFEO*, 1911, p. 50, note 2) places Candra-gomin in the beginning of the first half of the 7th century while S. C. Vidyabhusan (*loc. cit.*) is of opinion that the Tibetan source (Tāranātha, *Geschichte*, p. 146), in making Candra a contemporary of Śīla, son of Harṣavardhana, would place him at about 700 A.D. But this late date would bring the Cāndra-grammar too near the accepted date of the *Kāśikā*, which makes use of the Candra-grammar. For a recent re-discussion of the whole question see Liebich, *Kṣīra-taraṅgiṇī*, pp. 264f.

7 Shown first by Kielhorn in *IA*, 1886, pp. 183-85; see Liebich, *Konkordanz Pāṇini-Candra*, Breslau 1928.

All accounts agree that Candra-gomin was a Buddhist; and this is supported not only by his honorific Buddhistic title Gomin, but also by the Maṅgala-śloka of the Vṛtti which pays homage to Sarvajña. The Tibetan tradition does not distinguish the grammarian Candra-gomin from the philosopher Candra-goṃin, who wrote a work on Logic, entitled *Nyāya-siddhyāloka,*[8] as well as from the Tantric writer of the same name to whom thirty-six miscellaneous esoteric texts are ascribed in the *Bstan-hgyur.*[9] According to this account[10] he belonged to a Kṣatriya family in Varendra,[11] resided for some time at Candradvīpa[12] and met the Mādhyamika commentator Candra-

8 S. C. Vidyabhusan, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

9 He is called Ācārya, Mahācārya or Mahāpaṇḍita. The texts include not only mystic Stotras in praise of Tārā, Mañjuśrī and other personalities of later Buddhist hagiology, but also works on Tantric Abhicāra as well as a few magical tracts apparently of a medical character (such as Jvararakṣā-vidhi, Kuṣṭha-cikitsopāya, etc.). For the texts see P. Cordier in the work cited below, pp. 11, 124, 267, 301, 302, 303, 304, 321, 331, 335, 355, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363.

10 Tāranātha, *Geschichte des Buddhismus,* übersetzt A. Schiefner (St. Petersberg 1869), pp. 148-58 and Sumpā Mkhan-po, *loc. cit.* But S. C. Vidyabhusan (*loc. cit.*) would distinguish the logician Candra-gomin from the grammarian of the same name, assign a much later date to the former, and credit the latter with some of the Tantric Stotras, although in his *Mediaeval School of Indian Logic* (Calcutta 1909) pp. 121-23, he does not draw any such distinction. Tāranātha has much that is legendary to relate of Candra-gomin and ascribes to him a large number of hymns and learned works.

11 Tāranātha (*op. cit.*, p. 148): 'born in Varendra in the east'; P. Cordier (*Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibl. Nationale,* Pt. II, p. 302): 'inhabitant of Bareṇḍi in Eastern India'; Sumpā Mkhan-po, *op. cit.*, pp. xci, 95, 139: 'born in Varendra in Baṅgala'. S. K. Chatterji believes that the surname *gomin* corresponds to the modern Bengali cognomen *gūi.* A. A. Macdonell (*IA,* 1903, p. 376) thinks that Kashmir was Candra-gomin's native place, but this is perhaps due to a misapprehension of Kahlaṇa's reference.

12 According to Sumpā Mkhan-po, Candra-gomin settled in Candradvīpa after his exile from Varendra. In a work of Candra-gomin in the *Bstan-hgyur* (Cordier, p. 362) he is expressly called Dvaipa. This place has been identified by Sarat Chandra Das and H. P. Shastri with Candradvīpa in Backergunje, while S. C. Vidyabhusan and H. P. Shastri wonld place it generally in the district of Barisal; but P. C. Bagchi (introd. to *Kaulajñāna-nirṇaya,* Calcutta 1934, pp. 29-34) is in-

kīrti at Nālandā,[13] where he became a pupil of Sthiramati. Apart from the Tantric Vajra-yāna Sādhanās mentioned above, Candra-gomin is credited with some Sanskrit Stotras on Tārā and Mañju-śrī,[14] a drama called *Lokānanda*[15] and an elegant but insipid religious Kāvya entitled *Śiṣya-lekha-dharma*[16] in the form of a letter to a pupil. None of these works, if they really belong to the

clined to think that Candradvīpa signifies the entire coast-line, but if it is taken to refer to a particular locality, he would identify it with the island of Sandwīp in the district of Noakhali. There is no philological difficulty in deriving the word Sandwīp from Candradvīpa. See also *IC*, ii, pp. 150 f. where identification with Bāklā Candradvīpa in Backergunje is advocated. It is tempting to suggest that the island, connected with the semi-historical Matsyendranātha and Buddhist Tantric cults, is probably mythical, but its actual location in eastern Bengal appears to be borne out by its mention as the seat of the Candras in the Rāmpal Copper-plate of Śrīcandra (*EI*, xii, pp. 136-142; N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, pp. 2, 3, 7). Cf. D. R. Bhandarkar in *IC*, i, p. 724.

13 Tāranātha (p. 155) tells us that Candra's grammar superseded Candrakīrti's *Samantabhadra*, a grammar composed in Ślokas, and made it disappear.

14 The Tārā cult, to which Yuan Chwang refers, must have been prevalent in the 6th century (see G. de Blonay, *Materiaux pour servir à l'histoire de la déesse Bouddhique Tārā*, Paris 1895, pp. 3, 5, 17 f). Hirananda Shastri, 'Origin and Cult of Tārā' in *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India*, Calcutta 1925, thinks that the deity does not date further back than the 5th century. On Candra-gomin's *Āryā-tārā-antarvali-vidhi*, see S. C. Vidyabhushan, Introd. to (Sarvajñamitra's) Sragdharā-stotra in *Bauddha-stotra-saṃgraha* (Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1908), pp. xx f.

15 M. Winternitz, *Geschichte d. ind. Litteratur*, iii, pp. 183, 399; A. B. Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 168. The drama is known only in the Tibetan version in *Bstan-hgyur*. It is a Buddhist work dramatising the story of a certain Maṇicūḍa who handed over his wife and children to a Brahmin as an act of supreme generosity. The author of this drama cannot be the same as the dramatist Candaka or Candraka who is placed by Kahlaṇa under Tuñjina of Kashmir and who is quoted in the Anthologies.

16 Ed. I. P. Minayeff in *Zapiski*, iv, pp. 29-52, with the Tibetan text added by A. Ivanowski. It is said to have been written to a prince named Ratnakīrti in order to persuade him to forsake the world. The Sanskrit text has 114 verses in different metres, whose chief theme is the misery of existence, written in the artificial kāvya-style. It contains a verse which is ascribed to Candra-gomin in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvali* (no. 3368): but the verse is missing in the Tibetan version. This verse is attributed to Candra by Yi-tsing. See H. Wenzel in *JRAS*, 1889, pp. 1133f.

grammarian Candra-gomin, is of much consequence. The *Cāndra-Vyākaraṇa,* however, is a much more remarkable work, which had currency at one time in Kashmir, Nepal, Tibet and Ceylon. Although there is no material divergence nor anything original (excepting the thirty-five rules mentioned above), it is not a mere copy but an attempt at a recast and improvement upon the rules of Pāṇini. As against the eight chapters of Pāṇini, it has six chapters of four sections each, the matter of Pāṇini's first two chapters being distributed over the whole book. The Sūtras being derived from Pāṇini, the work is in no sense un-Pāṇinian except in the fact that it re-arranges the rules, occassionally simplifies their wording, reduces and modifies the Pratyāhāras, makes some changes in the terminology, distributes the Sañjās and altogether omits, as Buddhist writers do, the Vedic rules.[17] Its want of any striking originality or independence, however, must have proved fatal, and the system almost disappeared in the later history of Sanskrit grammar.

S. K. De

17 In the matter of the *Dhātu-pāṭha,* Candra agrees pretty closely with Pāṇini, classifying the roots similarly into ten groups; but within the classes he groups them according to the voices of verbs. Liebich points out the interesting fact that the *Dhātu-pāṭha* of the *Kātantra* is in reality that of the Candra system as modified by Durgasiṃha, the genuine *Kātantra Dhātu-pāṭha* being preserved only in Tibetan and lost in Sanskrit. The Uṇādi words are disposed of in three books by Candra independently of Pāṇini, the suffixes being arranged according to their final letter, and the words being sometimes derived in a different way.

Vyāḍi and Vājapyāyana

Vyāḍi and Vājapyāyana were two grammarians older than Kātyāyana, as shown by his reference to them in his *Vārttika*.[1] The former was the author of an extensive work called *Saṁgraha*, no longer extant,[2] which Patañjali mentions, and on which, as attested by long-established tradition, he based his 'great commentary' on Pāṇini. These two grammarians seem to have differed from each other in their views respecting certain important details. One of the differences was in regard to the import of words and is fairly well known. In fact, it is in pointing out this divergence that Kātyāyana mentions both of them. Many writers on Sanskrit grammar since have referred to this difference;[3] and it has also been noticed in modern works on the subject.[4] It is proposed here to refer to a second point of divergence between them which does not appear to be so well known now. But since it relates to the import of propositions or, more strictly, sentences, it is necessary to start by restating briefly the nature of the first difference, which concerns the meanings of words.

Students of modern Logic are familiar with the question as to whether terms are to be understood in extension or in intension. A

1 See *Vārttikas* 35 & 45 on Pāṇini, I, ii. 64. (Keilhorn's edition of the *Mahābhāṣya*, pp. 242, 244). For some interesting remarks on the probable date of Vyāḍi, see Goldstücker's *Pāṇini*, pp. 209-11.

2 See Puṇyarāja's com. on *Vākya-padiya*, ii. 484. From the way in which he introduces stanzas 267 & 268 of the second *kāṇḍa* of the *Vākya-padiya*, one would conclude that they are taken from this work of Vyāḍi.

3 Cf. Helārāja on *Vākya-padiya*, iii. 2, Puṇyarāja on *Ib.*, ii. 155 and *Sarva-darśana-saṁgraha*, ch. xiii.

4 For example, in the *Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus* by Dr. P. C. Chakravarti, p. 185.

controversy of a very much allied character, *viz.*, whether words mean a *dravya* or *jāti* occupies an important place in ancient Indian works.[5] According to Vyāḍi, they signify *dravyas*, while according to Vājapyāyana they, including proper names, signify *jātis*.[6] It should, however, be carefully remembered that neither view excludes from the complete significance of words either of these two aspects of things. The question, as Patañjali points out,[7] is only which of the two aspects should bear more emphasis and which less. Those who maintain that the meaning is *dravya* imply that it is the primary sense of the word and that *jāti* is the subsidiary. Similarly those who hold that the meaning is *jāti* imply that that is the primary sense and that *dravya* is the subsidiary. By *jāti* is to be understood an essential quality which is common to two or more things. We may take it as equivalent to what is called a 'universal' in English. Some hold that this quality is only an abstraction, others regard it as objectively real; but this is a distinction which is not of consequence for us now. According to Vājapyāyana then, a word primarily stands for an attribute or *viśeṣaṇa*. The precise conception of *dravya*, which is the import of a word according to Vyāḍi, is more difficult to determine. But we shall, for the moment, take it in the sense in which it is commonly taken, viz. a *vyakti* or a particular instance of a class, say, a cow called Khaṇḍa or Śābaleya. That is, a word stands for the *viśeṣya* here and not for the *viśeṣaṇa* as in the previous view.[8]

5 Cf. *Nyāya-sūtra*, II. ii. 55-66 and *Mīmāṁsā-sūtra*, I. iii. 30-6.

6 According to Pāṇini, the meaning may be either the one or the other. See *Mahābhāṣya*, vol i, p. 6: *Kim punarākṛtiḥ padārthaḥ, āhosvit dravyam? Ubhayamityāha.*

7 Vol. i, p. 246: *Na hyākṛti-padārthikasya dravyam na padārthaḥ, dravya-padārthikasya vākṛtir na padārthaḥ. Ubhayor ubhayam padārthaḥ. Kasyacit tu kiṁcit pradhāna-bhūtam kiṁcit guṇa-bhūtam. Ākṛti-padārthikasyākṛtiḥ pradhāna-bhūtā dravyam guṇa-bhūtam; dravya-padārthikasya dravyam pradhāna-bhūtamākṛtirguṇa-bhūtā.* Cf. Śabara on *Mīmāṁsā-sūtra*, I. iii. 33.

8 See Helārāja's com. on *Vākya-padiya*, III. ii. I.

It is natural to expect, from this divergence in their views about the meaning of words, that Vyāḍi and Vājapyāyana differed in their views regarding the import of sentences also; and this is what Helārāja avers in the beginning of his commentary on the third chapter of the *Vākya-padīya*.[9] The former, he says, took *bheda* as the import, while the latter took it as *saṁsarga*.[10] It should be observed that, as in the case of the meanings of words, neither thinker leaves out the other aspect of the import entirely in interpreting a sentence; only, in the view that holds *bheda* to be the import, *saṁsarga* is regarded as implicit in the sentence; and the reverse is taken to be true in the other view.[11] Now the use of the terms *bheda* and *saṁsarga* for the meaning of propositions is not at all uncommon in Indian philosophical literature. According to the interpretation ordinarily given of these terms in Advaitic works,[12] both refer to relations among the things signified by the various terms constituting a proposition; but they are applicable to different types of it. The first applies to propositions like *daṇḍena gām naya*, which present to the mind a manifold of inter-related things—the things being those that are denoted by the constituent words. The second applies to co-ordinate propositions[13] like *nīlam utpalam*

9 See com. on iii. 5 (Benares edition, p. 11). From the manner in which Helārāja speaks, in more than one place, of this *kāṇḍa*, it is to be regarded not as a portion of the *Vākya-padīya*, but as an Appendix to it. See pp. 54, 73, 76 of the Trivandrum edition of it.

10 We should note that this discussion has reference entirely to empirical usage. The ultimate import of a sentence according to Vaiyākaraṇas, including presumably Vyāḍi and Vājapyāyana, is what is called *pratibhā*. Cf. Puṇyarāja on *Vākya-padīya*, ii. 422 and Helārāja on iii. 5. (pp. 10-11).

11 See Kaiyaṭa's *Pradīpa* on II. i. 1, *Vārttika* 2. (Benares edn. vol. ii, p. 13): *Tatra bhedaḥ saṁsargāvinābhāvitvāt anumīyamāna-saṁsargaḥ sāmarthyam, saṁsargo vā bhedāvinābhāvyanumeya-bhedaḥ.*

12 Cf. Sureśvara's *Vārttika* on *Bṛ. Up.* p. 246, St. 902, *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi*. iii. 26 (Bombay Sanskrit Series) and *Iṣṭa-siddhi*, p. 32 (Gaekwad Oriental Series).

13 Cf. com. on *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi*, iii. 3: *Abhinna-vibhakti-nirdiṣṭa* and not *bhinna-vibhakti-nirdiṣṭa* as in the previous case.

which present to the mind a single thing, of which the qualifying features are indicated by the constituent words. The import here is thus an identity in difference. In the former case, the words not only retain the diversity of their meaning but also point to different objects; in the latter, the words, though they do not lose that diversity, point only to one object.

Now this interpretation will hardly hold in the present case[14] for, since it assumes that *bheda* and *saṃsarga* have reference to two distinct classes of sentences, they cannot form the basis for a difference of view between two thinkers. It is clear that, if it should constitute the basis of such a difference, each view must refer to *all* sentences or at least to *one and the same type* of them; and this is exactly what we find stated by Helārāja in the passage referred to above.[15] According to him, the import of a sentence is *bheda* in Vyāḍi's view and *saṁsarga* in Vājapyāyana's view. As explained there, *bheda* should be understood as equivalent to 'exclusion' or 'dissociation' and *saṁsarga* to 'inclusion' or 'association'. Now in Vyāḍi's view, as we know, the meaning of a word is *dravya,* and its main function is to distinguish the thing it means from all similar things. Thus a 'cow' means here not so much what is characterised by 'cowness' as what is distinguished from a 'horse' (say). When words with such function combine to form a sentence, they come to signify a thing not as possessing certain attributes but rather as excluding some. In Vājapyāyana's view, on the other hand, words signify qualities; and when such words combine to form a sentence, the import becomes inclusion or a combination of the qualities which they respectively connote.

14 Attention may, in this connection, be drawn to the present writer's note on the *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi,* iii. 2. (p. 255).

15 See Note 9. *Tatra Vyāḍi-mate bhedo vākyārthaḥ, padavācyānām dravyāṇām dravyāntara-nivṛtti-tātparyeṇa abhidheyatvāt. Jāti-vādino Vājapyāyanasya tu mate saṁsargo vākyārthaḥ, sāmānyānām saṁśleṣa-mātra-rūpatvāt vākyārthasya.*

We get a clearer explanation of the same in Pārthasārathi Miśra's commentary on the last section of the *Śloka-vārttika*,[16] which treats of the import of sentences. In discussing this topic, Kumārila introduces the terms *bheda* and *saṁsarga* as representing two of the views held in regard to it; and Pārthasārathi's explanation there may be translated as follows: "(In the sentence *gauḥ śuklaḥ*), according to those who hold that a word points to the universal, the first word connotes 'cowness' merely; and the second, which is syntactically related to it, signifies its association with the quality of 'whiteness'. Hence the import of the sentence is (stated to be) 'inclusion'. And as that (i.e. *saṁsarga*) is one, the words constitute a syntactical unity. According to those, on the other hand, who hold that a word points to the particular, since the first word itself denotes cows of all colours, viz. white, black and so forth, there will be tautology if the second word, although it does not cease to indicate the connection (of the cow) with 'whiteness',[17] is understood as *intended* to signify it. It should accordingly be explained as negatively qualifying the cow in question or as denying all other colours of it. Hence, alternatively, the import of the sentence is (stated to be)) 'exclusion'."[18] One of the points to be noted here

16 See p. 854 (Benares edition). Kumārila refers to them here for the purpose of refutation.

17 So the aspect of 'inclusion' is not left out. Analogously we may say, as indeed Pārthasārathī himself adds immediately after the passage translated above, that in the first view, 'exclusion' is implicit, the reason being that a sentence (e.g. *Gauḥ śuklaḥ ānīyatām*), when taken in its practical context, must necessarily refer to an *individual* as in the second view. See Note 11.

18 Patañjali also explains these two terms under II. i. 1 (p. 364); but, since he is there considering the meaning of compound words and derivatives and not of sentences the explanantion is not directly useful for us here. But the principle underlying it is the same. The example *gauḥ śuklaḥ* selected by Pārthasārathī to illustrate both the views may suggest that they apply only to co-ordinate or appositional propositions; but the one, chosen by Patañjali, viz. *rāja-puruṣaḥ* shows that it need not be so.

specially is the meaning of *dravya*. We tentatively took it as equivalent to a particular instance of a class. From the above explanation, it is clear that it stands really for a class; only it means not *all* cows but *any* cow. In the above sentence, the first word denotes the whole class of cows; and the second, the whole class of white things. But when the two are taken as syntactically one they, by mutual restriction, signify neither any cow nor any thing that is white, but any white cow. These explanations of *bheda* and *saṁsarga* correspond to what in modern Logic are described as the class and the attributive views.

It will be seen that these meanings of *bheda* and *saṁsarga* especially of the former, are entirely different from those assigned to them above on the authority of certain Advaitic works. It is difficult to say how the same words came to be interpreted thus differently. We know that there were several views held by Indian thinkers in regard to the import of propositions, as in the case of so many other problems; and the interpretation in question probably goes back to a view different from those alluded to by the Vaiyākaraṇas and the Mīmāṁsakas.

M. Hiriyanna

From the Great Goddess to Kāla

The Sanskrit dictionaries distinguish *kāla* thus:

1 *kāla,* dark blue, black,

2 *kāla,* time, fate, death, god of death.

Kāla is also an epithet of Śiva, and Kālī is a form of Durgā. The first problem is to know whether Kāla means the Black god only and Kālī the Black goddess, or if those names allude to Time also, the destroyer of everything. This question is but one aspect of a more general problem: are *kāla* 'black' and *kāla* 'time, fate' two distinct words, or are there two different senses for the same word?

This is a very important problem for the history of Indian thought. Several authors have supposed[1] that Skt. *kāla* has been borrowed from the Dravidian *kār* 'black', and this origin is a likely one. If 'black, time, fate, death, etc.' were different senses of the same word, it would be necessary to ascribe a non-Aryan origin to an essential element of the religious and philosophical vocabulary.

In a recent article *The name Kalki (n)*, published in the *Adyar Library Bulletin,* vol. I, part I, p. 21, n. 1, Prof. F. Otto Schrader has clearly adopted a position:

"There is in Pāli, by the side of the Sanskritic *kāla* 'time', a non-Aryan word for 'black', viz., *kāḷa*. But neither this nor Sanskrit *kāla* 'black' can have a common origin with Sanskrit *kāla* 'time', because the latter word was originally (in *Ṛgveda* X, 42, v. 9 and the older Brāhmaṇa literature) used only in the sense of a definite or recurrent time (like Vedic *ṛtu*) and but later employed in the abstract sense and that of the great Destroyer which led to its association with *kāla* 'black' ".

This reasoning is not very convincing. *Kāla* 'time' is a late comer in Vedic literature. Because it has a definite meaning in certain religious texts, one cannot assert that it may not have been given a wider sense in the spoken language. It is in the Brāhmaṇas

1 See C. Regamey, 'Bibliographie analytique des travaux relatifs aux éléments anaryens dans la Civilisation et les langues de l'Inde', *BEFEO.*, 1935, index, s.v. *kāla*.

only that *kāla* is used, regularly enough, in the sense of *ṛtu*. It appears only once in later *Ṛv*. But in *Atharvaveda*, XIX, 53 and 54, it means already Time, the power of which is connected with Fate and the order of the world.

"Kāla generated yonder sky, Kāla also these earths; what is and what is to be stands out sent forth by Kāla.

.....all worlds by the *bráhman* having conquered, this Kāla goes on as highest god." *AV.*, XIX, 53, 5 and 54 in fine.

'Black' and 'time, fate' are not the only senses of *kāla*. The *Divyāvadāna*, p. 617, reads thus: tadyathā vastram apagatakālakaṃ rajanopagataṃ raṅgodake prakṣiptaṃ samyag eva pratigṛhnīyāt evam eva prakṛtir bhikṣuṇī tasminn evāsane niṣaṇṇā caturāryasatyāny abhisamayati sma.....[2]

A similar formula is found again in *Dīgh. Nik.* (I, p. 110): seyyathā pi nāma suddhaṃ vatthaṃ apagatakāḷakaṃ sammad eva rajanaṃ paṭiganheyya, evam eva brāhmaṇassa Pokkharasādissa tasmiṃ yeva āsane virajaṃ vītamalaṃ dhamma-cakkhuṃ udapādi.....

The latter quotation has been translated by T. W. Rhys Davids (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, p. 135) in the following way:

"And just as a clean cloth from which all stain has been washed away will readily take the dye, just even so did Pokkharasādi, the Brāhmaṇa, obtain, even while sitting there, the pure and spotless Eye for the Truth....."

Pāli *kāḷaka* and Skt. *kālaka* mean not only 'black', but also 'stained (adj.), a stain (nt.)' and the extracts that we have just quoted link evidently together the notions of physical and of moral stain, of dirt and of sin. The opposition of the two colours white and black is doubled by the contrast: pure and impure.

One may probably connect with the same root Skt. *kalka* 'foulness, baseness, guile, sin', and *kaluṣa* 'dirty, impure, turbid; dirt, impurity.' If the origin of those words was an Aryan one, we could not without some difficulty connect *kalka* with *kāla;* but the moment one admits as the origin of those words a non-Aryan root *kăl*, every obstacle disappears: the quantity of the vowels, we know, can vary in borrowed words.

2 Plato makes a similar comparison in *The Republic*, IV, 429 d, e.

'Dirty, guile, sin' suggest 'unlucky'. *Kali* is a die or the side of a die marked with one dot, and looked upon as inauspicious; by extension *kali* means the fourth and worst age of the world and *Kalki* (*n*) is the name of a mythical personage who is to appear during the Kali age. It seems impossible not to bring back all those words to the same root. Kalki (n), by its formation, can be compared to *kalka*. But other ideas have intervened in the formation of this derivative.

Marc Collins has connected with the moon the Skt. words *kāla, kalā, kalpa* and he has explained the sense of *kāla* 'dark, black, god of death' in connexion with the Dravidian name of the new moon.[3] The same semantical relation can be observed in different Indochinese and Indonesian tongues. In Cham, *klam* means 'evening, night, darkness' and refers particularly to the nights of the second half of the moon. One can compare to the Cham word: Bahnar *klam,* Dayak *kalam,* Malay *kelàm*. Without entering into a discussion here about the problem of the relations between the Dravidian and the Austric languages, let it suffice to observe that a root *kăl,* meaning 'black, obscure' may have been used to describe the dark fortnight of the lunar month and, by extension, the ultimate age of the world, that which leads to destruction and to death. This gives us new reason to connect with *kāl* 'dark, black', not only *kali* 'the fourth and worst age of the world', but *kāla* understood as Time, the destroyer and the god of Death.

In short, we find in India a dualistic system where two series of notions oppose each other:

white	pure	auspicious	bright fortnight	propitious god
black	impure	inauspicious	dark fortnight	terrible god and especially the God of Death.

3 'On the Octaval System of Reckoning in India', *Dravidic Studies,* n. 4, 1926.

If the root *kāl* meant all that is black and terrible, it may have served to describe the other terms belonging to the same series. The applications of such a principle in the religious domain are wider than is believed generally.

In the *Aśokāvadāna,* the nāgarāja Kālika is evoked by king Aśoka during his pilgrimage to the holy places. The texts say that the king of the nāga went to Śākyamuni as he sat by the Bodhi-tree and began to praise him.[4] In the *Mahāvaṃsa,* the same dragon appears before Aśoka, who subdues it and loads it with chains; it is called "Mahākāla, king of the nāgas, the power of which is marvellous, who has seen four Buddhas and lived throughout a kalpa."[5] Here we have a Buddhist personification of Kāla, Time, in the shape of a nāga. Unlike that of Zrvan akarana, its reign does not last for ever; but the length of it is that of a *kalpa.*

One could trace in Hinduism and even in Indonesia the mythical figure of Kāla personified in the shape of a serpent. It will suffice to note here that in Iran the monstrous and fiendish serpent which is put to death at the end of world can also be found. According to the *Bundahisn,* the fight against the evil powers ends by the destruction of both Druj: Aŋgra Mainyu and the Serpent (Až, that is to say Ažī- Dahāk). Chained by the means of the girdle-formula (afsārīha) the serpent is finally burnt to death in the melted metal.[6]

In parallel with the traditions which show *Kāla* in the shape of the serpent, other beliefs associated him with the horse, either because the horse is his *vāhana* or because he appears like a horse himself.

In the first *Kālasūkta* of the *AV.*, "Time drives (*vah*) a horse with seven reins, thousand eyes, unaging, possessing much speed;

4 *Divyāv.*, p. 392. Cf. J. Przyluski, *Légende de l'Empereur Aśoka,* pp. 113, 114, 255.

5 Cf. *Mahāvaṃsa,* V, 87-92. In another part of the *Mahāv.*, chap. 31, v. 17 ff. Kālanāga seems to enjoy sovereignty over all the *nāgas.*

6 Analysis and critical study of the sources in Abegg, *Der Messiasglaube in Indien und Iran,* p. 218.

him the inspired poets mount; his wheels are all beings" (*AV.*, XIX, 53, 1). In the following verse, it appears that Kāla "includes all those beings",[7] so it is difficult indeed to distinguish the god, the wheels and the horse.

In later literature and iconography, Kalki is pictured as a horse, as a god with a horse's head or as a god riding on a horse.[8]

According to the Jainas, wicked kings named Kalkin and Upakalkin appear periodically during the periods of decline (*duḥsamā*): every 1,000 years comes a Kalkin, every 500 years an Upakalkin.[9] Here *Kalkin* means probably 'wicked, unlucky', that is to say, it has the same value as Skt. *khala* 'wicked person, rogue'. We know that in borrowed words, *k* and *kh* can alternate.[10] By their periodicity the Kalkin and Upakalkin of Jainism are evidently in relation to Kali and to the theory of the ages of the world.

In the Purāṇa, Kalki or Kalkin is an independent personage no more: he is absorbed in Viṣṇu, an *avatāra* of whom he becomes. In the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, four avatāras of Viṣṇu, named Kapila, Cakravartin, Vyāsa and Kalki succeed one another periodically during the successive *yugas*. In the *Kalkipurāṇa*, Kalki has become Viṣṇu's tenth avatāra and his legend has been partly modelled upon Kṛṣṇa's.[11] But before he has become a kind of Messiah and is identified with Viṣṇu, Kalki has probably had something to do with the destruction of the world; ever since the origin he is probably one of the forms of god of Death and of Time which destroys everything. And in the later forms of his legend, even, he remains connected with the Kali age and with the end of the world.[12]

7 This extract is discussed in Lanman-Whitney's *Atharva-Veda*, VIII, p. 987.

8 Abegg, *ibid.*, p. 47 and plates.

9 Abegg, *Messiasglaube*, p. 140; Bhide., 'Is Kalkirāja a historical personage?' *IA.*, 48, 1919, pp. 123 ff.

10 Note that in Cham, *khal* means 'mischievous, wicked, pernicious, fatal'; *khalam* 'illness'.

11 Abegg, *ibid.*, p. 140, n. 5, 137, 39 ff.

12 Otto Schrader tries (*ibid.*, pp. 23 ff.) to explain Kalkin by *karka* 'white'

In short, a non-Aryan root attested in Dravidian has been borrowed by Indo-Aryan under different forms: *kāl-*, *kal-*, *khal-*, *kāḷ-*, and this diversity in sounds added to the convergency of the senses is explained by the non-Aryan origin of this root. Between *kāla* 'black' and *kāla* 'time, destiny', then, a series of intermediates can be exposed, which form an uninterrupted chain: *kālaka*, *kalka*, *kaluṣa*, *kali*, *kalki*, so that one passes gradually from a concrete 'dark blue, black' to abstract and general notions 'time, fate, death.'

The question remains to be answered why a non-Aryan root, probably borrowed from the Dravidian, has attained such an importance in the religious vocabulary.

In the first section of the Ādiparva of the *Mahābhārata*, Sañjaya says to Dhṛtarāṣṭra: "Time createth all things and Time destroyeth all creatures". Elsewhere I have indicated that the double figure Kāla and Kālī is similar to the couple Jara and Jarā and that these doubles, like the hermaphroditis Zrvan, are closely connected with a myth more ancient, I mean, than that of the Great Mother, goddess of reproduction and of death, all-powerful as Destiny.[13] The excavations at Mohenjo-daro have proved that the Great Goddess was adored in India long before the Aryan conquest. She appears in Vedic literature at first under the name of Aditi which shows some connexions with the Near East.[14]

Later on, this unique figure shows a tendency to appear in different shapes, under the influence of different cultural tides. In some societies and particularly among the non-Aryan populations, the Great Goddess was still worshipped in her feminine shape. Elsewhere, under the influence of the patriarchal institutions, a mas-

and 'white horse' and concludes: "Our inquiry, then, lands in the alternative: either both names, Kalki and Kalkin, have emerged through the Prākṛt from a now lost Sanskrit original Karkin, or the incapability of explaining the earlier name Kalki (of Aryan or Dravidian origin) has caused the formation of its etymologically transparent double."

13 *IHQ.*, X, 1934, p. 429.

14 See *ibid.*, pp. 413-414.

culine god takes her place. It seems likely that in the non-Aryan populations the Great Goddess, which orders destruction and generation, goddess of Death and of Desire, should at an early date have been given the shape of Kālī, the word being understood in its many acceptations: black, terrible, etc. On a parallel line with this, when a masculine god is seen to take the place of the goddess, Kāla is also worshipped, who is at the same time the Black, the Terrible and Time the destroyer.[15] But notwithstanding the difference in sex, Kālī and Kāla are equivalent figures and which continue that of the Great Goddess. Their identity arises from the comparison between the Buddhist texts. In the verse 12 of the *Catalogue of the Yakṣa* of the Mahāmāyūrī, the tutelar genius of Benares is Mahākāla whereas in the *Candragarbhasūtra,* 1, the patroness of the same city is Mahākālī.[16] Kāla and Kālī appear here as local divinities. But their relation to Aditi prepared them to play the part of universal gods. In the Kālasūkta of the *AV.* Kāla is already the highest god. In the school of the Kālavāda he remains still an independent god, Fate or Time. Elsewhere he disappears finally in the wake of another great god: among the Śaivas, Kāla has become an epithet of Śiva; in Vaiṣṇavism, Kalki has become an avatāra of Viṣṇu.

We must refrain from simplifying this evolution where the local worships, the non-Aryan influences and contributions from the Near-East have had a share. The ideas attached to Kali and to Kalki(n) are in relation to the theory of the four ages of the world and this theory seems to have spread from the Near-East over India and over Greece. It is up to a certain point under this influence, probably, that a moral dualism, founded upon the oppositions: white—black, bright—dark, pure—impure, etc. has developed in India.

Indian eschatology includes two distinct myths: (1) the myth

15 It is not unnecessary to note that in *AV.*, XIX, the *Kālasūkta* comes immediately after the *Kāmasūkta.*

16 Cf. Lévi, 'Le Catalogue géographique des Yakṣa.' *JA.*, 1915, I, p. 120.

of the awful god which presides over the destruction of the world (2) the myth of the god of salvation who guides the Just to the abode of Bliss. The fact that the former god has taken the shape of a black serpent whilst the latter has sometimes been conceived as a white horse[17] is in conformity with the principles of Indian dualism. In the most ancient texts where the name of Kalki(n) can be found, that is to say in Jaina literature, Kalki(n) is a nefarious being. This is why we have endeavoured to explain his name by the means of the non-Aryan root *kāl* 'black'[18] and why we cannot agree with Prof. O. Schrader's opinion that Kalki(n) must be brought back to *karka* 'white'. Besides, we have just seen that Indian eschatology is founded upon a theory of the ages of the world where the final period, which bears the name of Kali, possesses ever since the origin a clearly marked unlucky quality. It is at a late period only that the terrible god and the solar god, the Destroyer and the Saviour have both been absorbed by the universal god: in certain texts, Kalki and the Horse are still described as two distinct avatāras of the god Viṣṇu.[19]

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17 Cf. Otto Schrader, *ibid.*, p. 23.

18 Abegg, *ibid.*, notes rightly that the records which picture Kalki as a destructive god with an animal shape come from the South of India, where the Dravidian element is predominant.

19 Abegg, *ibid.*, p. 51.

I have already proposed in 1929 to bring back to the same non-Aryan root the series *kali, kāla, kalki,* and I have noted that in Santali *kal* means foe, poison, snake and in general everything that is dangerous and must be avoided (*RHR.*, Jul.-Aug. 1929, pp. 8-9); I gave these senses after Campbell's *Dictionary*. P. O. Bodding's *Santal Dictionary* (Oslo 1935) brings back Santali *kal* to Hindī *kāl,* and Prof. Otto Schrader writes: "Santal *kal* 'time, age' and 'fate, death', etc., (see Bodding's *Dictionary*) and also *kal* 'snake' (cf. Sanskrit *kāla-sarpa*) are evidently but loan-words from the Indo-Aryan of which there are so many in Santālī". (*The name Kalki(n), ibid.*, p. 21, n. 1). Things are not so evident. It is possible that the Santālī language may have grown poorer in the interval between the compilation of Campbell's and Bodding's dictionaries, as the former gave a much wider sense to *kal.* Any affirmation would be unwise until the comparative study of the Muṇḍā tongues, founded upon lexicons that we do not yet possess, has thrown some light upon their relation to each other and to the Dravidian tongues.

Sanskrit Works on the Game of Chess

Though the game of chess is generally supposed by scholars to be of Indian origin and reference to the game is found in various Indian works from a very early period, Sanskrit works dealing with and describing it are comparatively rare. As a matter of fact no early Indian work on the subject is known, and until very recently the world of scholars had knowledge of very few Indian descriptions of the game. It was only in 1936 that the text of an independent treatise (the *Caturaṅgadīpikā*) describing the game in detail was published for the first time. But no attempt seems to have yet been made to prepare a bibliography of similar other little known works still existing in manuscript in different parts of the country. This is, however, essential for a thorough, systematic and critical study of the extant literature on the subject for investigating the origin and development of the game which enjoys a world-wide popularity. As a contribution, therefore, to such a bibliography an account is given here of the mss. and printed editions of Sanskrit texts on the subject that have come to my notice.

Caturaṅgadīpikā[1] and the *Caturaṅgataraṅgiṇī*, a ms.[2] of which is reported to exist in Nepal, are the two known works which deal with the earlier form of Caturaṅga—the four-handed chess. The former is attributed in the only known ms. of it, dated 1701, Śaka era (1779 A.D.), to Mahāmahopādhyāya Śūlapāṇi who is supposed to have been identical with the famous Smṛti writer of that name who flourished in Bengal in the 15th century.

The question of authorship of a little-known work on a popular subject of which few mss. are available,, has, however, to be determined with the utmost caution in view of the fact that later works are not infrequently passed under the names of earlier and more famous people with the object of gaining recognition. As an instance

1 Calcutta Sanskrit Series, No. XXI. 2 *Op. Cit.*, Introduction, p. iii.

in point we might mention the names of a number of apparently late ritualistic works like the *Dharmapūjāvidhi* attributed to Raghunandana, the well-known authority on Brahmanic rites in Bengal.

Besides, the work under discussion refers to and quotes from works associated with famous names like Vyāsa, Yama, Manu, Yājñavalkya, Agastya, Gautama[3] not any of whose known works are found to have anything to do with Caturaṅga. Neither is there any tradition connecting any of them with the game in any way. This may appear to be rather curious and apparently raises a point of doubt with regard to the genuineness of the work.

A small work in seven verses dealing with double-handed chess for which great antiquity has been claimed is the *Buddhibalasaptaka*.[4] It has been assigned to the pre-Muhammadan period (10th —12th century) owing to the absence of any Perso-Arabic terms in it. But more positive evidence is required before any definite conclusion is arrived at in this respect, as the use of Sanskrit terms in the place of Perso-Arabic ones may be due to late coining.

Another small work which has the appearance of old age being supposed to be in the form of a discourse given by Kṛṣna to Rādhā is the *Buddhibala* or *Śatarañjakutūhala*, several mss. of which are found in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. The work complete in ten verses is being edited by the present writer in the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat Series, Calcutta.[5]

The work called *Śatarañjinī* which has been attributed to Kṛṣṇarāma and described by R. L. Mitra[6] is a bigger one, of which a

3 The term *Gurucaraṇa* by which the author apparently refers to his preceptor is curiously taken by the editor, Mr. M. Ghosh, as the personal name of an author who is supposed to have inserted certain prose passages in the work (Introduction to *Caturaṅgadīpikā*, p. xxxiv).

4 Published along with the *Vilāsamaṇimañjarī* for which see below.

5 The text accompanied by an anonymous commentary has already been published in the monthly organ of the Parishat (Vol. XX, pp. 297-304).

6 *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Library of His Highness the Mahārājā of Bikaner*, No. 1546.

portion seems to be preserved in a ms. in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal where the names of the work and the author are respectively given as *Caturaṅgaracanā* and Giridhara, son of Śaṅkara and grandson of Śiva, the astronomer. The last two lines of the work, as quoted by Mitra, constitute the second half of the sectional concluding verse[7] which occurs *mutatis mutandis* at the end of each of the three sections found in the ms. of the Society. The work, which belongs to Buddhi-śāstra (fol. 2B, 3A, 4A) is stated to have been composed only for children (fol. 3A). The author refers to his father, uncle and grand-father as well as to his paternal home on the Godāvarī.[8] The family appears to have been a learned one. Besides the present work Giridhara was the author of at least one more work, e.g., the *Gañjīphākhelana* on the game of cards, which has already been published in the Kāvyamālā (Vol. XIII, pp. 81-84). The *Muṇḍitaprahasana*[9] of Śiva Jyotirvid and the *Gotrapravaramañjarīsāroddhāra*[10] of Śaṅkara Daivajña, son of Śiva may very likely be respectively the works of his grand-father and father. It is not known if Śaṅkara Daivajña, author of the *Śāligrāmaparīkṣā*[11] is identical with the father of our author.

The *Caturaṅgavinoda* attributed in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* (I. 177) to the prolific writer Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍe (18th century) appears from the name to pertain to chess. The ms. referred to in

7 ज्योतिर्विच्छिवसूनुशङ्करसुतश्चक्रे ऽवलम्बक्रमाद्
यानं सत्तुरगस्य सद्गिरधरः सौख्यप्रदं श्रीमताम् ।
आलस्यापहरं विदां च जयदं तद् यो नरो जानते
स क्रीडन्ननिशं न यात्यपरसत्कार्य मुदार्योऽपि सन् ॥ Fol. 4B.

8 गोदोसरतटनिकटे प्रकटं पुटभेदं च गोलाख्यम् ।
तत्रासीत् सुबुधस्तत्सूनू स्तो नृसिंहशिवौ ॥ Fol. 4A—B.

9 R. L. Mitra—*Notices of Sans. mss. I.* 125; Peterson—*Report of operations in search of Sans. mss.*, 2, 83.

10 Peterson—*op. cit.*, 4, 246.

11 *Descr. Cat. Sans. mss. Ind. Office Library*—III. 1804.

the said work, however, is noticed by Bühler[12] in the section of kāvya without referring to the name of the author.

The *Vilāsamaṇimañjarī,* which in four chapters deals with one hundred problems of the game, is a very late work having been composed towards the end of the 18th or even the beginning of the 19th century during the time of Baji Rao II. The work, however, enjoyed a popularity not usually noticed in the case of Sanskrit works composed so late. We have clear indications of this popularity in the fact that quite a fair number of mss.—larger than those in the case of any other work on the subject—are known of it. Four mss. have been utilised by G. R. Kulkarni Haldikar who has edited the work with a Marathi translation.[13] There are two mss. in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, both of which are incomplete containing chapters I and III with the two initial verses of chapter IV, accompanied all through by notes in Marathi. One ms. of apparently the same work was noticed by R. G. Bhandarkar.[14] Besides, it appears to have been translated, into English wholly or in part, as early as 1814.[15]

Reference may be made here to a few works no details of which are available and no mss. of which are known to have ever been described or noticed. Of these *Caturaṅgadīpikā* refers to the *Caturaṅgapaddhati* and the *Divyamālikā* or *Mālikā* while the anonymous commentary on the *Buddhibalasaptaka* mentions and quotes from the works of Lakṣmaṇa and others.

The *Viśvakoṣa* (Encyclopaedia Bengalensis) refers to three

12 *A Catalogue of Sanskrit mss. contained in the private Libraries of Gujrāt, Kaṭhiāvād, Kachch, Sind and Khāndeś,* II. 84.

13 School and College Book Stall, Kolhapur, 1937.

14 *Report on the search for Sans. mss. in the Bombay Presy.* 1882-3, No. 408.

15 Trevengadacharya Shastree—Essays on chess, adapted to the European mode of play.....Translated from the original Sanskrit, Bombay, 1814. Referred to by Weber in *Monatsberichte der Königliche Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin,* 1873, p. 717.

works of this latter type on this subject, e.g., *Caturaṅga-kerali*, *Caturaṅgaprakāśa* and *Caturaṅgakrīḍana*. It is also stated there that one Triveṅgācārya Śāstrī who flourished in Southern India about 700 years ago was an expert in the game who imparted much valuable instruction on the subject.

Besides these, there are works which incidentally describe the game. Of these the description found in the *Tithi-tattva* of Raghunandana is best known.[16] It was first brought to the notice of scholars by Sir William Jones through an English translation published in the *Asiatic Researches* (vol. II, 1799, pp. 159 ff.). It was translated into German by Weber.[17] H. P. Sāstri published the text with a fresh English translation in the *JBORS.*, (1921, pp. 60 ff.). This description which is in the form of an interlocution between Vyāsa and Yudhiṣṭhīra is found incorporated in the *Caturaṅgadīpikā*. Another description appears to be contained in a ms. in the Raghunāth Temple Library of Kashmir,[18] where it is stated to have been taken from a work called the *Jayakaumudī*. This is also stated to be in the form of an interlocution between Vyāsa and Yudhiṣṭhira. A small description given by Nīlakaṇṭha towards the end of his *Nītimayūkha* was translated by Weber (*op. cit.*, 1874, pp. 705 ff.).

Though the number of works noticed above is by no means encouraging, still a critical and comparative study of them is expected to throw light on the growth and development of the game in different parts of India.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

16 Manuscripts containing this description and apparently passing as those of an independent work are also known. (R. L. Mitra—*op. cit.*, II. 539; *JBORS.*, 1921, p. 60).

17 *Monatsberichte* etc., 1872, pp. 59 ff.

18 Stein—*Catalogue of the Sans. mss. in the Raghunath Temple Library of His Highness the Mahārājā of Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 88.

Omniscience

[In this paper the questions principally discussed are (1) whether the Yoga inference of omniscience, with sātiśayatva as *probans*, should necessarily be discarded, (2) whether the advaitin's resort to śruti is really helpful, and (3) whether the conception of omniscience is intelligible or reconcilable with the demands of human freedom. A negative answer is given to each question. Omniscience is tenable in the last resort only through identification with the svarūpa-jñāna that is Brahman; this is really to say that everything is known since there is nothing to know.]

The creator, sustainer and destroyer of the universe seems naturally endowed not merely with omnipotence but also omniscience; for right action goes in the wake of right knowledge, and the Lord, as we conceive Him, is He who can do everything and that aright. The very texts which establish Īśvara declare His all-knowingness too. For those to whom Scripture does not count, inference may avail. If on the analogy of finite acts of complexity and skill requiring intelligent creators, we infer a supreme creator for the infinitely complex world, we have necessarily to postulate complete knowledge too as an attribute of this creator. The very existence of a creator may be denied by many. With these one need not be concerned for the moment; for their refutation *in extenso* may be found in the criticism of the ārambhavādins, pariṇāmavādins, and saṃhativādins. Even the Sāṅkhyas cannot but ascribe some potency to the proximity of spirit though they deny all activity to it; and from such a position it is not impossible to argue that the more perfect the spirit's knowledge, that is to say, the more perfectly the spirit is itself, the greater its potency to actuate matter; hence the Yoga inference of the omniscient: there are differences of degree in the apprehension of whatever is not directly presented to the senses; such differences must have an upper limit, where the maximum of apprehension is reached and there can be no further surpassing; for whatever is surpassable must have a limit of surpassability, e.g. dimension; the *āmalaka* is bigger than the cherry, and the *bilva*

fruit bigger than the *āmalaka;* these increasing dimensions have an upper limit in space (ākāśa) whose dimension is unsurpassable.[1] It it not merely that we stop somewhere, but that this limit is unsurpassable; else the argument will only lead to adepts and divinities whose knowledge is much greater than that of ours, without taking us to an omniscient Lord. Where a creator is admitted, it is impossible to stop short of the grant of omnipotence and consequently also omniscience; it is not possible to do all without knowing all. It is true that the potter has perfect knowledge of the pot only in some of its aspects; he knows not who will buy it or what use it will be put to; but the potter-analogy is not on all fours, for the Lord is the creator of *everything* and the internal ruler in all actions; His activity unlike the potter's is unlimited; His knowledge too must therefore be unlimited. It should also be remembered that even the potter has a general knowledge of the purchaser, use, etc.; only human beings are likely to purchase of him and each type of vessel is capable of only a certain kind of use, more or less restricted; with this the potter-analogy becomes much less unsatisfactory.

One may still urge that finite agents and cognisers require instruments such as the body and organs, that an omniscient Lord would similarly require instruments and that with the grant of such instruments there should be recognised limitations and defects consequent on them. No example given is intended to be unduly pressed; in so far as there is agreement in respect of being intelligent creators the analogy should be taken to have served its purpose; else there being complete identity between the illustration and what is illustrated, there could be no inference at all. Of course it is possible to differentiate the present inference from others; in the majority of syllogisms where a pervasion is asserted it is possible on the

1 See *Yoga Sūtra,* I, 25 together with *Vyāsabhāṣya* and *Tattvavaiśāradi;* the example of supreme dimension given here is the ātman; ākāśa is taken from the inference as given in the *Tattvaśuddhi,* p. 20, (Madras University).

ground of experience to exclude certain attributes as otherwise accounted for, as inconstant or as contradicted by another pramāṇa; in the present syllogism, there seems to be no such possibility of exclusion; when agency in the world is seen to go with intelligence it is seen to be concomitant with parviscience as well; and there is no known means of excluding the latter concomitance from the pervasion. A possible reply is that there is contradiction of the pramāṇa that apprehends Īśvara, the dharmin; it is absurd to infer an attribute which conflicts with the valid knowledge of the dharmin. This, however, is unsatisfactory, since all that inference of the creator gives us is only an intelligent cause, on the ground of the world being a diversified effect; it is not as if an omniscient Īśvara is somehow apprehended and omniscience denied of him later. Nor is it worth arguing that an intelligent creator being granted, it is desirable because of parsimony to assume a single creator, who would thus necessarily have to know all; for, if we are going to infer from the basis of experience, we should infer a multiplicity of creators co-operating, as in making a chariot or building a house; a plurality of finite co-operating intelligences seems more legitimately inferable than a single creator; in the face of such unequal alternatives how can parsimony work?

Neglecting these unsatisfactory answers it is yet possible to go back to the original inference and maintain its validity. Parviscience as such is merely negative unlike omniscience; we have to examine its extent in every case; the parviscience of the potter is not the same as that of the carpenter; so that it is not possible to claim invariable concomitance between agency and parviscience; there is such concomitance, however, between agency in respect of some effect and knowledge of that effect; and He who creates the entire world of objects must necessarily know all that is to be known; no intelligent agent is such in respect of that of which he is ignorant. It is also possible to show conflict with Scriptural

declarations of omniscience; but if the pervasion itself has to be maintianed by scripture, that is to give away the case for inference, except as subsidiary to Śruti; and this desperate course we need not yet adopt.

The opponent may still urge that the probativeness of the *probans* is in doubt; we say that pots etc., have intelligent creators; is it because they are diversified? Or is it rather because we know them to be such as can be made by people like us? This, however, is not a serious objection. No doubt our cognition primarily is of of the form "Those are of the class of things which persons like us make;" but we conclude that they are such as can be made only by persons like us, i.e., intelligent agents; this restrictive pervasion can come only through analysis and the discovery of a common property in them; this property we claim is the suggested *probans*, *vicitra-racanātmakatva*.

Another suggested syllogism runs thus: Merit and demerit should be perceptible to some one since they are objects of cognition, like the cherry in the hand; he to whom merit and demerit are objects of perception is the omniscient Īśvara. This is not sound, since what determines perceptibility is not cognisability, but sense-contact; that is to say, the object must be capable of being perceived and must be present; merit and demerit are not capable of being in sense-contact; hence the inference must fail. An advaitin who is not interested in discrediting inference altogether may attempt to get over the difficulty by insisting on probativeness, thus: Whatever is cognisable must be immediately cognisable by some one at some time or other; we may use inference or appeal to scripture, but these are of use only as supplementing, confirming or culminating in immediate experience. Merit and demerit, which the Mīmāṃsakas admit apparently as explaining all that has to be explained, must be capable of being thus experienced by some one. Since they are not experienced by finite cognisers, we postulate an infinite cogniser,

i.e., an omniscient being. As for perceptibility being determined by sense-contact we do not admit that; what is characteristic of perception is immediacy; and such experience may come through sense-contact, or through the functioning of manas as in the immediate realisation of what is revealed by a trustworthy person, or by Scripture. Nor can it be urged that manas is a sense-organ, since we are not bound to admit this. In respect of what is perceptible by the senses manas requires their aid; but elsewhere it is capable of immediate experience in and through itself. If Īśvara were dependent on the senses there would be the difficulties consequent on the functioning of the senses only in respect of certain objects; and there would also have to be the postulation of a body, leading to the admission of saṃsāritva; nor could the body be alleged to be assumed at will, as for volition embodiment would be necessary and *vice versa,* thus involving reciprocal dependence; nor could volition and embodiment be eternal for Īśvara, since there is no pramāṇa for this, and eternal embodiment would mean eternal bondage for the Being elsewhere said to be eternally free. All such difficulties, however, are avoided where Īśvara is said to know merit and demerit which are not bāhyendriya-yogya, through the manas, which, being an 'internal sense', is not restricted in its capacity to what is present.

This is not the procedure of the author of the *Tattvaśuddhi.* The last of the inferences he mentions in the *pūrvapakṣa* is the first in the present order, the Yoga argument as indicated in the *Vyāsa-bhāṣya* and developed in the *Tattvavaiśāradi.* Perhaps the earliest advaitin to notice this argument and discard it is Prakāśātman,[2] who alleges inconstancy of the problems, sātiśayatva, in respect of weight, attachment, aversion and pain. The present work omits weight, possibly on the ground that as a likely exception it has been noticed and disposed of even in the *Tattvavaiśāradi.* The other exceptions

2 See *Vivaraṇa,* Vizianagaram Skt. series, p. 218.

apparently stand. The qualities of attachment, aversion and pain, these too admit of grades each surpassing the one below. Hence there must be a supreme attachment, a supreme aversion and a supreme pain; and Īśvara must be these, an obviously absurd conclusion; for the Lord is free from all these. Since the objection appears final, our author abandons all inference, takes refuge in Scripture and appeals to texts like "yaḥ sarvajñaḥ sarvavid". It is worth while investigating (1) whether the inference should really be abandoned, and (2) whether the recourse to Scripture leaves us in any better plight.

1. (a) The *probans* if sufficiently delimited would appear not to allow of exceptions to the pervasion. Rāga, dveṣa and duḥkha are admittedly defects; the two former are classified by the Yoga under kleśas or hindrances; and the Lord in the Yoga definition is He who is untainted by kleśas.[3] The *probans* may be modified in this way, kleśa-pādavācya-bhinnatve sati sātiśayatvāt, i.e., since it admits of grades while being other than what is denoted by the word kleśa.[4] The word "kleśa-padavācya" is used to indicate that there is at least this one element common to all the kleśas that have to be excluded from the *probans*. With the suggested qualifications we can avoid the threatened *reductio ad absurdum*.

Gurutva (weight) does not come under kleśa; but it offers no genuine exception, says Vācaspati Miśra, since it does not really admit of grades as more and less. The weight of any whole is but the sum of the weights of its parts; the result of a numerical addition is erroneously conceived as an increase of grade; each part has its own weight; not thus can it be said that for each object there is a cognition and that the cognition of all is a mechanical aggregate of the cognitions of the eaches. The latter is sātiśāyī in a sense in

3 *YS.*, I, 24.
4 I owe this suggestion to MM. S. Kuppuswami Sastriar.

which the former is not. Cognition is not a manifold; it is of a manifold, whose extent varies with the degree to which enveloping darkness has been overcome and the single cognitive energy is able to pierce through; the degrees of cognitive excellence are dependent not on the addition or subtraction of objects, but on the grades of removal of darkness; not thus is it with properties like weight.

Rāga, dveṣa and duḥkha, being of the nature of avidyā or darkness, belong to that which is removed, not that which removes.

(b) It is arguable that even thus they may be partial manifestations of a universal rāga, dveṣa or duḥkha. It may also be contended that the refusal to admit such universals betrays intellectualist bias blind to a sane psychology, which cannot but recognise the affective and conative aspects of life in addition to the cognitive. These aspects too are relative wholes not made up of parts, but revealing themselves in the parts; hence these parts too lead to the inference of unsurpassable rāga, dveṣa and duḥkha. Admitting such an argument at its face-value, it is still possible to maintain that the conclusion is an iṣṭāpatti, since what Īśvara removes or helps to remove in the way of kleśas may be considered unsurpassable kleśa, so that when there is the removal, there is no fear of a fresh obstacle. There is no necessary identification of Īśvara and the kleśa, for *ex hypothesi* the former is the remover and the latter the removed. There is a necessary dualism here; but of this even the advaitin does not fight shy, since short of the Absolute he admits both Īśvara and Māyā. While niratiśaya-jñāna is of the nature of the former, niratiśaya-rāga etc. fall under the latter.

(c) Even thus the intellectualistic bias is dominant. Why should cognition be exalted at the expense of emotion? Why should the latter be removed by the former? It is not as though such a conclusion is inevitable or even desirable for advaita; for, Brahman is not merely vijñāna, but also ānanda; and what is ānanda bereft of emotion? The thoughtful advaitin has to admit the force

of this and proceed to show that rāga and dveṣa are condemned (as for duḥkha it is self-condemned) not because they are emotions but because they are defective emotions. It is not love that is objectionable, but love that ties one down to more or less limited objects, fettering the flight of the soul to supreme bliss. Bliss would not be such were it not the goal of supreme love; but attachment or rāga is at a great distance from this parama-premā because of the finitude and diversity of its objects. Once the defining walls are removed rāga may fulfil itself in premā. And since the supreme love cannot be an unsatisfied hunger, Īśvara should be conceived both as parama-premā and parama-premāspada, the unity of love and the beloved. Anything short of this is called rāga and treated as a hindrance (kleśa) to realisation. Rāga can be sublimated; in so far as there is sublimation, the application of inference to it to prove an unsurpassable limit therefor, and the identification of this limit with Īśvara are acceptable consequences.

The case of dveṣa is different. It is based on division; its aim is not unification but the increase of multiplicity. In principle it is not different from gurutva which is disposed of in the *Tattvavaiśāradi*. The hatred felt towards a community is not different from the sum of hatreds towards A, B, C, etc., the components thereof. Our emotive life like our cognitive life does not contain two faculties, one unifying and the other diversifying. It is always a reaching out for unity, coming up against and conquering a number of hindrances. Hatred and aversion are paralleled by delusion and doubt. Both pains clearly belong to the sphere of what is to be removed.

It may now be said that there is never any mechanical addition, that any whole (even an arithmetical whole) has some properties other than those of the parts added up, as otherwise the process of addition would have made no difference to the parts and would so far have been irrelevant, and that the sharp division into what removes and what is removed is inconsistent with ultimate non-dualism.

Two answers are possible. Attachments and aversions relate not to the eternal, but to products, with parts which are capable of being added to or taken away from. Where an apparently superior limit has been reached it will still be possible in theory to increase this limit by the addition of another part; the supposed kāṣṭhā will no longer be niratiśaya. Hence the inference in question is not applicable to these. But it is arguable[5] that anavasthā which is pointed out as the defect may also apply to the indefinite addition of parts. If the addition cannot be indefinite there need be no uncertainty as to the superior limit. Further, why should it be assumed that rāga applies only to products? Is it not the expression of icchāśakti which may claim to be co-eternal with jñānaśakti? This brings us to the second reply. Sublimation is possible of dveṣa as well as rāga, so that in the end we are not left with a dualism; but the process takes different forms in the two cases. Attachment has to advance from the finite to the infinite; aversion has to shift its direction from the finite to finitising. The seeker of release has to turn away definitively from saṃsāra. This process may be called aversion; it differs from dveṣa in this, that while the latter moves away from one or other manifestation of avidyā, because of attachment to another manifestation of avidyā (i.e., one's own finite self), the former, though a product of avidyā, moves away from avidyā; it is a case of crossing over death by means of avidyā (avidyayā mṛtyu-taraṇa). The postulation of superior limits for rāga and dveṣa and the identification of these limits with Īśvara need havè no terrors for the advaitin.

But it may be asked "why should the increase of excellence take the form of sublimation?" Because, we reply, any other process would be only of the nature of more or less mechanical addition and would neither support nor be supported by the inference of an un-

5 See Vijñānabhikṣu's *Vārtika* on *YS.*, I. 25.

excellable limit; and sublimation will not differ from addition except in so far as the latter ceases to be mechanical.

When all this has been said, it must be recognised that the ideal of omniscience involves the transcendence of the distinction of knower and known. If to know is also to be, no person can be an all-knower except in so far as objects have ceased to be as such for him, and the subject-object division has been transcended. Such a one will be an all-knower since there is nothing to know; Īśvara is sarvajña because He is vedya-varjita; so long as a world of knowable objects is left over against Him, the possibility of ignorance is unresolved except through an act of faith which declares that nescience in both the causal and effected conditions is under His control, and hence cannot constitute a limitation to His knowledge.

Nor is its being an act of faith the only defect of this procedure; it conflicts with other seemingly inevitable postulates. If the Lord knows all, He knows the future too; if He knows it, it is predetermined and there is no freedom for us to choose and act whether for elevation or otherwise. The possibility of knowing the future is explained by the advaitin[6] in this way: the future is in the womb of māyā which will evolve in accordance with the adṛṣṭa of the jīvas; the future course of evolution appears to Īśvara as a preliminary plan; there is nothing inconsistent in this, since māyā is subject to the control of Īśvara. The moot questions are still left unsolved, what place there is for voluntary effort to affect a course of evolution which may now seem inevitable, and whether the possibility of such change does not limit the Lord's knowledge.

One possible development of the notion of the Lord's control of māyā is along the lines suggested by William James: God and man are like the expert chess player and the tyro pitted against each

6 *Tattvaśuddhi*, p. 22.

other; God's omniscience gives him the ability to checkmate the tyro whatever move he may make, though He does not know the particular move or moves that will be made. Even this ingenious analogy can give no consolation to the humanist, who can and will say that this freedom to be inevitably checkmated is but illusory freedom. It is also possible to urge that knowledge of the future since it is *of the future* is necessarily different from knowledge of the present and that the limitation to human freedom comes only from conceiving the knowledge of the future on the analogy of and in the same terms as knowledge of the present. This is on the face of it plausible but does not take us far; the future, we hold, differs from the present in being contingent; is knowledge of the future also contingent? If so, the Lord's omniscience does not really deserve the name. If the knowledge is not contingent, the content cannot be really contingent. We have to deny either our freedom or the Lord's knowledge of all in the sense in which we understand knowledge. The advaitin may reply that since in the last resort we are identical with Īśvara, the perfection of the Lord is our own perfection and our freedom suffers no real limitation. What advaita asserts as a rule is, however, the identity of Brahman and the Jīva, not of Īśvara and the Jīva, some distinction being always maintained between the latter two, whether as prototype and reflection or in other ways; some varieties of advaita no doubt affirm that release is the attainment of Īśvaratva, but this is irrelevant for us who are concerned with the freedom of human beings here and now, not when they have attained release. The position, however, contains the core of the truth, that we are free to realise our oneness with the perfectly free Īśvara, that the realisation of this oneness is inevitable for all, by ways more or less arduous or devious. Īśvara would be omniscient, as aware of this inevitable end; but of the slips and backslidings, fears, hopes and aspirations on the way, one need not postulate knowledge for the Lord.

Even such a position is not wholly satisfactory; there is, to say the least, conflict with the usual explanation of the scriptural terms sarvajña and sarvavit, the latter being said to mean knowledge of all things in their particularity.[7] How can there be knowledge of the future in its particularity if there be no awareness of the detailed strivings, advances and backslidings of the jīva? Such difficulties are necessarily incidental to the notion of omniscience, which, like the notion of knowership, has to be transcended by the knowledge which is the svarūpa of reality, which is necessarily of all, since it is all and there is nothing outside it.

Some advaitins have tended to identify sarvajñatā with svarūpa-jñāna. They have maintained thus that there is no unintelligibility in the Lord's knowledge of merit and demerit or indeed of any content since his cognition does not have to depend on the senses, external or internal, or on a body; His knowledge they say is svarūpa-jñāna.[8] Though this leads to dispensing with the notion of Him as knower (jñātṛ), knowledge of all does not become impossible, since, as the material cause of all, He is consciousness non-different from all.[9] Here again we have a wavering between two notions—Īśvara and Brahman. The latter is jñāna-svarūpa; it is also the material cause of the universe. If in defending a certain conception of Īśvara one flies to Brahman, it is a conclusive proof of the final inadequacy of the former. It is not that Īśvara is omniscient because of svarūpa-jñāna; omniscience as a quality of one who is up against all things and is the knower of all things is a necessary postulate made by us who know little and yet are aware of our knowing little; this postulate being an extension from parviscience is necessarily defective and calls for transcendence in what is neither omniscience nor parviscience but scientia, the wisdom that is Brahman's svarūpa. This is the truth in the waverings of the dialecticians. That is why of six

7 *Muṇḍaka*, I, i, 9; Śaṅkara's bhāṣya.
8 *Tattvaśuddhi*, p. 21.
9 *Ibid.*

scriptural texts quoted in the *Tattvaśuddhi* we find that only two are directly relevant to the topic of omniscience, and that of these, while one predicates knowledge, the other[10] speaks of the nature of Brahman as the knowledge by whose light all else is manifest. Omniscience as knowership is not real since there is nothing to know; Omniscience as knowledge is real, but there is nothing to know. The former is not the latter, but necessarily fulfils itself in the latter.

S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri

10 "Tasya bhāsā sarvam idam vibhāti". *Svet.* VI, 14.

Indian Elements in the Coin Devices of the early foreign Rulers of India

The medley of figures used as coin devices by the Bactrian Greek kings of India and their successors, the Śakas, the Pahlavas and the Kuṣāṇas prove that these alien chiefs not only drew from the mythology of their own respective religious systems to which they belonged, but also utilised many and various deities connected with the pantheon of the people conquered by them. The gods and goddesses appearing on the Indo-Bactrian Greek coins are no doubt mainly Hellenistic in origin and decidedly Praxitelean in character as noticed long ago by Gardner.[1] Many of the devices adopted by the Bactrian Greeks were retained by the Śakas but in most cases, these were given a new orientation which transformed their original character substantially. Gardner noticed some of these striking changes and remarked, "A careful consideration of these facts will convince us that by some means or other Maues and his race secured the services of artists who had been instructed by the Greeks, but were not restricted by Greek traditions."[2] The Pahlava rulers, though to a certain extent imitators of the Greeks, mainly used devices which were pre-eminently Parthian in character. The Kuṣāṇas especially the Kaṇiṣka group of kings, on the other hand, brought in features in which the Hellenistic element was least recognisable. As has been shown by Stein, many of the reverse types are borrowed from Zoroastrianism, while the others are made up of Indian and Greek divinities—the term Greek, however, being applicable to the last class in name only.[3]

1 Gardner, *British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India*, p. lvii.

2 Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. lviii.

3 Thus, Salene and Helios, on the coins of Kaniṣka though the names

But what is of interest in the study of the reverse devices of these foreign coins is the gradual inclusion of purely Indian types among them. Some times, the Indian character of the type is self-evident, while at other times it can be inferred after a careful scrutiny of the device. The reason for this Indianisation is to be sought in the contact of the conquerors and the conquered as also in the custom of using the tutelary divinities of cities as devices on coins minted there. We shall pick up some of these Indian elements in the composition of the types of these rulers and try to explain their real character.

The history of the contact of the Seleukidan rulers of Syria with north-western India is well-known. It is presumable that the origin of the device of the four elephants drawing a chariot used by Seleukos and some of his successors in their coins can be traced to one of the terms of the treaty of Seleukos I with Candragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty. The cock on the reverse side of the coins of Sophytes (Sopeithes),the king of the Salt Range, a contemporary of Alexander the Great might have been Indian in origin; the imitations of Athenian owls on which these light weight drachmae were based bore on them the figure of an eagle. The cock as an emblem of the Brahmanical war god Subrahmaṇya-Kārttikeya is well known to us and the bust of Sophytes on the obverse of these coins is shown as the bust of an warrior clad in helmet and cheek plate. As regards the coin devices of the early Bactrian Greek rulers of India, we do not find purely Indian elements till the time of Demetrios, the son of Euthydemos I. The square shape of some of his copper coins proves that it was he who for the first time introduced this

of the Greek moon goddess and the sun-god respectively, really represent Mao and Miiro, the Zoroastrain Moon and Sun gods, their figures being perfectly identical.

pre-eminently Indian feature in the Indo-Greek money.[4] Again, the inauguration of bi-lingual coins which were meant for the use of their Indian as well as of the Greek subjects is to be attributed to this ruler and his younger contemporary and rival, Eukratides. Elephant's scalp worn as a head-piece by Demetrios on some of his silver and copper coins as well as elephant's head with upraised trunk and a bell round the neck in the dotted circle used as an obverse device on certain copper coins of the same king are presumably Indian features whose early appearance on this coinage is interesting. The types used by Eukratides, such as the mounted Dioskouroi, the palms and piloi of the Dioskouroi, Apollo and Nike are mainly drawn from Greek mythology; but there is one device used by him in re-striking some of the copper coins originally issued by Apollodotos Soter which has particular bearing on our topic. It has been described thus, 'Zeus sitting on throne to front, holds wreath and palm; to right of throne forepart of elephant and to left a pilos; above his indistinct monogram Kharoṣṭhī legend *Kavisiye nagara devata*.'[5] The symbol which according to Whitehead is a pilos could not be deciphered by Gardner who described it as a 'conical object'; but Rapson is definite that it stands for a mountain.[6] The two symbols, viz., the head of an elephant and the mountain accompanying the central device as well as the Kharoṣṭhī legend are of particular interest inasmuch as they can be explained by certain remarks made about the capital city of Kāpiśa by Hiuen Tsang. Rapson was the first to connect these two symbols with Hiuen Tsang's passage which runs thus, 'To the south-west of the capital (Kāpiśā) was the *Pi-lo-sho-lo* mountain. This name was given to the

4 The description of a certain supposedly square-shaped copper coin of Alexander the Great as his Indian issue has been rightly rejected by numismatists. *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 388.

5 R. B. Whitehead, *Punjab Museum Catalogue of Coins*, vol. I, p. 26.

6 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 555.

mountain from its presiding genius who had the form of an elephant and was therefore called *Pi-lo-sho-lo*'.[7] Julien thought that some such Indian word as *Pilusāra* meaning 'elephant-solid' (*Pilu* from Persian *bil* = elephant), was its original and Rapson explained these two symbols, one as the mountain *Pi-lo-sho-lo* and the other as the elephant-shaped tutelary god of the mountain as also of the city of Kāpiśa.[8] If one further considers another observation of Hiuen Tsang in connection with his description of Kāpiśa and Watters' remarks on it one can go a step further and explain the central device of the seated figure as well as the elephant head, on the coins. Hiuen Tsang tells us, 'Above forty li (roughly 6 to 7 miles) south from the capital (Kāpiśa) was the city called *Si-pi-to-fa-la-tzu*'. Julien and St. Martin suggested *Sphītavaras* and *Śvetavaras* respectively as the possible Sanskrit original of the name of the city. Watters says 'The last character *sse* or *tzu* ..... is probably a Chinese word in the sense of temple. The other characters may stand for *Śvetavat* one of the epithets of Indra the god who rides a white (*śveta*) elephant. Thus the name of the city would be *Śvetavat-ālaya*, the Abode or Shrine of Indra'.[9] If Watters is correct in laying down the value of the Chinese word just mentioned, it is possible to identify the central device of the coins as 'Indra enthroned with the partial representation of his mount *Airāvata* (the white elephant) before him. *Śvetavatālaya*, according to the descrip-

7 Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. 556.

8 Watters remarks on the authority of Hiuen Tsang, 'This was the name of the tutelary god of the mountain and of the mountain itself, and it was the name given to the Aśoka tope erected on one of the rocks of the mountain.' Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, vol. I, p. 129. Shall we be justified in trying to identify the conical shaped symbol, not as the mountain, but the stūpa *Pi-lo-sho-lo*, said to have been erected by Aśoka? The mountain is usually represented on coins as a three- or multi-peaked object, whereas this particular device appears as a mound or a stūpa. In any case, Rapson was quite justified in his main hypothesis.

9 Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 126. The lexicographers lay down such words as *Śvetabāhu, Śvetavāha, Śvetavaḥ* as epithets of Indra.

tion of Hiuen Tsang, was evidently a suburb of Kāpiśa in the 7th century A.D. and its very name indicates that it had Indra as its tutelary deity. Now, in the *Mahāmāyūrī* list of the Yakṣas it is stated in one place (v. 83) that Yakṣa Laṅkeśvara was the special object of worship in Kāpiśā (*Laṅkeśvaraśca Kāpiśyām*) while at another place (v. 94) Yakṣa Nalakuvera is mentioned as such (*Kāpiśyām Nala-kuvera*). Sylvain Lévi, has drawn our attention to one Chinese interpretation of Laṅkeśvara which is *Kien tseu tsai* i.e. 'strong king' (solide souverain).[10] This epithet of 'strong king' would fit in with Indra, the king of the gods (*devarāja*) and thus at the same time would be attributable to the throned deity of the coin type in question.[11] But the two *Mahāmāyūrī* passages prove that Kāpiśa had at least two Yakṣas as its presiding deities, viz., Laṅkeśvara and Nalakuvera. Another passage in the same text, however, is of particular importance in this connection. The author while referring to the tutelary Yakṣas of certain places in the north-west of India explicitly mentions that Indra was the Yakṣa of Indrapura: The passage runs thus:—

शिवः शिवपुराहारे शिवभद्रश्च भीषणे ।
इन्द्रश्चेन्द्रपुरे यक्षः पुष्पकेतुः शिलापुरे ॥
दारुको दारुकपुरे कपिलो वसति वर्णुषु ।
मणिभद्रो ब्रह्मवत्याम् पूर्णभद्रश्च भ्रातरौ ॥
प्रमर्दनश्च गन्धारे तक्षशीलायाम् प्रभञ्जनः ।
खरपोस्त महायक्षो भद्र (छर्द) शैले निवासिकः ॥[12]

Of these localities, Varṇu, Gandhāra, Takṣaśilā, Bhadra (Charda)-Śaila can be definitely recognised and all of them are to be located in the extreme north-west of India. Lévi has correctly pointed out that Śivapura is mentioned as a village of the north (*Udicyagrāma*)

10 *Journal Asiatique*, 1915, p. 52.

11 Nalakuvera of the other passage cannot be connected with Indra; mythologically, he was the son of Kuvera, the Yakṣarāja, the guardian deity of the northern quarter.

12 *Mahāmāyūrī*, verses 28-33.

in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (on Pāṇini, IV, 2, 3,). As regards, Bhīṣana, Indrapura, Śilāpura and Dārukapura, he says that they do not appear elsewhere. Attention, however, may be drawn to the resemblance of the name Indrapura with the *Śvetavatālaya* of *Si-yu-ki* and if we are correct in assuming that they refer to the same locality, (cf. Hastināpura or Gajasāhvaya, the capital of the Kuru kingdom) we shall have no hesitation in placing this Indrapura very near Kāpiśa. On the basis of this hypothesis, our explanation of the coin device inaugurated by Eukratides will find confirmation. Rapson rightly remarks that 'the coin type, thus inaugurated became characteristic of the house of Eukratides in the Kabul valley; it is found on coins of Heliokles, Antialkidas (fig. 1), Amyntas and Hermaeus. A very unique tetradrachm of Antialkidas in the collection of the British Museum has a reverse device which has a special bearing on the one in question.[13] Whitehead describes it thus, 'On the reverse an elephant with its trunk at the salute, Nike on its head, and a bell round its neck, walks to the left. By its side, portrayed on a heroic scale, stalks "Zeus"'. He further correctly emphasises that 'apparently this quaint design shows the elephant-deity and his elephant indulging in a victorious march past.' All these considerations leave little doubt with regard to the identification proposed by us of the coin type; Indra, the king of the gods, and his mount Airāvata, (in a sense, the god himself in his theriomorphic form) were specially suited to be used as a proper device of coins issued by a monarch, the former symbolising the divine royal power while the latter standing for the solid stability of the realm. That the Indra cult was not unknown in parts of northern India can be proved from literary and archæological sources. The cult of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa developed at the expense of

13 It is not in Gardner's *Catalogue*, but is described by Whitehead in his 'Notes on Indo-Greek Numismatics', in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1923, pp. 325-6. pl. xv, fig. 5. Fig 2 in the accompanying plate.

various other pre-existing cults, the one of Indra being among them, and it is definitely proved by the story of Kṛṣṇa's *Govardhana-dhāraṇa* as narrated in the *Harivaṃśa* and some *Purāṇas*. In the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* chapter on *Pratimālakṣaṇam* Indra's image is described thus,—

शुक्लऋतुर्विषाणो द्विपो महेन्द्रस्य वज्रपाणित्वम् ।
तिर्यग्ललाटसंस्थं तृतीयमपि लोचनम् चिह्नम् ॥ 42.

Cunningham thought he had lighted upon a very old temple of Indra (*c.* 5th cent. A.D.) among the ruins of numerous temples at Sirpur, C.P.[14] The vigorously carved relief of ample proportions on the right facade of the Bhaja cave showing Indra riding on his elephant holding with its trunk upraised a branch or a flower is too well-known to be mentioned in detail.[15] Sakra or Indra is one of the most important acolytes of Buddha in the Buddhist mythology; in the Hellenistic art of Gandhāra as well as the indigenous one of Mathurā, he is very often (in the Indrasāla-guhā scene for example) depicted wearing a basketlike headdress and in company with his mount and other attendants.

Indra, the king of the gods, could very easily be identified by the Bactrian Greeks with Zeus of the Greek mythology. Rapson is thus quite justified in remarking "In this case, as also in others recorded by the historians of Alexander, the Greeks sought to identify the Indian divinities with their own. They evidently regarded the tutelary deity of the city of Kāpiśi as Zeus."[16] So, in the Indo-Bactrian Greek money, enthroned Zeus and *devarāja* Indra are often confused and it will be better to describe those figures as Indra where he is accompanied by an elephant or a partial representation of an elephant. Even in the latter case, Nike, the Greek goddess

14 *A.S.R.*, VII, p. 168.

15 Note the very striking similarity in attitude of the elephant here with that of the same in the coin-type of Antialkidas, mentioned above.

16 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 556.

of victory, is very often placed in the out-stretched right hand of this Indra-Zeus.[17] Again, even in the other type, that issued by Antialkidas, noticed above, Nike is placed on the head of the elephant by whose side the deity strides to left. The Śaka king Maues copied in toto the usual Indra-zeus type of Antialkidas and if one notices the description of the obverse device of coin no. 13 of Maues in Gardner's *British Museum Catalogue* (p. 70), one cannot but infer that it is a faithful copy of the reverse of Antialkidas *a* type coin. Maues, however, introduced a new orientation in this device; for, in the obverse of his coins Nos. 11-13 (fig. 3 of the accompanying plate) we find the same enthroned deity with a long sceptre in his left hand, while his right hand is placed on the shoulder of a human figure ('small winged female figure' according to Gardner; but the wings and the female character of the figure are not quite clear from the plate) who, as has been rightly suggested by Gardner, 'seems to be an embodiment of the thunderbolt!'. This reminds us of the Indian practice of sometimes representing the attributes in the hands of divinities as personified beings; *Cakra, Gadā, Śaṃkha,* the usual attributes of Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu are very often depicted thus when they are known by the name of *āyudhapuruṣas*. As the weapon thunderbolt is behind its personified representation in this coin of Maues, so in most cases, the actual weapons *cakra* etc. are carved behind their personified representations on whose heads or shoulders the deity's hands rest.

On the basis of our main hypothesis, it will be possible for us to suggest that the device 'elephant's head with a bell round his neck' used by Demetrios on some of his copper coins and other Indo-Greek and Śaka rulers like Menander and Maues (fig. 4) was

17 Cf. the first three types of Antialkidas, *P.M.C.*, vol. I, pp. 32-4; this type became so very popular with him, that he used it also as the reverse device of some of his silver drachmae which belonged to the Attic standard of weight bearing Greek legend only and which were thus meant for circulation in the Bactrian portion of his kingdom; cf. *ibid.*, p. 36, no. (v).

associated with this elephant deity, peculiar to Kāpiśa and its environs.[18] We are not certain whether the elephant used as a device on so many coins of these kings is in any way connected with it; but if any connection between the two could be proved, then one could demonstrate the extreme popularity of the device. Elephant is used as a device in the coins of Antimachos Theos,[19] Heliokes,[20] Lysias, Antialkidas, Archebios, Apollodotos Soter,[21] Menander, Zoilos, Maues,[22] Azes, Azilises and Zeionises. It is worth noting that barring the satrapal coins of Zeionises elephant is not used as a device in the Indo-Parthian series of coins.

The next device of outstandingly Indian character is the so-called dancing girl appearing on the obverse of certain copper coins of identical fabric issued in the Indian portion of their dominions by Pantaleon and Agathokles. These coins are characterised not only by their complete resemblance to the indigenous double-die coins localised by Cunningham at Taxila but also by the fact of their being the only two types of early alien bilingual money having the Indian legend in Brāhmī script, Kharoṣṭhī being otherwise used in the bulk of this class of coins. Gardner describes this device as a 'female figure with long pendants from her ears, clad in oriental dress with trousers; holds in her right hand a flower'.[23] In another

18 *P.M.C.*, vol. I, p. 13, no. 21; p. 62, nos. 507-14; p. 98, nos. 5-9.

19 Type no. 2, in *P.M.C.*, I, p. 19; it should be observed that while elephant appears on the obverse, Nike who is so frequently associated with the Kāpiśa deity figures on the reverse.

20 Two types—Bust of king: elephant and elephant: bull, *P.M.C.*, vol. I, p. 29.

21 Elephant: Bull—used both in round silver drachm of attic weight and square silver drachm of Persian or Indian weight. Rapson remarks that the elephant and bull 'may have symbolised the tutelary divinities of cities.'

22 Running elephant with uplifted trunk: seated king or deity and running elephant with uplifted trunk: Humped bull; note the attitude strikingly similar to the Kāpiśa elephant.

23 *British Museum Catalogue*, pp. 9-10, pl. III, 9 & pl. IV, 9. Fig. 5 of the accompanying plate.

place, he remarks 'the earliest of the clearly Indian types to make its appearance is a dancing girl, wearing long hanging earrings and oriental trousers, on the money of Pantaleon and Agathocles,"[24] From after this, it has been the custom amongst numismatists to describe this type as 'the dancing girl'; a few scholars however, denominated it in a different manner. Thus, Foucher would like to find in it Māyā, the mother of Buddha in the nativity scene,[25] whereas Coomaraswamy at first suggested that it was Lakṣmī but later was somewhat sceptical about it.[26] Of these two suggestions, the latter is more acceptable, because the flower in the right hand of the figure, so far as it can be ascertained from the summary representation in coin, seems to be a lotus. While studying a few originals of this type in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, I wondered whether these female figures did really stand for some horse-faced divinity. The head seemed too longish to be a human one; if one could be sure that it was an equine head, then the figure could be correctly described as Yakṣinī Aśvamukhī or Kinnarī which is sometimes represented in indigenous art as a woman with a horse's head.[27] But the representation on the not very well preserved copper coins are too indefinite to let us be sure about our suggestion. In any case, it will be better to describe the figure as an Indian goddess possibly Lakṣmī, (or, if we could connect the lion on the other side with the goddess, she could probably be described as Durgā-Siṃhavāhinī, the lotus also being an attribute of hers) perhaps, associated with Taxila or regions near it. Śrī-Lakṣmī, however,

24 Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. lvii.

25 Foucher, *On the Iconography of the Nativity of the Buddha, M.A.S.I.*, No. 46, p. 12.

26 *Eastern Art*, vol. I, p. 178. "The so-called dancing girl on the coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles is of the type of Lakṣmī (*Padmahastā*) and may be Śrī-Lakṣmī; but this by itself is hardly definitive and the movement is unusual."

27 Cf. the Bodh-Gayā representation of this motif, R. L. Mitra, *Buddha-Gayā*, pp. 155-6 pl. xxxiv, fig. 2.

was utilised by these foreign rulers as coin-devices and different modes of her representation have been found in the Indo-Bactrian Greek and Śaka coins. The obscure king Peukolaos is known from certain copper coins, the reverse sides of which bear a figure which has been described by Whitehead as a 'city goddess with turreted crown to left; lotus in right hand.'[28] It is very likely that it stands for Lakṣmī with the Hellenistic accretion of the turreted crown. The obverse device of an unique gold coin (classed as 'Indo-Scythian, uncertain' by Gardner) in the collection of the British Museum ought to be studied in this connection. It has been described by Gardner as 'Greek city-goddess, clad in chiton and peplos, wearing mural crown, and holding a poppy-head'.[29] Rapson, who at first doubted the genuineness of the coin, described the same device as a 'city goddess, wearing a mural crown and holding a lotus flower in her right hand with the Kh. legend *Pakhalavadi-devada* meaning the deity of Puṣkalāvatī'; he also remarked 'she wears Greek dress and the mural crown which is the emblem of a Greek civic divinity; and as guardian of the "City of Lotuses" (Puṣkalāvatī, she appropriately holds a lotus-flower in her right hand."[30] The city divinity of Puṣkalāvatī was most likely the goddess Lakṣmī whose Hellenised representations we find in these two coin types (the name of the obscure Greek king Peukolaos seems to have some connection with Puṣkalāvatī, the Greek form of which is Peukelaotis); the figure of the bull with Greek legend *Tauros* and Kharoṣṭhī legend *Uṣabhe* appearing on the reverse side of the gold coin was also a therio-morphic representation of a divinity presumably Śiva.[31]

28 *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1923, p. 324 & pl. xv, 3.

29 Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 162 & pl. xxix, 15.

30 *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 787.

31 *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 557. Rapson remarks on this bull device—"As in the case of the city divinity of Kāpiśi, the Greek artist has represented in accordance with Greek ideas an Indian deity who was supposed to bear the form of a bull. Here, Hiuen Tsang says, "Outside the west gate of the city (of Puṣkalāvatī) was a Deva-temple and a marvel working image of the Deva"

Of the two goddesses appearing on the reverse sides of two types of coins of Hippostratos,[32] one at least, viz., the cornucopiae bearing figure might have some connection with the city-deity of Puṣkalāvatī. One of the two figures (one male and the other female, the male figure identified by Rapson as Zeus) the female one, wearing a mural crown and holding a diadem in her right hand and a cornucopiae on her left arm, appearing on the reverse side of certain silver coins of the Śaka ruler Azilises was tentatively identified by Rapson as the tutelary deity of Puṣkalāvatī.[33] With some slight alterations, here and there, the city goddess type was utilised by Maues (*P.M.C.* vol. I, p. 99, no. 15), Azes (*ibid.*, pp. 121-122, nos. 218-240; here definitely described as Demeter) and other Śaka rulers. In the Hellenistic art of Gandhāra we do not fail to find plastic representations of this goddess. Thus the Loriyan Tangai relief depicting Gautama's *Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa* in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta contains the figures of this goddess and Māra as also other divinities clustering round Buddha's figure on horse back; here also she is characterised by the turreted crown and a flower in her hand.[34] A general observation may be made that in such cases, Hellenistic outer garments were used to cloak the original Indian divinity. But even these Hellenistic

(Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 214). If we were sure about any connection of the obverse and reverse devices of this coin, we could have offered the suggestion that the goddess stood for Śiva's consort; but, the theriomorphic representation of the male deity on one side and anthropomorphic depiction of his consort on the other is a priori unlikely. We shall presently see, however, that Śiva's consort seems also to have been utilised as a coin-device by certain Śaka rulers.

32 *P.M.C.*, vol. I, p. 74, Nos. 604-609; Whitehead describes the device as a city goddess to left, carrying cornucopiae.' *Ibid.*, p. 77, No. 631, described as a 'city goddess to left with mural crown and palm.'

33 Rapson, *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, pp. 788-89; he based his suggestion on the general resemblance of this goddess to the one on the gold coin of Puṣkalāvatī and the possibility of the Kharoṣṭhī letter *pa* in the left field being an abbreviation of Pakhalavadi-Puṣkalāvatī.

34 Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art*, fig. 53.

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

Fig. 8

By courtesy of the British Museum authorities.

embellishments were soon to disappear and the purely Indian *abhiṣeka-lakṣmī* was to make its appearance on certain silver coins of Azilises.[35] The motif exactly corresponds to the Indian Gaja-Lakṣmī type, so frequently to be found in early mediaeval and modern Indian art; it was also used as a device in a Kosam coin (*c.* 3rd. century B.C.), by Ranjuvula, the Śaka Satrap (*c.* 1st century A.D.), Śasāṅka the Gauḍa king (7th century A.D.) and others. Foucher would also like to find in the earlier replicas of this type, the scene of the nativity of the Buddha.[36]

It will not be out of place here to refer to a certain goddess figure used as a device in some copper coins of Azes. The coin type is no. 30 of Azes in the *Punjab Museum Catalogue,* vol. I., p. 129; its obverse has been described by Whitehead as 'Goddess Lakṣmī standing to front with flower in raised right hand.' Whitehead does not notice the lotus flower on which the goddess is made to stand and a peculiar object to her left. The identical device has been described by Gardner as 'Female deity facing, clad in himation; holds in raised right hand, flower; stands on lotus; beside her, lion? (Lakṣmī?)'.[37] Gardner was not quite sure whether the object to the left of the goddess was a lion or not; but the forepart of the lion is quite clear from his plate (though it is not so clear in the Punjab Museum specimen reproduced by Whitehead in pl. xii, no. 308). Copper coins nos. 133-36 in Gardner's book (pl. xix, iv) and those nos. 220-30 in Whitehead's *Catalogue* (pl. vii, 222) show on the obverse a lion walking to right and on the reverse a goddess which Gardner was diffident about describing as Demeter (Whitehead thought it was so). The coins are all of copper and thus mostly

35 *P.M.C.*, vol. I, p. 135. Fig. 6 of the accompanying plate. It has been described, 'Indian goddess, Lakṣmī standing facing on a lotus-flower with twin stalks and leaves. On each leaf stands a small elephant sprinkling water on the head of the deity.'

36 Foucher, *op. cit.*, pp. 13 ff.

37 Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 85. Fig. 7 of the accompanying plate.

in a very indifferent state of preservation; whatever might be the right identification of the deity here, it is extremely probable that in the other case the female divinity standing on lotus in a graceful Indian pose with a lion by her side is none other than Durgā-Siṃhavāhinī, the consort of Śiva. It is true that the lotus at her feet and the same in her raised right hand would indicate the possibility of her being Lakṣmī; but its nature is more or less the same as that of the reverse device of the Candragupta I type coins of Samudragupta and the Lion-slayer type coins of Candragupta II. The composite character of the Gupta device—the goddess seated on a lion, holding a lotus-flower or cornucopiae in her left-hand, her right hand holding a fillet and her feet sometimes resting on lotus led Allan to describe her as Lakṣmī or Ambikā.[38] In the iconographic texts, lotus is in many cases regarded as an attribute of Durgā, Gaurī and Ekānaṃśā, in a few the original Śakti goddesses. The description of the two handed Ekānaṃśā in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (ch. 57. v. 37) is as follows:—

कटिसंस्थितवामकरा सरोजमितरेण चोद्वहती ;

many texts like the *āgamas* give us more or less identical descriptions of two-handed Durgā-Gaurī images (*Dakṣine cotpalaṁ haste vāmahastaṃ pralambitam*). We cannot but be struck with the great similarity of the stance of the coin-device in question, with that of the goddesses described in the texts. Lion as the mount of Durgā is too well-known to be commented on in detail. It is true that the Syrian or Elamite goddess Nanaia is occasionally represented on some Kuṣāṇa coins as riding on a lion,[39] but the mode of her presentation there is quite different from the device under discussion. If we can further show that the cult of Durgā Siṃhavāhinī was known in the north-western region in the early centuries

38 Allan, *Catalogue of the Gupta Coins in the British Museum*, pp. lxxii-lxxiii, lxxxiii.

39 Cunningham, *Coins of the Kushans*, pl. xxii, fig. 19.

of the Christian era, we shall have some further proof in support of our hypothesis. Here also Hiuen Tsang supplies us with some interesting and valuable information. He tells us—'Above 50 *li* to the north-east of *Po-lu-sha* (now unanimously identified with Shahbazgarhi) was a great mountain which had a likeness (or image) of Maheśvara's spouse Bhīmā-devī of dark blue stone. According to local accounts this was a natural image of the goddess;..... .....At the foot of the mountain was a temple to Maheśvara-deva in which the Ash-smearing "Tirthikas" performed much worship.'[40] It is needless to emphasise that the Chinese pilgrim, though writing during the first half of the 7th century A.D., was referring to a far earlier local custom.

Certain copper coins were issued by Maues as well as Azes with a type summarily designated by Whitehead as Poseidon with trident and Bacchante: He describes the reverse device as a 'female figure standing to front between trees (possibly a Bacchante among vines); Gardner describes it as a female figure clad in chiton and himation facing; stands between two vines. (Maenad?).'[41] None of these scholars is, thus, quite sure of his identification and from the general character of this device we feel tempted to suggest an Indian designation for it. Coomaraswamy while delineating on the iconographic features of Śrī-Lakṣmī in his learned article on 'Early Indian Iconography' refers to three varieties of Lakṣmī type, the third one, described by him, being, "as Padmavāsinī. Kamalālayā etc., she is surrounded by flowering stems and growing leaves, establishing her environment, and in this case she very often holds one

40 Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 221. Watters thinks that the image or likeness of Bhīmā-devī was apparently a dark-blue rock in the mountain supposed to have a resemblance to that goddess'. Julien, however, understood the passage to mean that there was a statue.

41 *P.M.C.*, vol. I, pp. 100-101, 122; *B.M.C.*, pp. 70-71, 89. This type was a favourite one of Maues. Fig. 8.

of the flowering stems in each hand."[42] There will be no inherent improbability if we suggest that this device is a Hellenised version of the third variety of Lakṣmī noted above. A glance at the plates accompanying Coomaraswamy's article will convince one that this was a very favourite theme with the early Indian artists. We can compare this coin device with one of later period (*c.* 6th or 7th century A.D.) appearing on an unassigned or doubtfully assigned gold coin of Gupta style and fabric. This coin was discovered at Mahmudpur (Jessore district, Bengal) and is in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Allan describes this reverse device, thus, "Goddess Lakṣmī (Smith—simply 'Goddess'), nimbate, standing left holding lotus in out-stretched right hand; behind her a lotus plant and at her feet, a *haṃsa* (peacock according to Smith)"[43] In this case, however, the *haṃsa* at the feet of the figure would justify us in identifying her as Sarasvatī, the counterpart of Lakṣmī.

Gardner, long ago, was struck by the peculiar form of many of these types which were 'more distinctive than the style (Praxitelean) in which they were rendered'. He remarked, 'To search out the reasons of these variations of type, reasons to be found probably in many instances in the influence of local Indian or Persian legend or belief, would be a very attractive task.....' I have attempted in the preceding pages to partially work out the scheme hinted at by the great scholar. This subject will be more fully treated in my forthcoming work on 'Ancient Indian Coin types.'

JITENDRA NATH BANERJEA

42 *Eastern Art*, vol. I., p. 178.
43 Allan, *op. cit.*, p. 150, pl. xxiv, 5.

Going Far or Going Beyond?

(*Pāragā, Pāragū*)

I know of but one scholarly critic—happily still with us[1]—who has equalled Moriz Winternitz in generous recognition of those who, like myself, have been spending ourselves in research such as entitles us to doubt, that the Buddhism presented to us in most manuals on 'Religions', and by Buddhists of South Asia, is indeed the original New Message brought to India and the world by Gotama Śākyamuni, in the 6th century A.C. Critic, and often disagreeing critic he was. His own position had largely been that of the 'manuals' and of Hīnayāna. And was I not trying all I knew to drag him on from that position, and make him, as I saw it, grow in spiritual adolescence in his outlook on this particular religion? He claimed indeed to have been for twenty years on the side of those whom Dr. Weller called "us younger men",[2] in that Winternitz, in his *History of Indian Literature,* II, 1913, affirmed, that "the entire older literature of the Buddhists was nothing but a great collection of collections, and that the different portions of such collections belonged to different times." (This is repeated in the re-written English version of 1933, p. 4). And indeed the historical attitude in his article to the Geiger Commemoration volume: "Can the Pali Canon teach us something about the older Buddhism and its history," as well as its child, "Problems of Buddhism" in the *Viśva Bharati* of 1936, five years later, might almost deserve to be placed as the preface of every research-student's notebooks in such studies. And I would say the same of his brief introduction

1 Professor James B. Pratt.

2 *Asia Major,* V, 1930, pp. 149 ff.

to the 110 excerpts given us in his *Der ältere Buddhismus*, of a previous year.

I said "almost deserve"; I wish I could delete the 'almost'. But, if what I have in these last years brought forward of 'left-ins', of things overlooked by scholars, let alone Buddhists, so unversed in their own Hīnayāna scriptures, had sufficed to drag him almost to the standpoint of the "younger men", it wastn't far enough. Tenaciously he clung to the last to the position of the "older men" (*wir Aelteren*), who have taken their stand on the belief, that "there has never been a Buddhism without the sermon of Benares"—as it stands!—"the middle path, the four noble truths, the eightfold path, or without *maitri*..."[3] In other words he abode in the dangerous position, that the original New Word in a gospel is to be found in church-made formulas. He admitted: "the Pāli sources may give but a onesided picture," but insisted, that "without them, other sources gave us a quite distorted picture." Granted! But why lean on the *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus* of the formula?

I could illustrate this in detail by showing that, in his selection in the Bertholet Series, named above, he has not picked out a single passage I have myself found as betraying some old stone in, or under monkish superstructure,—found, I mean, as being at odds with the position that is mainly emphasized, and at yet greater odds with the later exegetic teaching. But this were here out of place, and I have done it elsewhere.

Almost does Winternitz's departure close the brave band of the pioneers, of the 'Aelteren.' By these I mean them who were not only the pathfinders but who were, in disclosing the new country unable to discriminate truly the changes that country had

3 Almost I think he had dropped one or more of these *Sine qua non* 's in his 'Problems of Buddhism'; I have mislaid my copy.

undergone in taking on its present configuration. It is, for instance, going far in the blazed trail to say, as he did, that not only 'collections' differ mutually in date, but that each has a matter of different dates. But he failed to get further and see, that many technical terms in these can be shown to betray a history: words like *dhamma, attha, bhava, nibbāna.* Herein be it for the younger men to catch up his faltering torch.

Let them for instance consider the singular evolution in values undergone by just one of those words: *bhava,* and its verb, in the history of early Buddhism i.e., Hinayāna. For Winternitz it was just *Werdelust,* used, he deemed, only in the pessimistic monk-outlook on more life; not as more opportunities (*khaṇa*) in which the further to 'become' or grow, but as mere and deplorable repetition. Herein there arises, in Sutta-study, an interesting point: In such lines as

virajam asokam sammappajānāti bhavassa pāragū, (*Aṅg.* iii, 157).

(he knows the stainless griefless state: beyond becoming hath he gone) or:

bhavatha jātimaraṇassa pāragā, (*Iti-vuttaka,* §46),

(become ye they who birth and death transcend)

and half a dozen other such, we may take *pāragū* (or *-gā*), literally 'beyond goer', as meaning either expert knower,[4] or transcend-er. The genitive case of the object may incline the translator to choose the latter. But when the broad loose nature of the Indian genitive is kept in view, the meaning may well have been 'in becoming', not 'of becoming', just as we can say 'versed in', or 'expert in' this or that subject. Now take the earlier Buddhist, the early Upaniṣadic meaning of 'becoming', where was no worsened meaning: 'becoming' used for good luck, prosperity,[5] or consummation, or for

4 E.g., of the Vedas. (*Digha,* i, 88).?

5 E.g., in *Digha,* 19:—"tell master Jotipāla I wish him luck (*bhavam hotu*!)"

the further progress of the soul:—'becomes Brahman,' or, 'whither, death to be attained, becomes the soul?'—and we see that, for the early Śākyan missioners those Pali terms might have meant 'yon-farers in becoming', that is, progress in the Way of the worlds towards the final goal, the *pariyosāna,* the *paramattha.* However, I write not as with certainty, for the association of the word *pāragū* with such a monkish sentiment as that of Dhammapada 348:

Let go the past, let go the things hereafter,
Let go the middle things, yon-farer of becoming!

inclines me to think, that *pāragū* may have been a later term in the sense only of transcendence.[6]

I commend my 'yon-farer' or 'yonderfarer' to the 'Jüngeren' (our old English has 'yongate': 'in *such* a way, in *that* way') if only because it is just a literally truthful rendering, leaving it uncertain whether 'of' or 'in' becoming is preferred.

Far more earnestly do I commend to them to keep in full view the original, the Śākyan worth in *bhava* as 'becoming', as *werden,* not merely in this one little earth-span of life, but in life as a whole; becoming, that is, in the worlds. Herein it is that not a few pioneers in Buddhist research have been heavily handicapped. More or less agnostically handicapped themselves, they have found the modern agnosticism in today's degenerate Hīnayāna attracting them. And herein they have sorely overlooked how close was the tie in the original teaching between the Śākyan missioners and the unseen. Seeing in the Founder of it an independent thinker, they have misjudged him as a rebel against the Immanence in the accepted religion of his day; they forget the testimony that men flocked to him to learn of him the fate of departed fellowmen,[7] or that he spoke to them of the unseen, to encourage disciples to

6 Cf. hereon my *To Become or not to Become,* p. 61 f. (1937).
7 *Digha,* Sta. 18.

emulate here the good example set them by some amongst those departed, that so they might hereafter share in their fate (their 'suchness').[8] They ignore the evidence that the urgently enjoined practice of Jhāna was just what is now called psychic training.[9] They pass over the description ascribed to king Bimbisāra of the Founder's teaching as not of a secular but a further-world aim (an *attha* not *diṭṭhadhamme* but *samparāyiko*).[10] They have consented to see the Way of the worlds as a tidy set of eight moral qualities of monkish editing, when the Sutta-nipāta, credited as of early date, could have taught them better:

> He who would practise as the Teacher taught,
> 'T is he may go from hence to the beyond.
> Yea, hence to the beyond 't is he may go,
> Making the Way Incomparable to become.
> The Way this is for going to beyond,
> And therefore is it Yonderfaring called.[11]

The worthy historian of religion is the man who sees not a less, but a higher value in a man's nature, life and religious quest. To have seen a less in these, to have seen man as a creature of a little spell in one earth-life is incompatible with true greatness in the founders of world-religions. The pioneers in Buddhist research have not all or always shown themselves in this as fit men to undertake to write about religious history. They have themselves not been fully in tune with their great subject. This was the case with the fine and indomitable worker whose leaving us this volume commemorates. In the pain of bereavement he could write: "as I do not believe in any mythological 'future life', there is really no reason for either rejoicing or mourning, but..." And there followed a brave list of coming work to be shouldered. Well, now he knows better.

C. A. F. Rhys Davids

8 *Majjhima*, Naḷakapāna S. 9 Cf. my art: *IHQ.*, Dec. 1927.
10 Vinaya, Mhv. V. 11 Pārâyana.

Nāgārjuna's List of Kuśaladharmas

The treatises of the Mādhyamika school of Buddhism, so far as available to us in Sanskrit, are mainly concerned with the fundamentals of their position and give us little idea of the minor dogmatic details in which they differed from the Hīnayāna and from the other Mahāyāna schools. Particular interest therefore attaches to the list of 119 *kuśaladharmas* which Nāgārjuna sets out in his commentary on *kārikā* 7 of the *Vigrahavyāvartanī*. Till recently it was not possible to determine the precise qualities mentioned there, as neither the Tibetan nor the Chinese translation afforded certain equivalents. The former was edited by Tucci in *Pre-Diṅnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources* (Gaekwad's Or. Series, XLIX, 1929), where also the Chinese translation was rendered into English. Almost simultaneously an admirable French version of the Tibetan translation was published by Yamaguchi in *Journal Asiatique*, 225 (1929), pp. 1 ff. Since the appearance of these two works the position has been altered by the invaluable discoveries of that remarkable traveller, the Rev. Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, who among other treasures discovered a Ms. of the Sanskrit text of this work; this Ms. he has recently published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XXIII, Part iii, Appendix. It is in Tibetan script and was, it seems, made by a Tibetan visitor to India early in the twelfth century; in addition to being highly incorrect, with numerous mistakes and omissions, it apparently also includes a certain number of glosses. The printed edition, wisely perhaps, reproduces the text as it stands in the Ms., and it will require much patient work on the various versions to bring it into reasonable conformity with Nāgārjuna's original. The passage with which this paper deals is in a particular bad state, and

I have unfortunately been unable to trace similar lists elsewhere, which would have helped to disentangle the text and would also have enabled me to deal with the historical development of the category. My discussion therefore is based solely on the authorities already mentioned and is restricted to an attempt to throw some light on the nature of the textual problems raised by the Ms. I refer below to the Tibetan translation by the letter T., to the Chinese version by C., to Tucci's work by Tu., and to Yamaguchi's by Y.

Kārikā 7 runs:

कुशलानां धर्माणां धर्मावस्थाविदश्च मन्यन्ते ।
कुशलं जनाः स्वभावं शेषेष्वप्ये विनियोगः ॥

The Ms. reads *janasvabhā* in *c*, omitting *vaṁ;* but both T. and C. read *janāḥ*, the former construing it with *dharmāvasthāvidaḥ*, the latter nonsensically enough taking it separately as may be seen from Tu. The commentary states that there are 119 *kuśaladharmas*, and proceeds to enumerate them though a number of them certainly do not appear in the Sanskrit text, while C., which in accordance with usual practice numbers each quality, names only 106; its list is printed in the notes to Tu.'s translation, part II, pp. 28 ff.

At first sight the list appears to be an odd collection, the true explanation having been overlooked by Tu. and Y. The Ms. prefaces its list with the word *ekadeśaḥ* and puts all the qualities from 1 to 81 in the genitive. This is confirmed by T. who however places the equivalent *phyogs-gcig* after 81, so that it was mistaken by Y. for a part of 81 instead of as qualifying all the previous terms. C. has an ambiguous rendering of the expression before starting the list, which was mistakenly translated by Tu. by 'they have mind as their own [? one] characteristic'; the correct version seems to be 'they are deemed to be *ekalakṣaṇa*', the wording being such as to apply to all the qualities, not merely the first eighty-one.

The point of the word *ekadeśa* is that qualities 1 to 81 are only *kuśala* in some of their aspects; in others they may be *akuśala* or *avyākṛta,* 'indifferent', The remaining 38 qualities are solely *kuśala,* and therefore must not be identified with terms which could in any aspect not be *kuśala;* many of them refer to special attainments on the path to enlightenment. Once this distinction is grasped, the apparent peculiarities of the list disappear.

The following table gives a comparison of the three sources, with the solution I would suggest in each case. All but a few of the qualities have been successfully identified, and it is worth noting with reference to the difficulty of determining the Sanskrit equivalents of technical terms in Tibetan with precision, how often Y., while usually getting near the original in sense, has failed to discover the word actually used. Tu.'s text of T. is evidently corrupt in a few places, and I have corrected these with the help of the Ms. and C., giving Tu.'s reading in brackets; the mistakes, particularly the confusion of *da* and *ña,* are of a type familiar to those who have had occasion to handle the Tibetan translations. C.'s version has not been given in Chinese to save trouble in printing, as it is easily available in Tu. as well as in the various editions of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. Its renderings are sometimes of an unusual type, the translation emanating from the sixth century school, which was first located at Lo-Yang and moved later to Yeh. Where it indicates the solution accepted in the final column, I have simply entered 'id.' with the number of the quality, as stated in the translation, in brackets. In other cases I have put a query and discussed the rendering in a footnote. It will be observed that in three cases I have come to the conclusion that C. has wrongly separated a group of characters representing one quality into two groups and that in one case I have split a group of two characters into two terms of one character each. Where the versions differ in the order of the terms, I have followed the Ms.'s order.

No.	Sanskrit MS.	T.	C.	Suggested Original
1	vijñāna	rnam-par śes-pa	omitted	vijñāna
2	vedanā	tshor-ba	id. (1)	vedanā
3	saṁjñā	ḥdu-śes	id. (2)	saṁjñā
4	cetanā	sems-dpaḥ	id. (3)	cetanā
5	sparśa	reg-pa	id. (4)	sparśa
6	manasikāra	yid-la byed-pa	id. (5)	manasikāra
7	chanda	ḥdun-pa	id. (6)	chanda
8	adhimokṣa	mos-pa	id. (7)	adhimokṣa
9	vīrya	brtson-ḥgrus	id. (8)	vīrya
10	smṛti	dran-pa	id. (9)	smṛti
11	samādhi	tiṅ-ṅe-ḥdzin	id. (10)	samādhi
12	prajñā	śes-rab	id. (11)	prajñā
13	upekṣā	gtaṅ-sñoms	id. (12)	upekṣā
14	prayoga	sbyor-ba	id. (13)	prayoga
15	saṁprayoga	yaṅ-dag-par sbyor-ba	id. (14)	saṁprayoga
16	prāpti	thob-pa	id. (16-17)[1]	prāpti
17	adhyāśaya	lhag-paḥi bsam-pa	? (15)[2]	adhyāśaya
18	prativi	khoṅ-khro-ba med-pa	? (18)	apratigha[3]
19	rati	dgaḥ-ba	id. (19)	rati
20	vyavasāya	ḥbad-pa	id. (20)	vyavasāya
21	autsukya	rtsol-ba	id. (22)	autsukya

1 C.'s 17 does not correspond separately to anything in T. or the Ms. and must therefore be joined to either 16 or 18. I have preferred the former alternative, the combination meaning 'complete attainment' and translating *siddha* in the commentary on *kārikā* 12.

2 C. has *hsi* (Giles, 4087), which stands usually for *vāsanā* in the translations emanating from this school. Probably therefore it read *adhyāśaya* and took it in the sense of *vāsanā*.

3 In Tibetan *khoṅ-khro* usually represents *pratigha*, though I have found it in the sense of *parikheda;* and as *gha* and *va* are occasionally confused (another case apparently under 24), I see no reason for doubting the restoration *apratigha*. C.'s *pien ts'ai* (Giles, 2909, 11496), 'talent for wrangling', recurs under 26 (see note 6), corresponding there also to T.'s *khoṅ-khro;* presumably therefore it means *pratigha* in both cases, the negative having dropped out under 18, as has happened in several subsequent cases. Tu. considers it equivalent to *pratibhāṇa*, for which the ordinary term is *lo-shuo*, 'joyful speaking' (cp. Eitel, *Handbook*, and Soothill and Hodous, *Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*), but Soothill and Hodous mention *lo-shuo pien ts'ai* as also used for this word; it is however difficult to reconcile *pratibhāṇa* with either T. or the Ms.

No.	Sanskrit MS.	T.	C.	Sugggested Original
22	unmū	rmoṅs-ḥbrel	? (21)	?[4]
23	utsāha	spros-pa	id. (23)	utsāha
24	avyavartya	gnod-pa med-pa	id? (24)[5]	avighāta
25	vasitā	dbaṅ daṅ ldan-pa	id. (25)	vaśitā
26	pratipatti	khoṅ-khro	? (26)	? pratighāta, or pratigha[6]
27	avipratīsāra	yid-la gcags-pa med-pa	id. (27)	avipratisāra
28	omitted	ḥdzin-pa	? (29)	? parigraha[7]
29	Do.	mi-ḥdzin-pa	? (30)	? aparigraha
30	Do.	dran-pa	? (28)	?[8]
31	dhṛtī	brtan-pa	id? (31)[9]	dhṛti
32	adhyavasāya	lhag-par zhen-pa	omitted	adhyavasāya
33	anauṣveka	mi-rtsol-ba (3)	id. (33)	anautsukya
34	ananumūrddhi	rmoṅs-pa med-pa (33)	? (32)	?[10]
35	anutsāra	spro-ba med-pa	omitted	anutsāha
36	prāpaṇā	don-du gñer-pa	Do.	prārthanā
37	praṇidhi	smon-la	? (34)[11]	praṇidhi

4 This word is a crux. T. indicates literally *mohasambandha* (so also Y.), which at least suggests a word with the root *muh*. The negative of the word appears under 34, where the Ms. has *ananumūrddhi* and T. the equivalent of *amoha*, and it looks therefore as if a word such as *unmugdhi* or *anumugdhi* were meant; but authority for any form of this sort is lacking. C. has *ssu* (Giles, 10271), the equivalent of the root *cint*, and under 34 the negative of the same, possibly a mistake for *huo* (Giles, 5320) or *yü* (Giles, 13559), either of which would show a formation from *muh*.

5 Literally C. is equivalent to *anīrsyā*.

6 See note 3, in view of which C. would seem to have read here *supratigha*. *Pratighāta* seems slightly more probable than *pratigha* from the Ms.'s reading.

7 For this and the next term C. indicates *alpecchatā* and *analpecchatā*. T., which one would naturally assume with Y. to have had *grāha* and *agrāha*, may intend *parigraha* and *aparigraha*, which agrees fairly with C.

8 C. shows *vipratisāra*, which occurs certainly at 73 and cannot therefore be in place here also. T. literally gives *smṛti*, which has already been enumerated under 10. The original was perhaps a formation from *smṛ* signifying 'remorse'.

9 The equivalent of C. is ordinarily *upekṣā*, and if it stands here for *dhṛti*, it implies taking the word in the sense of keeping the mind in equilibrium; cp. note 35 for a similar use of the word.

10 See note 4 above.

11 C. reads *apraṇidhi*.

No.	Sanskrit MS	T.	C.	Sugggested Original
38	mada	rgyags-pa	id.? (35)[12]	mada
39	viṣayāṇāṁ viprayoga	yul daṅ mi-ldan-pa	id. (36)[13]	viṣayāṇāṁ viprayoga
40	anityāṇikatā	ṅes-par ḥbyin-pa ma-yin-pa	id. (37)[14]	anairyāṇikatā
41	utpāda	skye-ba	id. (38)	utpāda
42	sthiti	gnas-pa	id. (39)	sthiti
43	anityatā	mi-rtag-pa	id. (40)	anityatā
44	samarthāgata	ldan-pa (45)	id. (41)	samanvāgama
45	jarā	rga-ba (44, dgaḥ-ba, Tu.)	id. (42)	jarā
46	paritrāsyatā	yoṅs-su gduṅ-ba	id. (43)	paritāpa
47	arati	mi-dgaḥ-ba	id. (44-45)	arati
48	vitarka (pl.)	rtog-pa	id. (46)	vitarka
49	prīti	sdug-pa	id. (47)	prīti
50	pramāda	dad-pa (daṅ-ba, Tu.)	id. (48)	prasāda
51	vyavahāratā	rjes-su mi-mthun-par gzuṅ-ba	omitted	?[15]
52	preṣ	ḥdod-pa	id. (49)	preman
53	pratikūla	mi-mthun-pa	id. (50)	pratikūla
54	pradakṣiṇagrāha	mthun-par ḥdzin-pa	id? (51)[16]	pradakṣiṇagrāha

12 C.'s text is uncertain. The first of the two characters according to the Taisho Issaikyo edition is *lo* (Giles, 7331), 'pleasure', and according to Tu. is *luan* (Giles, 7458), the name of a tree, presumably a mistake for the very similar character *lieh* (Giles, 7154), 'feel attachment for', 'hanker after'. The second character is *shuo*, 'speak'. The printed edition's reading suggests *pratibhāṇa* (note 3 above), but for the other version correspondence with *mada* is possible, but far from certain.

13 Tu. omits the negative rightly read by the Taisho Issaikyo edition.

14 *Pu-hsing*, 'not going'.

15 This and the next three numbers are much confused in the texts, which cannot be unravelled with certainty. The Ms. has before 51 *aprasrabdhi*, which in view of the words appearing again at 69 and of its not being given here in T. or C. must be an interpolation. Further T. takes 52-53 as one term, C. as two; like Y. I accept the latter, so that with the rejection of *apraśrabdhi* we can still keep the list in its full number. T.'s apparent equivalent for 51 comes after 54, but I cannot at present equate it with the Ms. at all; *gzuṅ-ba* should represent a form from *dhṛ* or *bhṛ* or less probably *grah*, not the Ms.'s *°hāratā*. The first part corresponds to *ananukūla* or possibly *apasavya*. Y. conjectures *anuvigrāha*.

16 C.'s first character, *hsü* (Giles, 4716), 'necessary', 'proper', corresponds here to T.'s *mthun-par*, and its second, *ch'ü* (Giles, 3118), to the root *grah*.

No.	Sanskrit MS.	T.	C.	Sugggested Original
55	vaiśāradya	mi-ḥjigs-pa	id. (52)	vaiśāradya
56	gaurava	zhe-sa	id. (53)	gaurava
57	citrīkāra	ri-mor byed-pa	id. (54)	citrīkāra
58	bhakti	dad-pa	id. (55)	bhakti
59	abhakti	ma-dad-pa	id. (56)	abhakti
60	suśrūṣā	bsgo-ba bzhin byed-pa	id. (59)	śuśrūṣā
61	sādara[17]	gus-pa	id. (57)	ādara
62	anādara	ma-gus-pa	id. (58)	anādara
63	prasrabdhi	śin-tu sbyaṅs-pa (64)	? (60)	praśrabdhi[18]
64	hāsa	rgod-pa (63, rgol-pa, Tu.)	omitted	hāsa
65	vāc	ṅag	id. (61a)[19]	vāc
66	viṣpaṇḍanā	ḥgul-pa (mgul-pa, Tu.)	id. (61b)	vispandanā
67	siddha	grub-pa	omitted	siddha
68	aprasādha	ma-dad-pa	Do.	aprasāda
69	aprasrabdhi	śin-tu ma-sbyaṅs-pa	id. (62)	apraśrabdhi
70	vyavahāratā	rnam-par byed-pa	? (63)	? vyavakāratā[20]
71	dākṣya	brtan-pa	? (64)	? dākṣya[21]
72	sauratya	des-pa (ñes-pa, Tu.)	omitted	sauratya
73	vipratisāra	yid-la gcags-pa	id. (65)	vipratisāra

17 In mediaeval scripts *sā* and initial *ā* are often almost identical; cp. the similar mistake of *sa* for *a* in 89.

18 For the translation of *praśrabdhi* by *śin-tu sbyaṅs-pa* see S. C. Das, *Tibetan Dictionary*, s. *byaṅ-chub*. C.'s *su* (Giles, 10338) might stand for *pratiśraya;* for the various renderings of *praśrabdhi* see no. 69, Rahder, *Glossary of the Daśa-bhūmikasūtra*, Eitel, *op. cit.*, Soothill and Hodous, *op. cit.*, 14*b*.

19 C. seems to have joined two characters wrongly here. The first, *fa* (Giles, 3376,), can mean 'utter'. Alternatively the two could correspond to 66.

20 The Ms. has already had *vyavahāratā* under 51. T. would ordinarily give *vikāra*, but in view of the Ms. may signify *vyavakāra*, for which see La Vallée Poussin, *Abhidharmakośa*, ch. ii, p. 206. Just possibly *vyavakāra* is to be taken to *kṛ*, in the sense which is found at *Abhidharmakośa*, ch. iv, p. 130, n.1. Y. suggests *viśuddhi*, presumably reading *rnam-par byaṅ-ba*, which cannot be brought into relation with C., though it might suggest the Ms.'s reading to be a corruption for *vyavadānatā*. C.'s *fu* (Giles, 3723) throws no light on the solution; Tu. takes it as equivalent to *mrakṣa* and translates 'covering', the latter being a common sense of *fu* in translations. Its sense of 'over-throw' might however be connected with the above suggestion about *vyavakṛ*. No adequate explanation is at present possible.

21 T. may possibly stand for *dākṣya*, though the regular equivalent would be *dhairya*. C. suggests *adhīra*.

No.	Sanskrit MS.	T.	C.	Suggested Original
74	śoka	mya-ñan	id. (69)	śoka
75	upāyāsāyāsa	ḥkhrug-pa	id? (67)[22]	upāyāsāyāsa, or upāyāsa
76	bhī (?) ta	rgyags-pa	? (68)	?[23]
77	apradakṣiṇa-grāha	mi-mthun-par ḥdzin-pa	? (66)[24]	apradakṣiṇāgrāha
78	saṁsaya	tse-tshom	omitted	saṁśaya
79	saṁvarāṇāṁ pariśuddhi	sdom-pa yoṅs-su dag-pa	id. (70)	saṁvarāṇāṁ pariśuddhi
80	adhyāśaya	naṅ legs-par dad-pa (daṅ-pa, Tu.)	id? (71)	?adhyātmasaṁ-prasāda[25]
81	rūpa	ḥjigs-pa	id. (72)	bhīrutā[26]
82	śraddhā	dad-pa	id. (73)	śraddhā
83	hrī	ño-tsha śes-pa	id. (74)	hrī
84	ārjava	gnam-pa	id. (75)	ārjava
85	avañcana	mi-ḥdrid-pa	id. (76)	avañcana
86	upasama	ñe-bar zhi-ba	id. (77)	upaśama
87	acāpala	rtags-bag ma-yin-pa	id. (78)	ācāpala
88	sapramāda	bag-yod-pa	id. (79)	apramāda
89	mārdava	ḥjam-par (byams-par, Tu.) lta-ba	id. (80)	mārdava
90	pratisaṁkhyāna	so-sor brtags-pa	id. (81)	pratisaṁkhyāna
91	nirvaira	yid byuṅ-ba	? (82)	nirvaira[27]
92	paridāha, or niṣparidāha?	yoṅs-su gduṅ-ba med-pa	? (83)	niṣparidāha[28]

22 C. implies 'disorder', 'confusion', 'bewilderment', and probably corresponds. The word may be simply *upāyāsa*, and *āyāsa* may belong to 76.

23 The normal equivalent of T. is *mada*, and of C. *kausidya; māna* may be a possible solution.

24 C. means 'not obtaining one's desires' and possibly corresponds.

25 *Adhyāśaya* is certainly wrong, as it has already appeared under 17. C. means 'internal faith', the first part of which probably represents *adhyātma* in view of the Ms., so that T.'s *legs-par* should apparently be corrected to *lhag-par*. For the conjectural restoration see *Abhidharmakośa*, ch. viii, pp. 148, 159.

26 This seems the only way of equating the Ms. with T. and C.

27 T. means 'that which arises in the mind', *manobhava* or the like, which implies the same as *nirvaira*. C. indicates *vaira*, but as the qualities from 82 onwards are solely *kuśala*, the negative cannot be omitted.

28 For the same reason as in the previous note, *paridāha* indicated by C. must

No.	Sanskrit MS	T.	C.	Suggested Original
93	amada	rgyags-pa med-pa	id. (84)	amada
94	alobha	chags-pa med-pa	id. (85)	alobha
95	adoṣa	zhe-sdaṅ med-pa	id. (86)	adoṣa[29]
96	amoha	gti-mug med-pa	id. (87)	amoha
97	asadvat	thams-cad śes-pa-ñid	? (88)[30]	sarvajñatā
98	apratiniḥsarga	mi-gtoṅ-ba	? (89)[31]	apratiṅiḥsarga
99	vibhava	ḥbyor-pa	id. (90)[32]	vibhava
100	apatrapyā	khrel yod-pa	id. (91)	apatrāpya
101	apariśraccha-dana	mi-ḥchab-pa	id. (92)	aparicchadana
102	mānana	sems-pa mi-gtoṅ-ba (103)	omitted	? manana[33]
103	kāruṇya	sñiṅ-rje (102)	id. (93)	kāruṇya
104	maitrī	byams-pa	? (94)[34]	maitrī
105	adīnatā	zhum-pa med-pa	omitted	adīnatā
106	dirata	dgral bral-ba	? (95)	? aranā[35]
107	ma . . na	rdzu-ḥphrul	? (96)	?[36]
108	nāha	khoṅ-du mi-ḥdzin-pa	id. (97)	anupanāha
109	alī	phrag-dog med-pa	id. (98)	anīrṣyā[37]

be rejected. The Ms. is probably to be understood as intending *nirvairaparidāha* to be divided into *nirvaira* and *niṣparidāha*.

29 The use of *doṣa* for *dveṣa* in Buddhist Sanskrit is well authenticated.

30 C. reads *asarvajñatā*, which occurs as 118 and also as 105 of C.'s list. T. is clearly to be followed here.

31 C. gives *pratiniḥsarga*.

32 Y. (p. 64, n. 1) has misunderstood the Chinese, which takes *vibhava* in the technical sense of the opposite of *bhava*, 'existence'.

33 For *manana* or *manyanā*, which perhaps corresponds to T., see *Triṁśikā, kārikā* 2, *Abhidharmakośa*, ch. viii, p. 192, and *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*, p. 225. Y. seems to have read *sems-pa gtoṅ-ba*.

34 C.'s *hsi* (Giles, 4073) suggests *prīti* rather than *maitrī*.

35 T.s' term seems to indicate this solution. C.'s *shê* (Giles, 9790) ordinarily stands for *upekṣā* or for 'renunciation'; as La Vallée Poussin translated *araṇā* by 'absence de passion' at *Abhidharmakośa*, ch. iv, p. 123, *shê* may signify the same here.

36 T. and C. show either *ṛddhi, prātihārya* or *vikurvaṇa*, none of which correspond satisfactorily to the remains in the Ms.

37 C. and T. correspond exactly and indicate *anīrṣyā* very strongly.

No.	Sanskrit MS	T.	C.	Suggested Original
110	cetasopatyā-dāna	sems yoṅs-su gtugs-pa med-pa	? (99)[38]	cetaso'paryā-dāna
111	kṣānti .	bzod-pa	id. (100)	kṣānti
112	vyavasadu	rnam-par spoṅ-ba	omitted	?[39]
113	āsauratya	des-pa (ñes-pa, Tu.) ma-yin-pa	Do.	asauratya
114	iti bhāgānvaya	yoṅs-su loṅs-spyod-paḥi rjes-su mthun-pa	? (101-102)[40]	paribhogān-vaya
115	puṇya	bsod-nams	id. (103)	puṇya
116	asaṁjñīsamā-patti	ḥdu-śes (med-) paḥi sñoms-par ḥjug-pa	id. (104)	asaṁjñīsamā-patti
117	ṅairyānikatā	ñes-par ḥbyuṅ-ba-ñid	omitted	nairyāṇikatā
118	asarvaiñatā	thams-cad mi-śes- pa	id. (105)	asarvajñatā
119	asaṁskṛtā dharmāḥ	ḥdus-ma-byas-paḥi chos	? (106)[41]	asaṁskṛtadhar-ma (pl?)

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38 C. suggests *cetaso vyavadāna* or the like.

39 Perhaps *vyavasarga;* cp. Rahder, *op. cit.*, s.v.

40 C.'s 101, *li-i,* is properly 'benefit', 'advantage', and 102, *nêng yung,* 'usable', and the two groups may possibly correspond to the suggested Sanskrit; or alternatively *li* may stand for 112 in the sense of 'giving'.

41 C. literally gives *anityasamādhi,* which suggests a corruption in its text.

Indo-Arica

1. The secondary affix *-vya*

The only sure derivatives with the affix *-vya* are the Vedic *bhrắtṛvya-* "(father's) brother's son, cousin> rival," and the classical *pitṛvya-* "father's brother." Cf. Pāṇini: *pitṛvyamātulamātāmahapitāmahāḥ* 4. 2. 36.

Vedic *śaravyắ* "arrow-shot," and vedic and classical *śaravya-* "target" are not derivatives with *-vya*. It is undoubtedly derived from *śaru* with the affix *-ya* (PW.). Similarly *dravya-* "substance <wooden article, wooden" is derived from *dru* + *ya* (cf. *darvi-* "ladle, wooden spoon"), *savya-* <*sū* + *ya* and *paśavya-* <*paśu-* + *ya*.

Note also the gerundive affix *-tavyà* <*-tu* + *-ya* (*-ía*).

The rather late classical *mṛgavyā̆-* "hunt," may be either a dialectal (M.I.A.) variation of a derivative of *mṛgayu-* "hunter" (PW.) or a contamination of *mṛgayā-* with *śaravyā̆-*.

The affix *-vya* stands in the same relation to the affixes *-vaya* (*-vāya*), *-vīya* (*-vī*), *-vi* and *-va* as the affix *-tya* stands to the affixes *-taya, -tīya, -ti* and *-ta*.

The affix *-vaya,* which has obvious affinity with *-maya* both as numerical and non-numerical affix (cf. Pāṇini: *saṃkhyāyā guṇasya nimāne mayaṭ* 5. 2. 47), occurs in the two words, both vedic, *cáturvaya-* "*fourfold*", and *drùváya-* "wooden dish" (AV.). *druváya-* can be compared with *dravya-* just as *gomáya-* with *gávya-*, *nabhasmáya-* "vaporous" with *nabhyâ-* (in the adverb *abhinabhyám* "near the clouds"), and *sūmáya-* "well-fashioned" with *savya-*.

The affix *-paya* in *katipaya-* is probably allied to *-vaya* and *-maya*.

The affixes *-vāya, -vīya, -vī* are attested only in the following

derivatives from *pada-*: *padavāyá-* "leader, guide," *padavíya-* "following the footsteps, or track," *padavi-* "leader, guide" (vedic); "way, path" (classical).

The affix *-vi* appears only as a primary derivative; e.g., *ghṛ́svi-* "lively", *jāgṛvi-* "watchful" etc. Cf. the primary affix *-mī* (*mi*) as in *bhūmī-, bhūmi-, ūrmi-* etc., and the secondary affixes *-vin, -min* as in *vāgvín-* (AV.), *vāgmin-* "eloquent", *ṛgmín-* "jubilant with praise", *aṣṭrāvín-* "obedient to the goad", *svāmin-* (<*svă-*) "master", etc.

The secondary affix *-va* occurs in the pronominal derivative *eva*(m) "thus, indeed", OP. *aiva,* Av. *aeva-* "one", and *keśavá-* "hairy", *śraddhivá-* "credible", *añjivá-* "slippery" (AV.), *śantivá-* "friendly" (AV.) etc. The allied affix *-ma* was much more prolific. It appears in the pronominal derivative *-ima* and in *madhyama-, parama-, carama-, druma-, upama-, pañcama-,* etc.

-tya occurs in *ápatya-* "offspring", *áviṣṭya-* "manifest", *níṣṭya-* "foreign", *sánutya-* "secret", etc. OP. *anušiya* "follower" (<**anutya*). In Avestan *-tya* occurs as an ordinal affix too; *viz., bītya-* (<**dvitya*) "second", etc., and so also in MIA. (Aśokan *ekaca-, ekatiya-* "some" (<**ekatya-*). It occurs also in *aptyá-* and *āptyá-* "watery".

-taya occurs in *dáśataya-* "tenfold", *cátuṣṭaya-* (AV.) "fourfold", and also in some classical Skt. words (cf. Pāṇini, 5. 2. 42, 43).

-tīya occurs in the ordinals *dvitīya-, tṛtīya-,* OP. *duvitīya, ssitīya,* and perhaps in the O.I-A. pronominal adjectives *yāvatīya-, tāvatīya-* etc.

-ti (secondary affix) occurs in the numerals: *paṅkti-* "fifth", *saptati-, aśīti-,* etc.; in Niya Prakrit *dviti*>*biti* "second", *triti* "third" (Burrow, *The Language of the Kharosthi Documents from Chinese Turkestan,* Cambridge, 1937, p. 38). But these forms may as well go back to **dvitya- *tritya-,* or to *dvitīya-, tṛtīya-.* The affix occurs in words like *bahutitha-, yāvatitha-* etc. (Pāṇini

5. 2. 52, 53). In *patti-*, OP. *pastiš* "foot soldier" (<*pad*) the affix may be primary or secondary; cf. also *padāti-*.

-ta occurs in the three Vedic proper names (originally ordinals): *ekatá-* (VS.), *dvitá-, tritá-* (the last two occur in Avestan as well), and also in the substantives *avatá-*, "well", *vasantá-, hemantá-* and *muhūrtá-*.

2. The Pāṇinean affix *-cara*

In the sense of remote past Pāṇini prescribes an affix *-cara* (*bhūtapūrve caraṭ* 5. 3. 53; *ṣaṣṭhyā rūpya ca* 5. 3. 54). Thus, to quote grammarians' examples, *āḍhyacaraḥ* = *āḍhyo bhūtapūrvaḥ, kṛṣṇacaro gauḥ* = *kṛṣṇasya bhūtapūrvo gauḥ*. *cara-*, however, is here the second number of compounds, and it features as the base of the derivative *carama-* (<*cara* + *ma*). It is a cognate of *cira-* and goes back to I-E. $q^{w}ero$-. The palatalized form of the I-E. interrogative -indefinite pronominal base $*q^{w}e$-/$*q^{w}o$- occurs also in O.I-A. *cit, ca, cana,* and *cira-*, M.I.A. *carahi* (<**carhi,* cf. O.I-A. *yarhi, tarhi* etc.), and Avestan *cahmā* (<**casmāt*), *cahyā* (<**casya*), *ciš* etc.

3. *pakṣati-*

Pāṇini derives *pakṣati-* "end or beginning (*mūla*) of a fortnight" from *pakṣa-* with the secondary affix *-ti* (*pakṣāt tiḥ* 5. 2. 25). The secondary affix *-ti* appears only in the numerals like *pañkti, saptati-* etc. (see *supra*). It is best to take *pakṣati-* as a result of haplology from **pakṣakṣati-* "end of a fortnight".

4. *udanta-*

udanta- "news, information" is undoubtedly a derivative of **udan* <*vad-* with the affix *-ta;* cf. *vasantá-, hemantá-*. The heteroclitic base *udar-*/*udan-* "word" occurs in Hittite, e.g., nom. sing. *utar* (*ud-da-a-ar, ut-tar*), gen. sing. *utanas* (*ud-da-na-a-aš*) (Sturtevant, *A comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language,* p. 185).

SUKUMAR SEN

Mohenjo-Daro and the Aryans

It will doubtless be long before decisive conclusions are reached concerning the full significance of the Mohenjo-daro and Harappa discoveries. The most recent step forward has been taken by Dr. L. Sarup, the learned editor and translator of the *Nirukta,* who has concentrated on the relation of the Indus civilization to the *Ṛgveda.*[1] He asks, is it Aryan or non-Aryan in character? It has been so generally assumed that the Indus civilization is pre-Aryan and non-Aryan and that a closer examination of the relations of this culture to that of the *Ṛgveda* is very welcome.

It has further been too readily assumed that a Dravidian origin may be the explanation. The prevalence of this view has been due rather to the lack of positive evidence, so that it has not been easy to bring forward facts against it, but at least Dr. Sarup has no difficulty in showing that the anthropological data do not favour any connexion with what is known as the modern Dravidian type. He concludes that several races contributed to the Indus population, and goes so far as to call it cosmopolitan. He finds that in the statuary there are resemblances to that of Sumer, and that Mongolian types are found. This seems to exclude an Aryan origin as well. He also mentions another view, and says that Mr. E. Mackay accepts the theory of ethnic relationship between the people of the Indus Valley and Mesopotamia. This is hardly fair to Mr. Mackay, for he only says that it may be "assumed provisionally that the Proto-Elamites, the dwellers in the Indus Valley brick-built cities, and perhaps also the Sumerians had a common ancestry." And he goes on to say that until further sites have been explored, it is impossible to go beyond this provisional assumption. Still, even although

1 *The Ṛgveda and Mohenjo-daro* in *Indian Culture,* Oct. 1937, p. 149 ff.

assumed only provisionally, it remains a possibility, which later evidence may prove. But it is remarkable that Dr. Sarup expresses no opinion on it, and gives no evidence against it.

To ask if the Mohenjo-daro people are Aryan is rather vague, as not only the Ṛgveda people called themselves Aryan but also the Iranians. However, no harm is done as long as it is understood that the present problem is only about the Indo-Aryans. Were they the ancestors of the Indus civilization? Evidently the Mongolian types and mixture of races which make a Dravidian origin unlikely appear to tell still more forcibly against the view that they were Aryan. But leaving that question open Dr. Sarup goes on to establish a different matter—the priority of the Ṛgveda civilization to Mohenjo-daro. He shows first that the Ṛgveda civilization was essentially a village, agricultural, and pastoral civilization. Next, that of Mohenjo-daro was a city and commercial civilization. Then he concludes that the *Ṛgveda* represents a period earlier than the Indus Valley civilization. But he has given nothing to show that Mohenjo-daro is Aryan; he has left it an open question, and if it is non-Aryan, we can infer nothing about their relative dates. A non-Aryan people may quite well have advanced beyond the pastoral stage long before the Aryans began to build cities.

So with phallic worship. The wide prevalence of the phallic cult, says Dr. Sarup, shows the posteriority of Mohenjo-daro to the Ṛgveda. The alternatives we have to start from are either that the Aryan cult of Rudra-Śiva became combined with the phallic worship of a non-Aryan god or that phallic worship originated with the Aryans. Until that is settled nothing can be said about priority. We know that the worship of Rudra-Śiva is never connected with phallic worship in the *Ṛgveda*, and that where phallic worship appears to be mentioned it is reprobated. As Dr. Sarup quotes, "let those whose deity is phallus not penetrate our sanctuary". (*Ṛv.* VII, 21. 5). Whoever there were, they were not worshippers of the Aryan

Śiva-Rudra. Yāska and Sāyaṇa know so little of these *śiśnadevāḥ* that they interpret the word as *abrahmacarya*. The alternative that they were phallic worshippers, who had adopted a non-Aryan practice is not met, and yet until it is answered it is merely begging the question of priority to say that Ṛgveda culture is earlier than that of Mohenjo-daro.

The inference from the art of writing is the same. If the Mohenjo-daro people and the Ṛgveda Aryans are of different races, then the art of writing at Mohenjo-daro has not the least connexion with the culture of the Ṛgveda. Writing may have been practised by any number of peoples before it reached the Aryans. But in this case it is a question of a kind of writing which the Aryans never used, so that it would seem to be cut off from any connexion with the date of the Aryan art of writing. The art of writing, says Dr. Sarup, had not been invented during the period of the Ṛgveda. Rather, it had not been invented by the Ṛgveda people, but there may have been people all around them who had already invented it and were using it. Nevertheless, from the fact that the Mohenjo-daro people had a kind of writing and the Ṛgveda people had not Dr. Sarup concludes that the Ṛgveda civilization was prior.

Dr. Sarup's discussion brngs out several important points. It shows that it is impossible to speak of the priority of either the culture of Mohenjo-daro or of the Ṛgveda until some connexion between the two is established. It also shows what kind of evidence is wanted before a connexion can be assumed. Most of all, some chronological foothold is wanted, and this is now a more hopeful possibility. We now no longer need to discuss the Aryan question in a vacuum. There are the Aryans of Iran, and the names of Indo-Aryan gods and Sanskrit names have been discovered as far away as Asia Minor. Some of these can be dated, for the chronology of Mesopotamia and Western Asia already rests on a much safer basis than the Indian. As for the language of Mohenjo-daro, Dr. Sarup says that we do not

know definitely whether the script was written from right to left or from left to right, nor whether the language was agglutinative, synthetic or otherwise, nor whether it was of an Aryan or non-Aryan character. Father Heras claims to have read it as Dravidian, but has not yet published his solution, and he has evidently not convinced Dr. Sarup.

E. J. Thomas

The Vāyu-Purāṇa

The original *Vāyu* is perhaps the oldest of the extant Purāṇas.[1] The *Mahābhārata* (Vaṅgavāsī ed.; III, 191, 16) speaks of a 'Purāṇa proclaimed by Vāyu'; the *Harivaṃśa* (Vaṅgavāsī ed.; I, 7, 13 and 25) refers to 'Vāyu' as an authority; Bāṇabhaṭṭa says in his *Harṣacarita* that he listened to the reading of the *Vāyu-purāṇa* in his native village;[2] and Alberūni repeatedly names a *Vāyu-purāṇa* in his account of India.[3]

The character of the *Vāyu* as a Mahāpurāṇa has sometimes been called in question.[4] The cause of this doubt is the use of the title *'Śiva'* or *'Śaiva'* for *'Vāyavīya'* in the majority of the lists of 'eighteen Mahāpurāṇas'.[5] But this substitution, which has been taken wrongly in favour of the comparatively late sectarian Upapurāṇa called *'Śiva-purāṇa'*, is based on the Śaiva character of the *Vāyu*. The *Skanda* says: "The fourth (Purāṇa), declared by Vāyu, is known as *Vāyavīya*. It is also called *Śaiva* on account of

1 In the following pages the Ānandāśrama edition of the *Vāyu* has been used.

2 *Harṣacarita*, ch. iii, (pavamāna-proktaṃ purāṇaṃ papāṭha).

3 Sachau, *Alberūnī's India*, I, pp. 41-2, 130, 168, 194, 247, 287, etc.

4 Narasiṃha Vājapeyin includes the *'Vāyu-p.'* among the Upapurāṇas. See *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, ASB. ed., p. 19. Śrīdhara Svāmin, in his commentary on the *Bhāgavata-p.*, explains the word *'śaivaka'* as *'Śiva-purāṇa'*. See his commentary on *Bhāgavata* XII, 13, 4. Mitra Miśra recognises the Śaiva as a *Mahāpurāṇa* and says:

य पि विष्णुपुराणे ब्रह्माण्डमादाय वायवीय-त्यागेन या च ब्रह्मवैवर्ते वायवीयमुपादाय
ब्रह्माण्डपुराणपरित्यागेन अष्टादशसंख्या उक्ता सा कल्पभेदेन व्यवस्थापनीया ।

See *Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣāprakāśa* (ed. Parvatīya Nityānanda Śarmā, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares, 1906), p. 13.

5 See *Viṣṇu-p.* (Vaṅga. ed.) III, 6, 21 ff.; *Bhāgavata* (Vaṅga. ed.) XII, 7, 23 ff. and XII, 13, 4 ff.; *Kūrma* (Vaṅga. ed.) I, 1, 13 ff.; *Padma* (Anss. ed.) I, 62, 2 ff., IV, 111, 90 ff., VI, 219, 25 ff., and VI, 263, 77 ff.; *Varāha* (Vaṅga. ed) 112, 69 ff.; *Mārkaṇḍeya* (Vaṅga. ed) 137, 8 ff.; *Liṅga* (Jīvānanda's ed.) I, 39, 61 ff.; *Śiva* (Vaṅga. ed.) V (*Vāyavīya-saṃhitā*), i, 1, 38 ff.; Śivamāhātmya-khaṇḍa of the *Śūta-saṃhitā* commented on by Mādhavācārya (Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, VI, p. 1377); *Saura-saṃhitā* of the *Skanda-p.* (Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, VI, p. 1382); Saṃbhava-kāṇḍa of the Śivarahasya-khaṇḍa of the *Śaṃkara-saṃhitā* of the *Skanda-p.* (Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, VI, p. 1363); and so forth.

its connection with (i.e., treatment of) Śiva-bhakti ..... It contains 24,000 ślokas."[6] The description of the fourth Mahā-purāṇa, as given in the *Matsya, Nāradīya* and *Agni,* also agrees with the contents of the present *Vāyu-purāṇa.*[7] None of the Nibandha-writers, who have drawn upon the *Vāyu* and the *Śiva-purāṇa,* have been found to make any confusion between the two; for the verses quoted from the '*Vāyavīya*' or '*Vāyu-purāṇa*' are, in the majority of cases, found only in the present *Vāyu* but not in the *Śiva;* and those quoted from the '*Śaiva*' or '*Śiva-purāṇa*' are sometimes traceable in the present *Śiva* but never in the *Vāyu.* That the *Vāyu* was more important in the eyes of at least the Nibandha-kāras is shown by the fact that almost all of them quote verses from it, whereas the *Śiva-p.* is drawn upon by a very few of them. Hence it seems that the attempt to raise the *Śiva-p.* to the status of a Mahā-

6 चतुर्थं वायुना प्रोक्तं वायवीयमिति स्मृतम् ।
शिवभक्तिसमायोगाच्छैवं तच्चापराख्यया ॥
चतुर्विंशतिसंख्यातं सहस्राणि तु शौनक ।

Skanda-p. (Vaṅga. ed.) V, iii, (Revā-khaṇḍa), 1, 33-34a. These verses are also found in the *Revā-māhātmya* which claims to be a part of the *Vāyu-purāṇa.* See Aufrecht, *Bodleian Catalogue,* p. 65.

7 See *Matsya* (Vaṅga. ed.) 53, 18, *Nāradiya* (Veṅkaṭ. ed.) I, 95 and *Agni* (Vaṅga. ed.) 272, 4b-5. The mention of the Śveta-kalpa as connected with the declaration of the '*Vāyavīya*' *Purāṇa* should not create any difficulty, for the *Vāyu-p.* seems to connect itself with the Varāha-kalpa (*Vāyu* 6, 11 and 13; 7, 5; 21, 12 and 23) and to identify this Kalpa with the Śveta-kalpa (*Vāyu* 6, 13; 23, 63 ff. and 114 ff.). Moreover, the *Nāradīya P.,* whose list of contents of the '*Vāyavīya*' *Purāṇa* agrees much with those of our *Vāyu* but not even partially with those of the *Śiva,* also speaks of the connection of the '*Vāyavīya*' with the Śveta-kalpa. The word *bhāga-dvaya-samanvita* used by the *Nāradīya P.* with respect to the '*Vāyavīya*' should not be taken to point to the *Vāyavīya-saṃhitā* (of the *Śiva-p.*) which also consists of two *bhāgas* (parts). Eggeling, in his *India Office Catalogue,* VI, pp. 1299-1301, describes a few mss. of a Purāṇa which is called '*vāyuprokta-purāṇa*' or '*vāyu-purāṇa*' in the colophons of chapters. It is generally the same as our present *Vāyu,* and is divided into two khaṇḍas (or kāṇḍas) or four *pādas.* The ASB. edition of the *Vāyu* also is divided into two *bhāgas.*

Of the twelve Saṃhitās of the *Śiva-p.* the *Vāyavīya-saṃhitā* only is declared by Vāyu. So, how could the words *vāyavīya, vāyu-prokta* etc. be applicable to the entire *Śiva-p.* which begins with a Saṃhitā other than the *Vāyavīya*?

purāṇa[8] was due to a comparatively late sectarian zeal.[9] The *Devī-bhāgavata* (Vaṅga. ed.; I, 3, 14) and the '*Padma-p.*' referred to by Gaṅgādhara in his commentary on the Dharma-saṃhitā of the *Śiva-p.*,[10] include the *Śiva* among the Upapurāṇas.

The *Vāyu* consists of four Pādas—(1) Prakriyā, comprising chaps. 1-6, (2) Anuṣaṅga, chaps. 7-64, (3) Upodghāta, chaps. 65-99, and (4) Upasaṃhāra, chaps. 100 to the end. It deals with all the five topics characteristic of the old Purāṇas. Over and above these, there are a few chapters on Smṛti matters; viz.,

chaps. 16-17 — on the duties of the castes (*varṇas*) and *āśramas*,
chap. 18 — on the penances of yatis,
chaps. 57-59 — on *yuga-dharma*,
,, 73-83 — on funeral sacrifices (including impurity due to births and deaths, and purification of things),
chap. 101 — on hells and results of actions done, and
chaps. 105-122 — on the glories of Gayā.

These chapters do not seem to have belonged to the present *Vāyu* in its earliest form. They are in all likelihood later additions. Of these, chaps. 16-18 are comprised in the section on Pāśupata Yoga which betrays the influence of chaps. 39-43 of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* In this section, which extends from chap. 10 (verses 68 ff.) to 20,

8 In its *Vāyavīya-saṃhitā*, the *Śiva-p.* lays claim to the position of a Mahāpurāṇa saying that the fourth Mahāpurāṇa is the *Śaiva* which consists of twelve Saṃhitās. See *Śiva-p.* V, 1, 41.

9 The verse "……वायवीयमनुत्तमम्। अष्टादशं समुद्दिष्टं ब्रह्माण्डमिति संज्ञितम्॥ in *Kūrma* I, 1, which includes the '*Śaiva*' among the *Mahāpurāṇas*, should not be taken strongly in support of the early date of the *Śiva-p.* and its character as a Mahāpurāṇa. This verse most probably means: "That excellent (Purāṇa) *proclaimed by Vāyu* is enumerated as the eighteenth and is known as *Brahmāṇḍa*", because the *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* also is proclaimed by Vāyu and is called 'vāyu-prokta *brahmāṇḍa*' in the colophons of its chapters.

10 Haraprasad Shastri, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, ASB., V, p. 289.

the *Vāyu* has not only a good number of verses in common with the *Mārkaṇḍeya*[11] but has also improved upon the latter with fresh addition of chapters and verses. Now, we have seen that *Mārkaṇḍeya* 39-43 cannot possibly be dated earlier than 200 A.D.[12] Therefore chaps. 16-18 of the *Vāyu-p.* should be dated later still. The fact that the section on Pāśupata yoga is not found in the *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* tends to show that it was interpolated after 400 A.D., because the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* could not have been separated earlier than 400 A.D. Consequently, *Vāyu* 16-18 also are to be dated later than that period. As Śūlapāṇi quotes a verse from chap. 18 in his *Prāyaścitta-viveka,* they are certainly earlier than 1300 A.D. None of the early Nibandhakāras being found to draw upon them, it is difficult to place the lower limit of the date at a still earlier period.

Chaps. 57-59, dealing with *yuga-dharma,* give an account of the period ranging from the reign of the Nandas to the end of the Āndhra rule in Western India.[13] Therefore, these chapters should not be dated earlier than 200 A.D. They were, however, written earlier than 275 A.D., because the *Matsya-p.* borrowed from the *Vāyu* a good number of chapters, including the three mentioned above, in the last quarter of the third or the first quarter of the fourth century A.D.[14] Of these three chapters, chap. 59 has been drawn upon by Devaṇabhaṭṭa in his *Smṛti-candrikā* (see Appendix).

Chaps. 73-83, on *śrāddha,* are included in the section 'Śrāddha-kalpa' (covering chaps. 71-85), the greater part of which is given as an interlocution between Bṛhaspati and his son Śaṃyu. In these chapters yogins have been given remarkable prominence as invited

11 Cf. *Vāyu,* 16 with *Mārkaṇḍeya,* 41, 3 ff.; *Vāyu,* 17 with *Mārkaṇḍeya,* 41, 18 ff.; *Vāyu,* 19 with *Mārkaṇḍeya* 43; and *Vāyu,* 20 with *Mārkaṇḍeya,* 42, 5 ff.

12 See my essay on the *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* in *IHQ.,* XI, 1935, pp. 108 ff.

13 See my essay on 'the Hindu society before 200 A.D. and the Purāṇic rites and customs in the first stage of their development' to be shortly published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly.*

14 See my essay on the '*Matsya-purāṇa*' in *ABORI.,* XVII, pp. 1 ff.

guests.[15] It is said: "Śrāddhas should be carefully offered to yogins. ..... What is eaten by an adept in yoga saves one from great fear. A yogin is superior to a thousand householders, a hundred forest-hermits and a thousand students." Such prominence given to yogins is not traceable in the Codes of Manu and Yājñavalkya, who do not seem to have held yogins in high esteem. On the other hand, yogins are given great prominence in the existing Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās which are certainly later than the above mentioned Codes. It is therefore highly probable that the chapters on *śrāddha* in the *Vāyu-p.* belong to a date not earlier than 200 A.D. This date seems also to be supported by the hatred with which the 'nagnas' (the naked) have been mentioned in chaps. 78 and 79.[16] The word *nagna* is said to mean those people who are without garments. Such people are clearly the Jains and the Buddhists, because the terms *nirgrantha* and *pāṣaṇḍa* also have been used in these chapters of the *Vāyu*. The contempt shown to these religious sects could be possible only when their religions were in a decadent state. Buddhism, which found its strongest upholders in Aśoka Maurya and Kaniṣka, was probably in a flourishing condition at the end of the second century A.D. So the chapters of the *Vāyu* cannot possibly be earlier than that time. The mention of the Nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī in *Vāyu* 82 points to a date earlier than 500 A.D. It is probable that the chapters under discussion were added to the *Vāyu* about the middle of the third century A.D.

Most of the above mentioned chapters on *śrāddha* have been drawn upon by the Nibandha-writers early and late; viz., Śūlapāṇi has quoted verses from chaps. 78 and 79 in his *Prāyaścitta-viveka* (Jivānanda's ed.); Vācaspatimiśra from chaps. 77 and 82 in his *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi* (Bibl. Ind.); Kullūkabhaṭṭa from chap. 78 in his

15 *Vāyu*, 71, 50 ff.

16 *Vāyu*, 78, 24, and 79, 25.

commentary on the Manu-smṛti; Mādhavācārya from chaps. 75, 76 in his Bhāṣya on the *Parāśara-smṛti* (ed. Islampurkar, Bombay); Madanapāla from chaps. 75 and 79-81 in his *Madanapārijāta* (Bibl. Ind.); Śrīdatta Upādhyāya from chaps. 78 and 79 in his *Kṛtyācāra;* (Ms. No. 4339, Dacca Univ. Lib.); Caṇḍeśvara from chap. 81 in his *Kṛtya-ratnākara* (Ms. No. 1055C, Dacca, Univ. Lib.); Devaṇabhaṭṭa from chaps. 75 and 78-80 in his *Smṛti-candrikā* (ed. Govt. of Mysore); Ballālasena from chap. 80 in his *Dānasāgara* (India Office Mss.) and from chap. 19 in his *Adbhutasāgara* (ed. Muralīdhara Jhā, Benares); and Aparārka from chaps. 74-82 in his commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* (see Appendix).

All of the verses in *Vāyu* 73-83 do not seem to have come from the same date. Verses 14-32 of *Vāyu* 82 are most probably spurious. They do not occur in the great majority of mss., nor are they to be found in the corresponding chapter of the *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* Besides these verses, there are certain others which were interpolated later, but it is very difficult to separate them. The fact that many of the quoted verses, especially on Śrāddha, are not found in the present *Vāyu,* proves that the Purāṇa has undergone substantial losses also.

Chap. 101, on hells and results of actions, probably comes from the same date as chaps. 57-59. As there is no evidence sufficient for the determination of its date, it is impossible to say anything definitely.

Chaps. 105-112, on Gayā-māhātmya, did not originally belong to the *Vāyu.* In many mss. of the Purāṇa this Māhātmya has been omitted.[17] On the other hand, it is often found to appear as an independent text in mss. as well as in printed editions. That this appendage was attached to the *Vāyu* earlier than 1400 A.D. is certain, for Vācaspatimiśra quotes numerous verses from chaps. 105 and 111-112 (see Appendix).

17 See *Vāyu-p.*, p. 426, footnote.

Verses quoted from the '*Vāyu-Purāṇa*' or '*Vāyavīya*' in

	Vāyu-p.
1. Aparārka's com. on *Yāj.* (Anss. ed.),	
p. 258 (twice)	= 78, 51b-52a and 52b-54 (except 53a).
p. 387	= 77, 27.
p. 448	= 79, 67.
pp. 454-5	= 79, 68 and 78-80. Three lines '*anāśramī tapas tepe*' etc. are not found.
p. 473	— Of the four lines quoted, only one tallies with *Vāyu*, 78, 31b; the other three are not found.
p. 475	= 74, 4.
pp. 487-8	= 80, 39-40, 4, 37, 2, 5-8, 16 and 19-21. 74, 1-2. Verses beginning with '*śrāddheṣūpānahau dadyāt*', '*tūlapūrṇe tu yo dadyāt*' and '*vyajanaṃ tāla-vṛntaṃ ca*' are found to tally with *Brahmāṇḍa*, III, 16, 8-9 and 10.
p. 490	= 75, 54b-55a.
p. 493	= 78, 48b-49a.
pp. 502-3	= 74, 20b-25a and 26-28. The lines '*svargāpavarga-sopānaṃ*' and '*bhrātaraḥ sarvabhūtānāṃ*' are not found.
p. 506	= 75, 43
p. 551	= 76, 31-33a and 34b-c.
p. 553	Of the 21 lines quoted, only the first three and the last one tally with *Vāyu*, 78, 8b-9a and 78, 10b respectively. These 21 lines are the same as *Brahmāṇḍa*, III, 14, 8b-9, 10b-12 and 14b-20.
p. 554	= 80, 42b-45a and 47-48.
p. 559	= 81, 18.
p. 560	= 82, 2a.
p. 924	= 79, 24b-25.
2. *Adbhutasāgara* of Ballālasena,	
p. 506	= 19, 18.
p. 507 (twice)	= 19, 17 and 25.
p. 508 (thrice)	= 19, 13, 27 and 14.
p. 509 (four times)	= 19, 16, 33 and 15. The verse '*nagnaṃ śravaṇakaṃ*' is not found.
3. *Dānasāgara* of Ballālasena,	
fol. 187a	= 80, 59.
4. Kullūkabhaṭṭa's commentary	
on *Manu*, III, 267	—(Cf. *Brahmāṇḍa*, Veṅkaṭ. ed., III, 14, 11b).
on *Manu*, IV, 49	= 78, 60.
5. *Smṛti-candrikā* of Devaṇabhaṭṭa,	
II, 589	= 79, 18.
IV, 25	= 80, 45.
203-4	—These verses tally with *Brahmāṇḍa*, III, 14, 14b-15, 16b and 17b-20.

Vāyu-p.

208 (twice) = 78, 31b-32a and 40.
331 = 75, 54b-55a.
366 = 75, 43.
370-371 = 75, 22.
392-3 = 80, 2.
393 = 59, 49.

6. *Kṛtyācāra* of Śridatta Upādhyāya.

fol. 2a = 78,60.
„ 10a = 79, 38 and 39b.
„ 12b = 79, 33a and 34a.
„ 41a = 79, 46b-47a
„ 64a = 79, 88.

7. *Kṛtya-ratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara,

fol. 173b = 81, 2-4.
„ 188a = 81, 4a.

8. Mādhavācārya's Com. on the *Parāśara-smṛti*, vol. I, part ii,

p. 369 —These verses, which are not found in the *Vāyu-p.*, are the same as *Brahmāṇḍa*, III, 14, 14b-20 (except 16a and 17a).
p. 412 = 75, 54b-55a.
p. 431 = 75, 22.
p. 438 = 76, 31.

9. *Madana-pārijāta* of Madanapāla,

p. 486 = 81, 2-4a.
p. 552 —These verses are found not in the *Vāyu* but in the *Brahāṇḍa* (III, 14, 9b, 10b-12 and 14b-17a).

Vāyu-p.

p. 558 = 79, 53a. The other two lines '*gṛhasthānāṃ*' etc. are not found.
p. 579 = 80, 2.
p. 581 = 75, 54b-55a.
p. 591 = 75, 57b-58a, 71-72 and 75b-76a.
p. 600 = 75, 43.

10. *Prāyaścitta-viveka* of Śūlapāṇi,

p. 306 = 78, 48b-49a.
p. 347 = 18, 12.
pp. 429-430 = 78, 69; 79, 20-22a.
p. 474 = 79, 24b-25.

11. *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* of Vācaspatimiśra,

p. 7 = 110, 2-3.
pp. 274-5 = 82, 9 and 43; 77, 96b-97a, 98-99, 101-103, 105-106a, (two lines '*snātvā dina-trayaṃ*', etc. on p. 275 of the *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi* are not found), 108a and 109.
pp. 280-281 = 108, 13a, 14-19 (one line *rāmatīrthe naraḥ snātvā* is not found), 21b-23a, (one line '*āgatya ca*' on p. 281 of the *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi* is not found), 22 and 28-30.
p. 282 = 108, 20.
pp. 284-5 = 110, 9-15b, 19-20b, 20c, (one line '*tilājya-dadhi*' is found in the footnote on p. 443 of the *Vāyu-p.*), 56-59a and 61a.

	Vāyu-p.
pp. 285-6	= 105, 18-19a, 26 and 33.
p. 286	= 108, 71b; (one line *'pūtaḥ'* etc. is not found); 111, 17.
p. 288	= 110, 17 and 21-22.
p. 289	= 110, 23-24 and 30-32.
pp. 290-292	= 110, 34-42 and 44-55.
p. 296	= 110, 8-9, 62a and 65.
pp. 298-301	= 111, 1-3; 110, 21, 17-18a and 23-24; 111, 4-6b, 7, 8-10a, 12, 10b-11a, 13-14 and 15-22. Some verses, which are not found in the running text, are given in the footnote on p. 443 of the *Vāyu-p.*
p. 303	= 109, 43. The other three lines are not found.
p. 309	= 111, 23a-b and 24-26.
pp. 310-312	= 111, 30a, 31-32, 35-36, 33-34 and 38-40. One line *'śrāddhāya piṇḍa-dānāya'* and one verse *'āmrāś ca siktāḥ'* on p. 311 of *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi* are not found.
pp. 314-8	= 111, 41, 44a, 45a, 44b, 45b-c, 46-49a, 50-52, 54a, 56b-63, 69-71a, 64-68, 73, (two verses are found in the footnote on p. 449 of the *Vāyu-p.*), 74-75b.
p. 320	= 105, 26.
p. 321	= 107, 46 and 48.
pp. 321-3	= 111, 77, 78a, 79. Three lines *'dṛṣṭvā natvā'tha'*, *'gayāyāṃ dharma-pṛṣṭhe'* and *'gayā-śirṣe 'kṣaya-vaṭe'* are given in the footnote on p. 449 of the *Vāyu-p.* 111, 76, 82-84 and 75. 109, 5b and 7b-12. One line *'upendra tvaṃ'* on p. 323 of the *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi* is not found.
pp. 325-333	= 112, 21-22b, 23-26, (two lines are found in the footnote on p. 451 of the *Vāyu-p.*), 34b, 44b, 46-49a, 30-31, (four lines *'udbhijjāḥ'* etc. are not found), 49b-53, (the lines *'śrāddhī nāma'* etc. on p. 327 of the *Tirtha-cintāmaṇi* are not found), 56-58a, 60 and 58b-59. 108, 12, 24, (five lines *'rāme vanaṃ gate'* etc. on p. 328 of the *Tirtha-c.* are found in the footnote of the *Vāyu-p.*, p. 436), 43b-44a, (*Vāyu-p.*, pp. 436-7, footnote, verses 1-2, 5-15, 17, 16, 18-26a, 28-32, 34b-38a; three lines *'taṃ dṛṣṭvā'* etc. on p. 332 of the *Tirtha-c.* are not found).

Rajendra Chandra Hazra

Dates of some Kākatīya Records

The recent Telugu publications *Kākatīya-saṃcika* (Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry, 1935) and *Telaṃgānā-śāsanamulu,* vol. I (Lakṣmaṇarāya Pariśodhaka Mandali, Hyderabad, 1935) are of great importance to all students of Kākatīya history. The former gives the text of 39 valuable records of the Kākatīya kings, and the latter contains the text of no less than 57 inscriptions of the family. But some 16 records are common to both the volumes. It is however a matter of regret that, excepting the facsimiles of the Kōṭagiri and Malkāpura records in the *Kākatīya-saṃcika,* there are no facsimiles of the inscriptions to enable us to verify the readings of the records. I have recently studied the *Telaṃgānāśāsanamulu* in which many passages appear to be wrongly deciphered. My doubts are chiefly based on the readings of dates which are generally given in Śaka years and are also named according to Jupiter's Cycle of Sixty Years (Southern). There are more than ten cases of inaccuracy in the dates, the readings in many of which are undoubtedly wrong. The present note deals with some such inaccuracies. It will be seen that some of the theories (based on such dates), advanced by Dr. Rama Rao in the *Kākatīya-saṃcika* are really unwarranted.

1. Inscription of the time of Gaṇapati from Koṇḍiparti in the Warangal Dist. (No. 8 of *Telaṃgānāśāsanamulu*) is said to be dated in Śaka 1113 (p. 203) and the date portion is read as *śākābde tattva-rudrair = mitavati rudhirōdgāri-vaiśākha-māse* (p. 24). The number of the *Tattvas* is 25 (*Sāṅkhyapravacanasūtra,* I, 61), and that of the *Rudras* is 11. The date is therefore undoubtedly 1125 according to the formula *aṅkasya vāmā gatiḥ*. Śaka 1125 (= A.D. 1203) was moreover a Rudhirōdgārī saṃvatsara, while Śaka 1113 was a Virodhakṛt year.

2. Inscription of the time of Rudrāmbā in the Narasiṃha temple at Būrugugaḍḍa in the Nalgonda Dist. (No. 32 of the same, and No. 28 of *Kākatīya-saṃcika*) is said to bear the date Śaka 1180 (p. 205) and the date portion is read as *śakavarṣamulu 1180 lagu vibhavasaṃvatsara jyēṣṭha śu 10 guruvāramunāṃdu* (p. 71). This reading would suggest that the generally accepted theory regarding Rudrāmbā's accession to the Kākatīya throne about A.D. 1261 is wrong.[1] Śaka 1180 (=A.D. 1258) was however a Kālayukta year and not a Vibhava year. The correct reading is no doubt Śaka 1190 (with 9 instead of 8 in the third figure), i.e., A.D. 1268, which was a Vibhava saṃvatsara. The details prove that the corresponding date in English Calendar is Thursday, 24th May, 1268. A.D.

3. Inscription of the time of Gaṇapati in a mosque at Būdapur in the Mahaboobnagar Dist. (No. 21 of the same) is said to be dated in Śaka 1184 (p. 204) and the date portion is read as *Śakavaruṣaṃbulu 1184 vartiṃ paṃgānu āṃgīrasa-saṃvatsarāna.....śrāvaṇa-śuddha-budhavārāna sōma-grahaṇa-kālamuna* (p. 59). Śaka 1184 was a Dundubhi saṃvatsara. The third figure 8 is therefore evidently a misreading for 9, and the date is Śaka 1194 (A.D. 1272) which was an Āṅgirasa year. The question is moreover settled beyond doubt by the fact that there was no lunar eclipse on Śrāvaṇa-paurṇamāsī in Śaka 1184, but there was actually an eclipse of the moon on the above *tithi* in Śaka 1194. The corresponding English date is Wednesday, 10th August, 1272 A.D.

4. Inscription of the time of Gaṇapati from Vāḍapalli in the Nalgonda Dist. (No. 13 of the same) is said to bear the date Śaka 1133 (p. 203) and the date portion is read as *śakavaruṣaṃbulu 1133 ḍagu pramādīca-saṃvatsaramuna* (p. 38). Now, Śaka 1133 was not a Pramādīca, but a Prajāpati saṃvatsara. The only Pramādīca year in Gaṇapati's reign (*circa* 1198-1261) was Śaka 1175=A.D.

1 See *Kākatīya-saṃcika*, pp. 56ff. In a previous paper, I accepted this early date for Rudrāmbā's accession, see *IHQ.*, XIV, p. 96.

1253. So, either *pramādīca* is a misreading for *prajāpati* or 1133 is a misreading for 1175.

5. Inscription of the time of Gaṇapati from Annavaram in the Nalgonda Dist. (No. 12 of the same) is given the date Śaka 1130 (p. 203) and the date portion is read as *śakavarṣamulu 1130 agu kālayuktasaṃvatsara-māgha-śu vidiyā śanivāramuna* (pp. 37-38). Śaka 1130 was however a Vibhava saṃvatsara and the nearest Kālayukta year was Śaka 1120 = A.D. 1198 which seems to be the correct reading of the date. It is probable that the third figure in the date is to be read as 2 and not as 3. But if *vidiyā = dvitīyā*, the details are irregular for both Śaka 1130 and 1120. The reading may be wrong.

6. Inscription of the time of Gaṇapati from Nāgulapāḍu in the Nalgonda Dist. (No. 10 of the same) is given the date Śaka 1124 (p. 203) and the date portion is read as *śakavarṣamulu 112 [4] yagu kālaükti-saṃvatsaramunaṃdu* (p. 31). Śaka 1124 = A.D. 1202 was however a Dundubhi year, and the nearest Kālayukta year, as we have seen, was Śaka 1120 = A.D. 1198 which is possibly the correct reading of the date.

7. Inscription of the time of Rudrāmbā from Pānugal in the Nalgonda Dist. (No. 34 of the same) is given the date Śaka 1187 (p. 206) and the date portion is read as *śakavaruṣamulu 1187 yagu prabhavasaṃbatsara-adhika-jyēṣṭha-bahula 13* (p. 73). Śaka 1187 was however a Krōdhana saṃvatsara, and the nearest Prabhava saṃvatsara was Śaka 1189 = A.D. 1267 which is evidently the correct reading. Śaka 1189 had an Adhika-Jyēṣṭha which was absent in Śaka 1187.

8. Inscription of the time of Gaṇapati discovered near a ruined Śiva temple at Gaṇapavaram in the Nalgonda Dist. (No. 18 of the same) is given the date Śaka 1175 (p. 204) and the date portion is read as *śākābdaiḥ bāṇa-bhuvana-vibhāvarīpati-sudhākiraṇa-guṇite śrīmukha-saṃvatsare māgha-śukl-āṣṭamyāṃ dinakara-dine śakavarṣa*

1175 (p. 50). *Bāṇa*=5; *bhuvana* has been (wrongly) taken to represent 7; *vibhāvarīpati*=1; and *sudhākiraṇa*=1. According to the general formula, the date then stands as Śaka 1175. But this year was actually not a Śrīmukha but a Pramādica saṃvatsara. The only Śrīmukha year in Gaṇapati's reign was Śaka 1135 which must be the correct date.[2] It is evident that the third figure in the date is really 3 and not 7. As regards the word *bhuvana* which stands for this figure in the date in words, it signifies 3 and 14 (Bühler, *Indische Palaeographie*, pp. 80-81). The details are irregular for Śaka 1175. The eighth *tithi* of the bright half of Māgha fell on Monday (not Sunday) in Śaka 1135, corresponding to 20th January, 1214 A.D.

9. Inscription of the time of Gaṇaṃrudra[de]va possibly a misreading for *Gaṇapaddeva*, (i.e., Gaṇapati) from Pammi in the Warangal Dist. (No. 31 of the same, and No. 27 of *Kākatīya-saṃcika*) is given the date Śaka 1156 (p. 205) and the date portion is read as *śakavarṣamulu 1156 aṃdu durmukhi-saṃvatsara-vaiśākha-śuddha 11 gu* (p. 68). But Śaka 1156 was a Jaya saṃvatsara, and the nearest Durmukha year was Śaka 1158=A.D. 1236 which should be the correct date. The corresponding English date would be Thursday, 17th April, 1236 A.D.

10. Inscription of the time of Pratāparudra from Maṇūr in the Medak Dist. (No. 45 of the same) is said to be dated in Śaka 1216 (p. 207) and the date portion is read as *śakavaruṣaṃbulu veyyiṃni-yiṃnūṭa-payyāṟaguneṃṭi ānaṃda-saṃvatsara-māgha-śu 1 ādivārāna* (p. 88). The only Ānanda year in Pratāparudra's reign (*circa* 1290-1330) was Śaka 1236=A.D. 1314, which appears to be the correct reading of the date. In place of the letter *pa* after *veyyiṃni-yiṃnūṭa* (i.e., 1200) I am inclined to read *muppai*, and for *śu 1 ādivārāna* I suggest the reading *śu 7 āditya-vārāna*.[3] The

2 Prof. Raychaudhuri first suggested to me the possibility of Śaka 1135 being the correct date of the record.

3 The figures 1 and 7 are sometimes confused; see *JAHRS.*, vol. XI, p. 10.

corresponding English date appears to be Sunday, 12th January, 1315 A.D.

11. Inscription of the time of Prola from Mātēḍu in the Warangal Dist. (No. 4 of the same) is said to bear the date Śaka 1043 (p. 202) and the date portion is read as *śakavarṣaṃbulu 1043 śarvari-saṃvatsara-caitra-śuddha 3 vaḍḍavāramunāṃdu* (p. 4). Śaka 1043 was however a Plava saṃvatsara, and the previous year, i.e., Śaka 1042 = A.D. 1120 was a Śārvari saṃvatsara.[4]

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

4 The calculations in the present note are based on L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, vol. I part (see Tables I [i] and II).

Nirṇayakaustubha or Laghunirṇayakaustubha of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa

The importance of fixing approximate dates, etc., for performing various religious ceremonies and duties has been recognised by the Hindu society from time immemorial. Innumerable references and remarks about *kāla* lie scattered in the vast literatures of Astronomy, Purāṇa and Smṛti. But it is the Nibandha writers who devoted special treatises to this subject. Among the available treatises the earliest is *Kāla-viveka* of Jīmūtavāhana who flourished in Bengal about the 11th century A.D. Prof. P. V. Kane has pointed out (*Hist. Dh.*, I, p. 319) that Jīmūtavāhana names seven predecessors who dealt with the subject of *kāla*, cf.

जितेन्द्रिय-शङ्खधरान्धूक संभ्रम-हरिवंश धवल-योगलोकैः ।
कृतमपि कालनिरूपणमधुना निःसारतां याति ॥ *Kālaviveka*, p. 8.

After Jīmūtavāhana, the subject received exhaustive treatment at the hands of many Nibandha-writers. From the 11th century down to the middle of the 18th century several works have been written on this subject.

The object of this article is to present a work which probably is the last work. There is only one ms. so far known of this work and that is deposited in the Government collection of the B.O.R., Institute of Poona. Following is a short description:—

No. 350 of 1875-76; size—8⅜ in. by 4 in. Extent:—45 leaves; 9 lines to a page; 27 letters to a line. Country paper; Devanāgarī characters; handwriting legible; benedictory phrase, topics and the colophon are tinged with red pigment; corrections made with yellow pigment; paper old and musty.

Begins:—श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
प्रणम्य जानकीजानिं महाशब्दोपनामकः ।
विश्वेश्वरः सुबालानामवबोधार्थमादरात् ॥१॥

हेमाद्रिमाधवौ वीक्ष्य मयूखं कौस्तुभं तथा ।
यत्नान्निर्णयसिंधुं च मदनं निर्णयामृतम् ॥२॥
कल्पद्रुमं च तिथ्यर्कं कालतत्त्वविवेचनम् ।
फक्किकाभिर्वितनुते लघुनिर्णयकौस्तुभम् ॥भृ॥

Ends :—अथ पुण्यतिथयः ।

अमावास्या तु सोमेन सप्तमी भानुना तथा ।
चतुर्थी भानुपुत्रेण अष्टमी बुधसंयुता ॥
चतस्रस्तिथयः पुण्याः सूर्यग्रहणसंनिभाः ।
स्नानं दानं तथा श्राद्धं तत्सर्वं चाक्षयं भवेत् ॥
तुलामकरमेषेषु प्रातःस्नानं सदा भवेत् ॥

इति कार्तिकमाघवैशाखस्नानानि । तानि मलमासादौ गुर्वस्तादावपि कार्याणि । यदा वैशाखादौ मलमासपातस्तदा मासद्वयं स्नानदानादि ।

इति पौंडरीकथाजिविश्वेश्वरविरचितं निर्णयकौस्तुभं समाप्तम् । संवत् १७६३ फाल्गुन शुक्ल भृगौ लिपिकृतं श्रीनंदेन शुभं ॥

Like other works on the subject, the *Nirṇayakaustubha* starts with the discussion of the nature of *tithi* and the divisions of the day. Then the anniversaries of ten avatāras is fixed. Next follow the important festivals like *Rāmanavamī, Dolotsava, Madanotsava* occurring in different months. Then comes the fixing of *grahaṇa* (eclipses) followed by a discussion about the *saṅkrānti*. The description of *puṇyatithi* brings the work to a close.

Apart from its intrinsic merit, the importance of the work lies in the fact that it names about 38 authorities. The author, before finally giving his own opinion on any point, enters into a discussion and gives the views of other writers on the subject. Some of the writers are quoted as many as 24 times. These names are very helpful in determining the age of our author and in bringing together at one place the writers on the subject of *kāla*. I have depended upon Prof. Kane in giving the dates of the writers or works

against their names. Figures in brackets indicate the number of times a work or an author is quoted in the *Nirṇayakaustubha*.

1. Anantabhaṭṭa (1)—Several people of that name.
2. Aparārka (1)—Commentator on *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, about 1115-30 A.D.
3. Ācāryacūḍāmaṇi or Smārtācāryacūḍāmaṇi or Smārta (2)=Raghunandana Bhaṭṭācārya, 1490-1570 A.D.
4. Āśvalāyana (1).
5. Kātyāyana (1).
6. *Kālatattvavivecana* (9) by Raghunāthabhaṭṭa, 1620 A.D.
7. *Kālādarśa* (2) by Ādityabhaṭṭakavivallabha, 1200—1325.
8. *Kṛtyaratnāvali* (10) by Rāmacandra, son of Viṭṭhala, 1648-9.
9. *Kaustubha* (20)=*Smṛtikaustubha* by Anantadeva, son of Āpadeva, about 1675 A.D.
10. *Govindārṇava* (1)=*Smṛtisāgara* or *Dharmatattvāvaloka* by Śeṣanṛsiṁha, between 1400-1450 A.D.
11. Candrikākāra (1)=Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭamaunin, son of Raghunāthabhaṭṭa, 1620 A.D.
12. *Tithyarka* (3)=by Divākara, son of Mahādeva, about 1683.
13. *Tristhalisetu* (1) by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, about 1550-60.
14. *Divodāsīya* (5) Earlier than 1500 A.D.
15. *Dikṣita* (2) Earlier than 1100 A.D.
16. *Dipikā* (1)=*Kālanirṇaya*° or *Tithinirṇaya*°?
17. *Nirṇayadipa* (2) mentioned in *Nirṇayasindhu*.
18. *Nirṇayasindhu* (23) by Kamalākarabhaṭṭa, 1612 A.D.
19. Nirṇayakṛt (1) same as above?
20. *Nirṇayāmṛta* (14) by Allāḍanātha, earlier than 1500 and later than 1250.
21. *Purāṇasamuccaya* (1).
22. *Pratāpamārtaṇḍa* (1) by Pratāparudra, about 1500 A.D.
23. Prapitāmahacaraṇāḥ or Asmatprapitāmaha-Ratnākarabhaṭṭacaraṇāḥ (4)
24. *Prayogaratna* (1) many of this name.
25. *Bhāgavata* (1).
26. *Madanapārijāta* (1) by Viśveśvesarabhaṭṭa, 1360-90 A.D.
27. *Madanaratna* (17) by Madanasiṁhadeva, 1300-1500 A. D.
28. Manu (1).
29. *Mayūkha* (16) by Nilakaṇṭhabhaṭṭa, 1610-45.

30. Mādhava (21)=Mādhavācārya, 1330-60 A.D.
31. *Rāmakalpadruma* (1) by Anantabhaṭṭa, son of Kamalākara, about 1640-70.
32. *Vidhānapārijāta* (1) by Anantabhaṭṭa, son of Nāgadeva, composed at Benares in 1625.
33. Vṛttikṛt (1)?
34. *Vratārka* (1) by Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa, son of Nīlakaṇṭha, between 1625-75.
35. *Smṛtikaustubha* (5), see no. 9 above.
36. *Smṛtyarthasāra* (1) by Śrīdharācārya?
37. Hemādri (24) 126-70 A.D.
38. Nārada (1).

Thus we see that the *Nirṇayakaustubha* quotes a work of so late a date as 1683 A.D. Hence, he cannot be earlier than that, and Prof. Kane is wrong in putting him earlier than 1500 A.D. (*Hist. Dh.*, I, p. 742). Another statement of Prof. Kane which requires revision is that on p. 573 of his *Hist. Dh.*, I. He says that *Nirṇayakaustubha* is "mentioned by Raghunandana and Śaṅkara in *Saṁskārabhāskara.*" In the first place, Raghunandana (= Raghunandanabhaṭṭācārya, author of *Smṛtitattva*) is very respectfully mentioned as Ācāryacūḍāmaṇi or Smārtācāryacūḍāmaṇi or Smārta twice by *Nirṇayakaustubha,* and the work of Śaṅkara (= Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa, son of Nīlakaṇṭha), viz., *Vratārka* is also once mentioned by *Nirṇayakaustubha.* Secondly, there is no *Saṁskārabhāskara* composed by Śaṅkara except that what is also called *Saṁskāramayūkha* by Nīlakaṇṭha revised by his son. And this is quoted 16 times in the *Nirṇayakaustubha.*

Now we see that the only information afforded by the ms. about the author Viśveśvara is that he was surnamed as *Mahāśabda* (in the first verse) and *Puṇḍarīkayājin* (in the last colophon) and that he was the great-grandson of Ratnākarabhaṭṭa. We know of one Viśveśvara, of the Śāṇḍilya gotra, surnamed *Mahāśabda,* who was the son of Rāmeśvara, grandson of Gaṅgārāma and great-grandson of Ratnākara and who composed *Pratāpārka* (based on his ances-

tor's *Jayasiṁha-kalpadruma*) under the patronage of Pratāpasiṁha, grandson of Jayasiṁha of Amber. I am tempted to quote an extract from *Pratāpārka* as given in Peterson's *Alwar Cat.* (pp. 129-30, no. 328).

स्वस्तिश्रीमनुजातिराजितमहावंशावतंसोऽखिल-
क्ष्मोणीपालविशालसद्गुणगणैर्भूमण्डले विश्रुतः ॥
आसिंधुस्फुरदुज्ज्वलोज्ज्वलयशाः स श्रीभृतो भूभृतां
भूषा श्रीजयसिंहभूपतिपतिर्भूमंडलाखंडलः ॥२॥
येन श्रीश्रुतिमार्गपंकजवती सूर्येन धर्मादरा-
ल्लुप्तप्राय इहाखिलः श्रुतिपथः प्राकासि धर्मावहः ॥
येनाकारि तुरंगमेध उदिताच्छास्त्रोक्तमार्गात्पुन-
र्भूदेवामरशाखिना सुकृतिना काले कलावप्यहो ॥३॥
तस्यासीत्तनयः प्रसिद्धविनयः श्रीमाधवो माधव-
श्रीपादाब्जरतिर्धरासुरनतिर्भूमीपतिः सन्मतिः ।
यत्सौंदर्यकला विलोक्य विकलः कामोऽपि कामं मुदा
लोकैराकलि•कल्पनापटुतरैः शोभाभरान्निर्भरम् ॥४॥
तत्सूनुर्विलसत्प्रतापमहिमा श्रीमत्प्रतापाभिधो
भूयो भूपतिभूषणोऽखिलगुणग्रामाभिरामोत्सवः ।
वैरिव्रातविघातको बहुकलावैदग्ध्यविद्यानिधि-
र्भूविख्यातयशाः क्षितौ विजयते युद्धोद्भटो विष्णुवत् ॥५॥
... ... ॥६॥
श्रीशांडिल्यमुनेः कुले किल महाशब्दोपनामाजनि
श्रोतस्मार्तसमस्तकर्मनिपुणः श्रीदेवभट्टो महान् ।
रामांघ्रिप्रवणस्ततोऽजनि सुधीः सम्राट् स **रत्नाकरः**
काशीस्थो बहुविश्रुतो निजकुलालंकारचूडामणिः ॥७॥
कृत्वा येन सतां मतेन विधिवत्सद्वाजपेयं पुन-
श्चक्रे वैदिकसत्कृतेन कृतिना श्रीपुंडरीकः क्रतुः ।
विप्रेभ्यो विधिवत्प्रदाप्य बहुशो ग्रामान्निकामार्थदान्
कीर्तिर्येन च संविधाय विमला ब्रह्मा पदं प्रापिता ॥८॥
स्वस्ति श्रीजयसिंहनामनृपतेर्नामांकितो भूतले
ग्रंथः पंडितसम्मतोऽतिललितः कल्पद्रुमाख्यः कृतः ।
विद्याविश्रुतसत्कुशाग्रमतिना तत्तद्गुणाम्भोधिना
श्रीरत्नाकरशर्मणा जयति स क्षोदक्षमो धीमताम् ॥९॥
तत्सूनुः सुकृती कृती समभवद्भूदेवदेवद्रुमो
गंगाराम इति प्रथामधिगतः श्रीमान्महायाजकः ।

येन क्षोणिपतिप्रपूजितपदांभोजेन काश्यां मुदा
दत्ता ब्रह्मपुरी निधाय विधिवद्भूमीसुरेभ्योऽचिरात् ॥१०॥
आसीत्तत्तनुजो निजान्वयगुणावासोऽतिशान्तो महीं-
भूषा भूसुरमंडनं मुनिरिव ख्यातः स रामेश्वरः ।
येनालं परकामिनीपरधनाकांक्षापि नाराधिता
स्वप्नेऽपि स्फुटकीर्तिना कलयता श्रीशंभुना तुल्यताम् ॥११॥
जातस्तत्तनयो द्विजातिविनयो विश्वेश्वरस्सन्ददिः (?)
स्वस्ति श्रीसुमतिप्रतापधरणीपालाज्ञया धर्मधीः ।
आदाय प्रपितामहेन रचितात्कल्पद्रुमाद्विस्मृता
त्सारं संतनुते बुधोपकृतये सोऽर्कं प्रतापादिकम् ॥१२॥

Prof. Kane thinks that this work was composed about 1750 A.D. Now, it is quite evident that this Viśveśvara and Viśveśvara, the author of *Nirṇayakaustubha* are identical. We know that *Jayasiṁhakalpadruma* was composed by *Ratnākarabhaṭṭa*, son of Devabhaṭṭa. The work is in 19 chapters and it was composed under the patronage of Savāī Jayasiṁha of Amber, who performed *Jyotiṣṭoma, Vājapeya, Paunḍarīka* and *Aśvamedha* sacrifices. The date of completing *Jayasiṁhakalpadruma* is—

शाके विक्रमपार्थिवस्य शुभदे व्योमर्षिसप्तेन्दुयुग्-
वर्षे शोभनसंज्ञके शिवतिथौ मासे नभस्याख्यके ।
कूर्मश्रीजयसिंहदेवनगरे पुण्येंबिकेशांचिते
ग्रन्थः कल्पतरुः समाप्तिमगमत् सज्ज्ञानवित्तप्रदः ॥५॥

(Peterson's *Cat. of Alwar mss.*, p. 118, Extract 305)

This date works out to be Saturday the 25th of July, 1713 A.D. In his note "Aśvamedha by a Mughal Satrap" (*Indian Culture*, January, 1937, pp. 547-8), Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh says in foot-note 3—"This research apparently refers to Jaya Sinha's compilation on Smṛti entitled *Jayasiṁhakalpadruma.*" Mr. Ghosh is wrong, for the author or compiler is Ratnākarabhaṭṭa who was a *guru* of Jayasiṁha. In *Īśvaravilāsakāvya* (which has got only one ms. and that is No. 273 of 1884-86 in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B.O.R. Institute, Poona), the author Kavi Kṛṣṇa refers to Ratnā-

kara and other scholars at the court of Īśvarasiṁha, son of Jayasiṁha :—

तस्याखिले पंडितराजचक्रे मान्यो गुरुभ्रातृसुतोऽतिविद्वान् ।
श्रीपौंडरीकाध्वरयाजयो(को)ऽभून्नित्यं समीपे व्रजनाथशर्मा ॥ ७॥
ऋग्वेदिविप्रप्रवरावतंसो रत्नाकरो नाम गुरुर्नृपस्य ।
प्रभाकरो नाम बभूव तस्य भ्राता सदा यो मथुरैकवासी ॥८॥
तदात्मजः श्रीव्रजनाथमा(ना)मा तथापरो गोकुलनाथ उक्तः ।
तौ भ्रातरौ संविहितौ नृपस्य निरंतरं शास्त्रकथां दधाने (नौ) ॥९। (fol. 37a)

The point raised by Mr. Dines Chandra Sircar (*Indian Culture,* vol. III no. 2, pp. 376-9) has been successfully controverted by Mr. P. K. Gode in his article "Some Contemporary Evidence regarding Aśvamedha Sacrifice performed by Sewai Jayasingh of Amber (1699-1744 A.D.)." *JIH.*, December 1936 (pp. 364-7).

It is interesting to note that references to Jayasiṁha's performing *Aśvamedha* are found at several places in works of poets or scholars, who were almost his contemporaries. For instance, Vrajanātha, son of Prabhākara who was a brother of Ratnākara, says in his *Padyatarangiṇī* (B.O.R.I. Mss., nos. 724 and 725 of 1886-92 composed in 1752 A.D. in honour of Mādhavasiṁha, son of Jayasiṁha)—

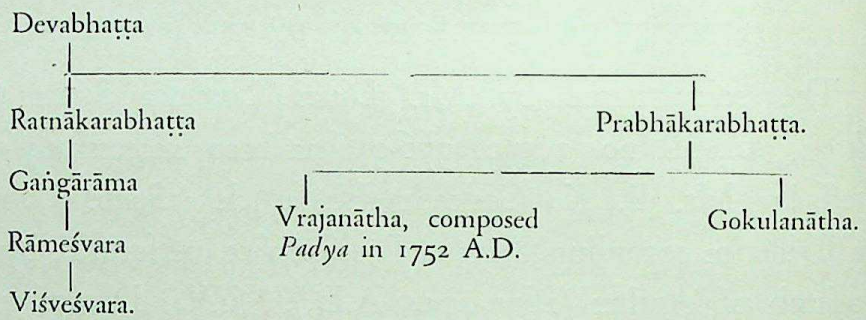
केनाथकारि नहि तेषु तुरंगमेधः । 3b.
पारीक्षितोऽपि विदधे हयमेधमुच्चैः । 4a.
वेदोदितेन विधिना हयमेधमुच्चैः । 5c.
(Concluding verses).

Then Sadāśiva Śarmā, son of Gadādhara, also at Mādhavasiṁha's Court (जयति सदाशिवशर्मा मुनिजनधर्मा सुधर्माग्रयः । माधवसिंहसुधर्मासदसि सुधर्मः स्वधर्माग्रयः । १३०॥ quoted from *Mādhavasiṁhāryāśataka,* ms. No. 436 of 1887-91 by Mr. M. M. Patkar in his article "*Mādhavasiṁhāryāśataka*—A poem in praise of King Mādhavasiṁha of Jaipur by Śyāma Laṭṭu; composed in 1755 A.D."—*Poona Orientalist,* vol. I, no. 4, pp. 34-37), composed a work on Dharma-

śāstra, called *Ācārasmṛticandrikā* (Ms. No. 236 of 1887-91 of B.O.R.I.) wherein he refers to Jayasiṁha as follows—

काशीजनपदनिलयास्तुरंगमेधं सर्वमेधं च निर्माय ।
अंगदिनः कुंडलिनः कंकणिनो येन विरचिता वु(वि)बुधाः ॥४ fol. 1b.

Now, we arrive at the following genealogy of our author Viśveśvara :



From *Mahārāṣṭrīya Jñānakośa,* vol. 13, p. 122, we learn that Pratāpasiṁha, died in 1803 after reigning for 15 years. So that, he reigned from 1788-1803. Therefore, Viśveśvara must have composed his Pratāpārka *after 1788 A.D. Nirṇayakaustubha* also must be placed somewhere near about this date.

HAR DUTT SHARMA

The Problems of "Definition" and "Perception" in Śrī Madhva's Epistemology

I. *"Definition"*

According to Jayatīrtha, "Definition" is (1) what is invariably present in all the defined objects and (2) absent from objects other than the defined. The term 'invariably' brings out that the distinguishing trait should be found in all the objects belonging to the same class as the defined.

If we take only one of the two factors to constitute a definition, it lands us in the fallacy of over-pervasion: (1) A cow is a 'horned-animal'. This definition includes all other horned animals, such as buffaloes, sheep, etc.

(2) Dewlap is 'what is not found in animals other than cows'. 'Tawny colour' also is not found in animals other than cows. Hence the definition is overpervasive.

So both the factors: (1) invariable presence of the distinguishing trait in all the objects belonging to the same class as the defined; and (2) its absence from objects other than the defined constitute together the 'definition'.

The first purpose of a definition is to facilitate our understanding of objects in their distinctive individuality and independence. The second is to mark off one class from another, each retaining its independence. To differentiate one individual from another within the limits of the given class is the third use of a definition. It is immaterial whether these purposes are stated separately or otherwise. Some hold that the one purpose of definition is individualisation of entities. A definition synthesises the features belonging to a class and the distinctive characteristics of the individuals coming under it.

In traditional Western logic "Definition" proceeds on the principle *'per genus et differentiam'*. A definition should state the proximate genus. This fact points out that the defined is a species coming under the genus stated. The differentia consists of quality or qualities which distinguish the defined from the species that are co-ordinate with it. The purpose of a definition according to Indian logicians also is to differentiate the defined object from other members of its own class, and from the members of other classes. Definition helps us to denote the import of words.

According to the Nyāya school, "Definition" proceeds on the basis of the presence of the generic attribute in all the objects belonging to the same class as the defined. There are two *jātis* according to the Nyāya school. One is *'sattā'* the highest universal or 'summum genus' (*parā jāti*), which brings all existence together, and emphasises their community of nature. The other is *aparā jāti*, which is many in number. The 'potness' is different from the 'clothness'. The universals are not ubiquitous like space or soul. They exist in particular individuals. *Jāti* is defined as 'one eternal, and inheres in many things.' It is found in Substance, Quality and Action only. It is this common element found in objects (*anugata dharma*) that makes us cognise all the objects belonging to the same class as the defined.

If *jāti* is assumed as one and eternal, what happens exactly to 'potness' when the pot is broken? The *jāti* cannot get destroyed' because it is eternal. Nor can it be said that a part of it is lost, for it is impartite. The resourceful logician tells us that it abides in Time. The question now arises whether it was not in time the pot existed. Madhva was not the first to criticise the Nyāya view of 'Sāmānya.'[1] The *jāti* of the Nyāya school is only a dharma.

1 See *Mānameyodaya*, pp. 229, 230, and *Indian Culture*, vol. I, article on 'The Buddhist Estimate of the Universal'.

There is no proof or warrant for the conception of such a common attribute.[2] The humanity in each man is different. On the cremation of an individual the 'humanity' in him alone is destroyed. So the humanity in each individual is different. Madhva repudiates the Nyāya conception of jāti, and admits a number of dharmas in its place. So 'potness' and 'clothness' are dharmas, and not jāti.

Madhva holds that there are two types of relations between an attribute and a substrate.[3] Some dharmas exist in the *dharmin,* till its destruction; e.g., 'potness' exists in pot till the destruction of the pot. Quality, Action and *jāti* are of the very nature of the dharmi itself. They are technically called *'yāvad-dravya-bhāvi'*. The relation of the above mentioned objects to their attributes is identity. The second type of relation that exists between a Substance and its attribute is called 'ayāvad-dravyabhāvi' or 'khaṇḍitaṃ'; e.g., the relation between (1) vikāra and the vikārin, (2) cause and effect, (3) movement and its object. The dharmas in the above examples get destroyed prior to the destruction of the *dharmis*.

2 नरत्वादिकमप्येवं तत्तद्धर्मतयेयते ।
न सर्वधर्म एकोऽस्ति समुदायस्तु भिन्नगः ।
एतादृशश्च सादृश्यं पदार्थेषु पृथक् पृथक् ॥
एकस्मिन् स विनष्टेऽपि यतोऽन्यत्रैव दृश्यते ।
कुतो भस्मत्वमाप्तस्य नरत्वं पुनरिष्यते ॥
एकत्वे नास्ति मानञ्च श्रुतिरप्याह सादरम् ।
Madhva's *Anuvyākhyāna,* p. 186.

3 गुणक्रियाजातिपूर्वधर्माः सर्वेऽपि वस्तुनः ।
रूपमेव द्विधा तच्च यावद्वस्तु च खण्डितम् ।
खण्डिते भेद ऐक्यं च यावद्वस्तु न भेदवत् ।
खण्डितं रूपमेवात्र विकारोपि विकारिणः ।
कार्यकारणयोश्चैव तथैव गुणतद्वतोः ।
क्रियाक्रियावतोस्तद्वत् तथा जातिविशेषयोः ।
Madhva's *Tattvaviveka,* p. 24, *Daśaprakaraṇa,* vol. I.

The relation between such dharmas and their *dharmins* is a relation of identity and difference.

It is not identity in difference. The relation of the threads to the cloth is a case of identity. This relation exists only when the cloth is existent. Supposing we take away the threads which go to make up the cloth, what exactly is the relation of the threads and the cloth? The relation now is not identity, because we see the threads, but not the cloth. The cloth belongs to the past (atīta), and the threads alone are seen in the present (vidyamāna). So their relation is not identity but difference. Madhva is of opinion that at one particular time the relation of cloth to the threads was identity, but now it is difference. When the cloth and the threads were one, the relation was identity; when the threads are taken away, the relation is difference. In two different moments the substrate and the attribute are related in two different ways: (1) identity and (2) difference. Madhva never says that at the same moment an attribute and a substrate are in a relation of identity and difference.

The objects of this world are entirely different from one another, and their attributes are also different.[4] A further question crops up at this stage as to how we distinguish the various attributes which are identical with objects. It is to explain this fact Madhva brings in the category '*Viśeṣas.*' They are many in number. They exist in every object unlike the *viśeṣas* of the Nyāya school which are present only in eternal substances. The *viśeṣas*

4 भिन्नाश्च भिन्नधर्माश्च पदार्था निखिला अपि ।
Madhva quotes this śruti in *Aṇuvyākhyāna,* p. 186; but it is not traceable.

5 भेदहीने त्वपर्याये शब्दान्तरनियामकः ।
विशेषो नाम कथितः सोस्ति वस्तुष्वशेषतः ॥
विशेषास्तेप्यनन्ताश्च परस्परविशेषिणः ।
स्वनिर्वाहकतायुक्ताः सन्ति वस्तुष्वशेषतः ॥
Madhva's *Aṇuvyākhyāna,* p. 165.

are *svatovyāvartaka*. It is a dharma of every *padārtha*. Though there is no difference between the *dharmin* and the attribute, it is this *viśeṣa* that helps us to cognise the attributes which though in a relation of identity are yet different.

What exactly is the need for the assumption of *viśeṣa*? Why not say that the substance itself functions as *viśeṣa*?

A substance is an object of cognition (*jñānaviṣaya*). Let us take for example a pot. We cognise it as a pot. In the cognition 'this is a pot' (*ayaṃ ghaṭaḥ*), there are three factors: (1) "this" aspect *idampadārtha*, (2) *ghaṭatva* (the *prakāra*), (3) the relation between them, i.e., *saṃsarga*. If our cognition can give us an apprehension of all these aspects where is then the need for *viśeṣa*? Our cognition or perception of a pot can only tell us the fact that the pot has a colour. The perception cannot tell us anything about the substrate being either different or otherwise from the attribute. Perception gives us the cognition, *rūpavān ghaṭaḥ*. It never gives us the cognition, *ghatāt rūpam bhinnam*. So perception can never give us the knowledge of the exact nature of the relation fixing one relatum as the substrate and the other as the attribute. When we say that perception cognises the relation between the substrate and the attribute it may be thought that the two relata are different.

Relation obtains not only between two differents, but between two identities also,[6] e.g., take the question, 'Does Time exist now?' The answer is that it exists. The relation of 'Time' as existent now, and 'Time' eternal is identity. Perception does not help us in cognising the nature of the relation. That can only be cognised on the basis of eternality and non-eternality. Certain substrates are

6 The term 'relation' involves difference of some kind or degree, without which the concept is unintelligible. Madhva's argument to establish a relation between two identicals appears specious. If it be true that our perception is of the form 'Rūpavān ghaṭaḥ' the cognition of difference is already involved in what leads to the use of the possessive suffix.

eternal and their attributes are also eternal. Substrates and attributes are also sometimes identical. In such cases we do not have any basis of distinction to call one the substrate and the other the attribute. We cannot here say that the substance itself gives us the cognition. To say so would be to beg the question, because we do not know which is the substrate and which the attribute. In order to explain such facts Madhva posits a special potency called viśeṣa which helps us to cognise the substrate and the attribute.

Madhva is of opinion that definition proceeds on the basis of similarity (*sādṛśya*). When we define a cow as an animal which has a dewlap, the definition through this distinguishing quality, namely, the 'possession of a dewlap' helps us to cognise all cows as cows. This cognition is based on the perception of similarity abiding in different cases of having a dewlap. Similarity is an independent category. It is defined *ekanirūpitāpara-vṛtti,* i.e., while being determined by one it is present in many; though its determinant is one, it is not one and the same in all. Its main function is the indication of difference. It always expresses itself in a relational form. It is always expressed in the form of a quality. There is no bare similarity. Madhva holds that though it is prolix to admit plurality of similarities, yet the concept of similarity is unintelligible otherwise. If A and B are similar, A's similarity to B is different from B's similarity to A. The argument that it is one and the same similarity that abides in both is not right. Let us illustrate it. For example, take the statement: The face is similar to the moon. The moon is the determinant. Its locus is the face. Now let us reverse the position in the analogy: 'the moon is similar to the face.' The face is the *'nirūpaka.'* Owing to the difference in the determinants and their respective loci we have to grant that the two similarities are different.

Let us now examine the axiom: 'Things which are equal to the same thing are equal to one another, e.g., A is equal to C, B is

equal to C. So A is equal to B. When we speak of them we speak of it only with reference to some quality. Equality and similarity are not fundamentally different. The difference between them is one of degree and not of kind. Equality refers to a more precise and definite uniformity than the one referred to by similarity. On this ground we are justified in passing from equality to similarity. The similarity may be with reference to wealth or power. When A is said to be similar to C with reference to wealth or power, B is similar to C with reference to wealth. It is this property indicating similar similarity that helps us to cognise A and B as similar. This can be put in the form of an inference. 'A is similar to B, because A and B are both similar to C, like another instance.'[7]

The function of similarity is the differentiation of the defined object from other members of its own class and from the members of other classes. This can be put in the form of an inference. 'The cow is different from other members of its own class, and from the members of other classes, because it has a quality similar to the dewlap, like another cow.

The relation of 'word' and 'word sense' too is known only through similarity. The word sense of *jāti* and *vyakti* cannot be explained through the help of the generic attribute.[8]

According to the Nyāya school there is no *jāti* in jāti, and no *particularity* in particularity. Further the definition on the basis of generality is possible only for the first three padārthas. The padārthas that have no jāti cannot be defined in the same manner. This leads the Nyāya school to adopt two separate methods to ex-

7 This argument which is in the form of an inference would appear to involve the fallacy of *petitio principi* because probans (hetu) assumed is the thing to be proved.

8 इति व्युत्पत्तिरपि हि सादृश्येनैव गम्यते । सर्वेषु युगपच्छब्दः सदृशेषु प्रवर्तते ॥
.....जातितश्चेत् कथं तासु तत्र चेदनवस्थितिः ।
Madhva's *Anuvyākhyāna*, pp. 186-87.

plain definition. In doing so they fall a victim to the defect of prolixity.

II. *Perception*

Perception is one of the chief instruments of knowledge. It is accepted by all the schools of Indian Philosophy. Inference and other instruments of knowledge depend on perception for their data. Perception is immediate and direct.

Madhva defines the instruments of perpetual cognition in two ways: (1) 'the instrument of perpetual cognition is the defectless sense organ.'[9] This definition satisfies the definition of 'Kāraṇa' put forward by the ancient Nyāya school, namely, 'an instrument is a special cause qualified by a function (*vyāpāravat asādhāraṇakāraṇam*). In short 'the defectless functioning organ' is the instrument of perpetual cognition.

(2) Another definition of 'kāraṇa' put forward by the Nyāya school is 'the distinctive cause is the instrument (*asādhāraṇa-kāraṇam*).' The 'distinctive cause' is that after whose operation the effect results without the intervention of any other factor (*svavya-vahitottarakālīnakāryotpattikatvam*). Madhva's second definition of the instrument of perpetual cognition, i.e., 'the contract of a defectless sense organ with a defectles object;'[10] satisfies the second view of '*kāraṇa*' put forward by the Nyāya school.

These two definitions or perception are not opposed to each other. They are so framed as to satisfy the two definitions of 'kāraṇa.' It is only a question of the distribution of emphasis.

Jayatīrtha after defining the instrument or perpetual cognition as the 'contact of a defectless sense organ with a defectless object' proceeds to enumerate the defects of objects and the defects of the sense organ. We find a similar list of the defects in the *Sāṅkhya-*

9 Madhva's *Tattvanirṇaya*, p. 15. 10 Madhva's *Pramāṇalakṣaṇa*, p. 1.

kārikā of Īśvarakṛṣṇa.[11] The defects of objects are (1) being too distant (2) being too near, (3) being obstructed, (4) being indistinguishably mixed with similar things. These defects prevent us from knowing the objects, and distort our knowledge of them.[12] The sense organs which help us in cognising objects are of two kinds: (1) physical sense organs (*prakṛti indriya*) (2) witness consciousness (*sākṣin*). The witness consciousness cognises the following objects: (1) the pure existence of the Ātman, (2) its attributes, (3) its nescience, (4) manas and its modifications, (5) pleasure and pain, (6) time and space.[13] The physical sense organs are six in number: (1) smell, (2) taste, (3) sight, (4) sound, (5) touch, (6) manas. The sense of taste tastes all the six rasas. The sense of touch and sight cognise the following objects: (1) objects that have size and colour, (2) some attributes, (3) movements and jāti. The sense of touch feels the air about us. The sense of hearing has sound for its object. The defects of the senses are (1) non-contact of the organs with the mind, (2) affections of the sense organ such as jaundice, cataract (kāca), etc.

Manas cognises all the objects through the instrumentality of the outer senses. Its independent function is to be an aid to recollection. Its defects are attachement, etc.

Perception is of four kinds: (1) Īśvara's perception, (2) Lakṣmī's perception, (3) Yogic perception, and (4) Ayogic perception. The perceptions of Īśvara and Lakṣmī are of the very nature of their selves,[14] (*svarūpendriyātmakam*). In the case of the other two, cog-

11 अतिदूरात् सामीप्यादिन्द्रियघातान मनोऽनवस्थानात् सौक्ष्मादव्यवधानाद् अभिभवात् समनाभिहाराच्च । '(Non-perception may be) because of extreme distance, (extreme) proximity, injury to organs, non-steadiness of mind, subtlety, veiling, suppression, and blending with what is similar.'—*Sāṅkhyakārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa v. 7, p. 25. translated by S. S. S. Śāstri (Madras University).

12 *Pramāṇapaddhati*, chap. I, sec. 23, p. 124.

13 *Ibid.*, chap. I, sec. 24, p. 126.

14 *Ibid.*, chap. I, sec. 25, p. 128.

nitions are partly derived from Svarūpa indriyas and partly from the outer sense organs. The objects of these various types of perception are the same as those of the respective cognitions, i.e., they are just as extensive as the object of Īśvara's jñāna, Lakṣmī's jñāna, etc.[15]

The outer sense organs are of three kinds: (1) divine, (2) demonic and (3) that kind of sense organ which shares the nature of both the divine and the demonic. The cognition by the divine senses is mostly valid, by the demonic senses mostly invalid; and that by the third type of sense organ is partly valid and partly invalid.[16]

The svarūpendriya of the Mukti yogins cognises correctly the that as well as the what of an object. The Nityasaṃsārins and Tamoyogyas cognise correctly the 'that' of an object. Their cognition of the 'what' of an object is sometimes wholly erroneous and sometimes a mixture of validity and invalidity.

The Nyāya school enumerates six types of contacts between the sense organs and the object; these bring about perception. They are (1) conjunction (*saṃyoga*), (2) inherence in what is in conjunction (*saṃyukta-samavāya*), (3) inherence in what is inherent in what is in conjunction (*saṃyukta-samaveta samavāya*) (4) inherence (*samavāya*), (5) the relation of the subject and attribute (*viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣyabhāva*).

The contacts of the senses of touch and sight with objects like the pot, and the contact of mind with Ātman are examples of 'saṃyoga.' The contacts of the senses of touch, sight, and mind with the attribute, movements, and jāti of the object are examples of 'saṃyuktasamvāya relation'. The contacts of the senses of smell and taste with the odours and tastes of objects; and the contact of mind with the senses of taste, sight and smell, and touch with the

15 *Pramāṇapaddhati,* chap. I, sec. 27, p. 142.
16 *Ibia.,* chap. I, sec. 28, p. 146.

jāti abiding in the quality and movement of objects are examples of the 'saṃyuktasamaveta samavāya relation.' The contact of the senses of hearing with sound is a case of samavāya relation. The contact of the sense of hearing with the jāti element in sound is a case of 'samaveta samavāya relation.' The contacts of the above mentioned senses with inherence, and non-existence of objects are instances of 'viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣa-bhāva.'

Further the Nyāya school enumerates two distinct kinds of perception (1) the indeterminate perception (*nirvikalpaka*), (2) the determinate perception (*savikalpaka*). Nirvikalpaka is the primary stage of non-relational perception. When the sense perception is differentiated and interpreted, we have a determinate perception. Though indeterminate perception cannot as such be shown to be experienced, it is proved to exist as a necessary presupposition of our determinate knowledge of objects. The Nyāya school holds 'that the cognition of the attribute is the cause of the cognition of the qualified object (*viśiṣṭajñānam prativiśeṣaṇajñānam kāraṇam.*) Hence there must be stage of cognition which is not of the viśiṣṭa; i.e., (nirvikalpakapratyakṣa) stage in perception.

According to the Nyāya school there are eight types of determination of an object, viz., (1) substance (2) quality, (3) action, (4) jāti, (5) particularity, (6) inherence, (7) non-existence and (8) name.[17]

Madhva holds that all perception is determinate and perception 'is the concrete apprehension of an object with all its determinations.' Madhva refutes the nirvikalpaka stage of perception. The Nyāya view that there are six types of contacts is also refuted by him.

There is nothing to prevent the sense from cognising the object as well as the attributes at the first contact. Further if the 'conjunc-

17 *Pramāṇapaddhati*, chap. I, sec. 29, p. 151.

tion type of contact' cognises the object only, and 'inherence in what is conjunction' type of contact cognises the attribute only, how are they synthesised? The Nyāya school cannot hold that the 'inherence in what is conjunction type of contact' is an imperative cognition, because that line of interpretation is not in accordance with its principles. The cognition that arises is one, and it is needless to postulate two contacts as its cause.

Madhva rejects the two categories of the Nyāya school, namely, 'inherence' and 'particularity'. After the rejection of these two categories there remains only one type of contact, i.e., conjunction, and that Madhva accepts.

Inherence (*samavāya*) is a type of inseparable relation elevated to the rank of a distinctive category by the Nyāya school. It exists among certain objects alone and is technically called 'ayutasiddha'. They are (1) substance and attribute, (2) substance and movement, (3) particular and universal, (4) ultimate things and viśeṣa, and (5) whole and part. The 'samavāya' relation does not obtain between normally separable things. The attribute and the substance are related by the independent category of 'samavāya.' At this stage a question crops up as to what relates the 'samavāya' to the quality and the substance. This 'samavāya' needs another samavāya and so the argument lead us on to infinite regress.[18] If it is said that 'samavāya' needs no other 'samavāya' to relate it to the attribute or the subject, we could as well have assumed that substance itself can get related, to its attribute without any aid. The principle of parsimony requires us not to postulate a separate category called samavāya.

The category of 'viśeṣa' postulated by Madhva to differentiate the attribute from the substance is different from the 'viśeṣa' of the Nyāya school. According to the latter 'viśeṣa' is the differentia of

18 *Vedāntasūtra,* chap. II, pp. 2 and 13.

ultimate things (nityadravyas). Madhva believes that 'viśeṣa' helps us to differentiate all things (not only ultimate things). 'Viśeṣas' are infinite in number. The viśeṣa in each is unique fact. It is a self-differentiating principle.[19]

Madhva does not admit a non-relational attributeless indeterminate perception. With him perception is always concrete and determinate. The chief function of perception is to give us a clarified presentation of an object with its attributes.

P. Nagaraja Rao

19 Madhva's *Anuvyākhyāna*, chap. I, vv. 21, 22, p. 161.

The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra on Forms of Government

I

In Ch. 2, Bk. VIII, of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra,* entitled *rājarājyayor vyasanacintā,* we come across a discussion of two forms of government called respectively *dvairājya* and *vairājya.* In order to comprehend the nature of the discussion we must first of all understand what K. means by *rājarājyayor vyasanacintā. Vyasanacintā* is thus explained in the preceding chapter:

व्यसनयौगपद्ये सौकर्यतो यातव्यं रक्षितव्यं चेति व्यसनचिन्ता ।
दैवं मानुषं वा प्रकृतिव्यसनमनयापनयाभ्यां सम्भवति ।
गुणप्रातिलोम्यभावः प्रदोषः प्रसङ्गः पीड़ा वा व्यसनम् ।
व्यस्यत्येनं श्रेयस इति व्यसनम् ।

The expressions *daiva, mānuṣa, naya, anaya* and *apanaya* are explained in VI. 2:

दैवमानुषं हि कर्म लोकं यापयति । अदृष्टकारितं दवम् । तस्मिन् इष्टेन फलेन योगोऽयः । अनिष्टेन अनयः ।
दृष्टकारितं मानुषम् । तस्मिन् योगक्षेमनिष्पतिर्नयः । विपत्तिरपनयः ।
तच्चिन्त्यम् । अचिन्त्यम् दैवमिति ।

Generally, therefore, *vyasana* may be rendered as 'destruction of well-being,' and *vyasanacintā* takes account only of that kind of vyasana which may be described as *mānuṣa* (caused by human agency) or *dṛṣṭakārita* (of which it is possible to see a cause). *Vyasanacintā* arises when simultaneous vyasanas require consideration; that is to say, when there is vyasana to two objects, and we have to choose between two alternatives and mould our actions accordingly. *Rājarājyayor-vyasanacintā* thus arises when there is *vyasana* to *rājā* as well as to *rājya,* and we are faced with alternatives requiring us to make our choice and act according to it.

Let us see, first of all, what the terms *rājā* and *rājya* denote here. The initial sūtra of the chapter (VIII. 2) helps us to see: *rājā rājyam iti prakṛtisaṅkṣepaḥ.* This has often been misunderstood but is clearly explained in Śaṅkarārya's commentary to the *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra:*

Text

अमात्यराष्ट्रदुर्गाणि कोशो दण्डश्च पञ्चमः ।
एताः प्रकृतयस्तज्ज्ञैर्विजिगीषोरुदाहृताः ॥
एताः पञ्च तथा मित्रं सप्तमः पृथिवीपतिः ।
सप्तप्रकृतिकं राज्यमित्युवाच बृहस्पतिः ॥

Commentary

अमात्यादियुक्तो मण्डलं चिन्तयेदित्युक्तम् ।
तत्र राज्ञोऽमात्यादिपञ्चकस्य (चा)नयोः कस्य प्रधानगुणभावः इत्याह अमात्येत्यादि ।
एताः प्रकृतय इति ।
द्रव्यप्रकृतित्वाद् एताः पञ्च विजिगीषोः स्वत्वेनोदाहृताः ।
मित्रं राजप्रकृतित्वात् स्वामिप्रकृतावन्तर्भूतम् ।
तेन सप्तप्रकृतयो राजराज्यभेदाद् द्विधावस्थिताः ।
तथाचोक्तम्—**राजा राज्यमिति प्रकृतिसंक्षेपः** । (*Kauṭ.* VIII. 2)
तत्र राज्यम् अमात्यादिप्रकृतिपञ्चकम् ।
शेषा राजप्रकृतिः ।
सप्तप्रकृतिकं राज्यमिति । एवं मन्यते यथा राज्यमित्यभिधानप्रत्यययोः प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं द्रव्यप्रकृतयः एवम् राजप्रकृतिरपि ।
तस्मात् प्रकृतिसप्तकमेव राज्यमिति ॥

The gist of this gloss is that, in the Kauṭilīya formula *rājā rājyam iti prakṛtisaṅkṣepaḥ*, out of the seven elements of State viz. *amātya, janapada* (or *rāṣṭra*), *durga, kośa, daṇḍa, svāmī* and *mitra*, the first five are together termed *rājya*, while the remaining two (*svāmī* and *mitra*) are together termed *rājā*, because *svāmī* ('head') and *mitra* ('ally') are akin to each other and come under the same class. The first five are denominated *dravyaprakṛtayaḥ*, apparently because they form the ingredients composing the *rājya;* and the last two are denominated *rājaprakṛtiḥ*, apparently because they form the sovereign element in the State. Bṛhaspati, however, employs the term *rājya* to denote all the seven elements from a point of view expounded by the commentator; and we need not go here into the question of terminology preferred by Bṛhaspati. That K. distinguishes between *dravyaprakṛti* and *rājaprakṛti* is evident from the *Arthaśāstra* VI. 2, where we find, immediately after the passage

cited above (terminating with अचिन्त्यम् दैवमिति), the following statement:

राजा आत्मद्रव्यप्रकृतिसम्पन्नो नयस्याधिष्ठानम् विजिगीषुः। तस्य समन्ततो मण्डलीभूता भूम्यनन्तरा अरिप्रकृतिः। तथैव भूम्येकान्तरा मित्रप्रकृतिः।

And we are further told:

एवं चतुर्मण्डलसंक्षेपः। द्वादश राजप्रकृतयः। षष्टिर्द्रव्यप्रकृतयः। संक्षेपेण द्विसप्ततिः।

We are now in a position to appreciate the nature of the discussion in the K. chapter entitled *rājarājyayor vyasanacintā*. A State being composed of rājā and rājyam—the sovereign element and the subject element—the ruler and the ruled—what are we to do when there is simultaneous vyasana to ruler and ruled? In brief, what is to be our course of action in case there is r e v o l u t i o n affecting the f o r m o f g o v e r n m e n t?

K., conformably to tradition, stands forth as an advocate of monarchy; but he devotes a small part of the discussion to two other forms of government named *dvairājya* and *vairājya*. These two forms are, however, discussed incidentally as offering themselves for consideration when we have to consider vyasana to rājya. But K. first discusses the situation arising out of vyasana to the rājā. from the point of view of the rājā. He is concerned here only with internal revolution, and vyasana to mitra as coming under rājaprakṛti is considered separately in ch. 5, Bk. VIII. Let us follow K. textually (VIII. 2):

राज्ञोऽभ्यन्तरो बाह्यो वा कोप इति।
अहिभयादभ्यन्तरः कोपो बाह्यकोपात् पापीयान्।
अन्तरमात्यकोपश्चान्तःकोपात्।
तस्मात् कोशदण्डशक्तिमात्मसंस्थां कुर्वीत।

This is further explained in IX, 3:

मन्त्रिपुरोहितसेनापतियुवराजानामन्यततरकोपोऽभ्यन्तरकोपः...मन्त्र्यादिवर्जानामन्तरमात्यानामन्यतरकोपोऽन्तरमात्यकोपः।

राष्ट्रमुख्यान्तपालाटविकदण्डोपनतानामन्यतमकोपो बाह्यकोपः।

With these definitions of *bāhyakopa, abhyantarakopa* and *antaramātyakopa,* it is easy to see that the intention in ch. 2, Bk. VIII,

is to record the opinion that the gravest danger to the king proceeds from disaffection of interior officers other than *mantripurohitasenāpatiyuvarāja,* and he suggests, as a general precaution, that the king should keep under his own control the power of *kośa* and *daṇḍa,* Treasury and Army. All this is from the point of view of the *rājā.* K. now changes to the point of view of the *rājya* and proceeds:

द्वैराज्यवैराज्ययोः द्वैराज्यमन्योन्यपक्षद्वेषानुरागाभ्यां परस्परसङ्घर्षेण वा विनश्यति। वैराज्यं तु प्रकृतिचित्तग्रहणापेक्षियथास्थितमन्यैर्भुज्यते इत्याचार्याः। नेति कौटिल्यः। पितापुत्रयोर्भ्रात्रोर्वा द्वैराज्यं तुल्ययोगक्षेममात्मावग्रहं[1] वर्तयेतेति। वैराज्यं तु जीवतः परस्याच्छिद्य 'नैतन्मम' इति मन्यमानः कर्शयत्यपवाहयति पण्यं वा करोति विरक्तं वा परित्यज्यापगच्छतीति।

"Of *dvairājya* and *vairājya, dvairājya* is destroyed by reciprocal likes and dislikes of the parties (belonging to the two rulers) or by mutual friction (between the rulers themselves); *vairājya,* however, caring to make itself attractive to the prakṛtis, is in truth enjoyed by the others (i.e. by all)—thus the authorities. (But) K. dissents (and says): a *dvairājya* of father and son, or of two brothers, entailing equal security of possession (to both rulers), remains under the control of high State officers (*amātyāḥ*). A *vairājya,* on the other hand, is wrested from one who lives (by another who), thinking "this is not mine," oppresses (the prakṛtis) and ostracizes them or sells it (to the opposite party); or, disregarding the disaffected, disappears."—In thus rendering the latter portion of the text here, I have kept in mind a passage in IX. 4:

प्रकृतीरस्य कर्शयिष्यामि; अपवाहयिष्यामि; आयोगेन आराधयिष्यामि वा।...प्रतिपक्षे वा अस्य पण्यमेनं करिष्यामि।...[2]

It will be perceived that *dvairājya* means "government by two."

1 Gaṇapati Śāstri reads: *tulyayoga-kṣmamamātyāvagraham* which is probably correct (Cf. XIII. 1: *tulyayogakṣemamamātyānāmāyudhiyānāṃca kathayeyuḥ*).

2 Ostracism (*apavāhana*) is referred to by Aristotle (*Politics,* III) as having been instituted by democratic States, and is said to have been practised on a large scale by great powers, by Babylonians, Medes and the Persian king. *Apavāhana* was associated with Mauryan conquests, as attested by Aśoka in the Fourteenth Rock Edict, section XIII; Aśoka heartily disliked the practices.

Dvairājya is referred to at some length by Kālidāsa in *Mālavikāgnimitra,* Act V, and is also mentioned as *do-rajja* in the Jaina *Āyāraṅgasutta;* ancient history furnishes two typical instances, one at Sparta, the other at Rome. *Vairājya* certainly denoted to the pre-Kauṭilīya authorities a form of government dependent on popular will, as the expression *prakṛticittagrahaṇāpekṣi* implies, and its defence by the authorities on the ground that it is in truth enjoyed by everybody (*yathāsthitam anyair bhujyate*) shows its democratic character. The picture drawn by K. belongs however, to a degenerate form of government in which, owing to a split between the ruler and the ruled, the State is, as it were, cut up into two hostile sections; and whichever be in the ascendant, there being no feeling of unity or common possession, the State suffers. As Plato remarks when criticizing oligarchy (*Republic,* VIII) that "such a city is not one, but of necessity two, one consisting of the rich, the other of the poor, dwelling in one place and always plotting against one another;" and again (*Ibid.,* V) when pleading for unity and community, that, "if some citizens are grieved and others glad at the same sufferings of the city, and all do not say 'mine' and 'not mine' at the same time with regard to the same objects, it is an evil state of affairs." Aristotle (*Politics,* V) characterizes as absurd Plato's view that an oligarchy consists of two cities, and asks: "Is not this just as much the case in the Spartan constitution, or in any other in which either all do not possess equal property, or in which all are not equally good men?" This is significant as showing that, in oligarchies as well as democracies, even in a dvairājya like Sparta, the State *is* cut up into two inimical sections. As Aristotle himself remarks (*ibid.*): There is an error common to both oligarchies and to democracies—in the latter the demagogues, when the multitudes are above the law, are always cutting the city in two by quarrels with the rich, whereas they should always profess to be maintaining their cause; just as in

oligarchies, the oligarch should profess to maintain the cause of the people, and should take oaths the very opposite of those which they now take. For there are cities in which they swear—"I will be an enemy to the people, and will devise all the harm against them which I can;" but they ought to exhibit and to entertain the very opposite feeling; in the form of their oath there should be an express declaration—"I will do no wrong to the people."

Upon the position of *vairājya* in pre-Mauryan times the *Ait. Br.* throws some light. In a coronation-ceremony, the prospective ruler is called upon to consecrate himself to five types of earthly government, viz., *rājya* (found in the Madhyadeśa among Kuru-Pāñcālas, etc.), *sāmrājya* (found in the East among Prācyas), *bhaujya* (found in the South among Satvants), *svārājya* (found in the West among nīcyas and apācyas, explained by Sāyaṇa as 'inferior in race' or 'inferior in manners') and *vairājya* (found in the North, beyond the Himālayas, among Northern Kurus and Northern Madras). It is noteworthy, as was long ago pointed out, that, in a strictly symmetrical enumeration, we read of *rājānaḥ* ('kings') being consecrated to rulership in forms of government denominated *rājya, sāmrājya, bhaujya* and *svārājya,* while we read of *janapadāḥ* ('peoples') being consecrated to the form of government denominated *vairājya;* so that we must hold *vairājya* to have been distinctively a non-monarchical form of government,—an inference harmonizing with what the Kauṭilīya tells us regarding pre-Mauryan *vairājyas.*

Etymologically, the term *vairājya* has been explained variously. Sāyaṇa, commenting on the *Ait. Br.* text, explains it in one place, as *viśeṣeṇa rājatvam,* and in another place as *itarebhyo bhūpatibhyo vaiśiṣṭyam.* Martin Haug, K. P. Jayaswal and R. C. Majumdar equate it with 'kingless government.' R. Shamashastri takes it to mean 'foreign rule.' If, however, we look to Vedic uses of *vi-rāj,* we get at its primary meaning 'to shine, to be illustrious.' That

this meaning is appropriate to the *Ait. Br.* text we are discussing follows from Ṛgveda, I. 188. 4. 5. 6.:

प्राचीनं वर्हिरोजसा सहस्रवीरमस्तृणन् ।
यत्रादित्या विराजथ ॥
विराट् सम्राड् विह्वीः प्रह्वीर्वह्वीश्च भूयसीश्च याः ।
दुरो घृतान्यक्षरन् ॥
सुरुक्मेहि सुपेशसाधिश्रियाविराजतः ।
उषासावेह सीदतः ॥

Here we find the term *virāṭ, samrāṭ* etc. associated with *virāj* meaning 'to shine, to be illustrious,' so that the same meaning should be applicable to the text of the Ṛgvedic *Ait. Br.* wherein *samrāṭ, virāṭ* etc. are spoken of together. *Vairājya* therefore denoted primarily a form of government in which the ruling element ruled by reason of its shining or illustrious character—an *Aristocracy,* as Greek philosophers would call it. The aristocratic element ruled under authority from the *janapada* or the entire body of the people; and this representative or universal character of the rule finds its analogue in the parallel conception of the Universal Virāṭ figuring in the famous *Puruṣa-sūkta* (*ṚV.* X, 90.)

The *Ait. Br.* throws some light also on a dominant characteristic of *vairājya* government. In treating of food suitable to various kinds of rulers (VII. 5. 6.), *udumbara* (Ficus glomerata) is declared to symbolize food and drink and is assigned to *bhaujya; aśvattha* (F. religiosa) is stated to stand for prowess and is assigned to *sāmrājya;* while *plakṣa* (F. infectoria) is held to signify glory and is assigned to *svārājya* as well as to *vairājya.* It would appear therefore that, in a *vairājya* or *svārājya,* glory was prized; and Plato would describe such a form as a *Timocracy,* the next best to his ideal Aristocracy.

II

It will be interesting to compare the classification of governments by Plato with the classification contemplated in the Kauṭilīya. In the *Statesman,* Plato adopts, as one basis of division, that of the

number of persons exercising supreme authority—a basis, as Dunning[2a] remarks, already common in Greek thought and employed by Herodotus (III. 80). According to Plato, when subject to Law,

The rule of One is Royalty
The rule of the Few is Aristocracy
The rule of the Many is Democracy.

The Indian classification does not recognize any essential difference between the Few and the Many; it proceeds on what may be called the basis of grammatical number—Singular, Dual and Plural. Thus,

The rule of One is Rājya
The rule of Two is Dvairājya
The rule of More than Two is Vairājya.

This is, logically, a comprehensive classification, since any government must be either by One, or by Two, or by More than Two.

Aristotle (*Politics,* V) conceives of the rule of Two (*dvairājya*) as a kind of limited Royalty: "The more restricted the functions of kings, the longer their power will last unimparied; for then they are moderate and not so despotic in their ways; and they are less envied by their subjects. This is the reason why the kingly office has lasted so long among the Molossians. And for a similar reason it has continued among the Lacedaemonians, because there it was always *divided between two,* and afterwards further limited by Theopompus in various respects, more particularly by the establishment of the ephoralty." Aristotle (*Ibid.,* III) likewise asserts that the best government is "that which is administered by the best, and in which there is one man, or a whole family, or many persons, *excelling in virtue,* and both rulers and subjects are fitted, the one to rule, the others to be ruled, in such a manner as to attain the most

2a *Political Theories,* p. 36.

eligible life." Virtue he places above everything else, so much so that we find him advocating (*Ibid.*, III) rule by One individual or One family which "happens to be so pre-eminent in virtue as to surpass all others," after stating that "a people who are by nature capable of producing a race superior in virtue and political talent are fitted for kingly government." Elsewhere (*Ibid.*, VII), he cites Scylax as affirming that, among the Indians, kings had marked superiority over their subjects. Scylax explored the Indus shortly before 500 B.C.; he was probably describing the conditions prevailing then in areas watered by the Indus.

III

Returning to the Kauṭilīya text, we find the author of the *Arthaśāstra* launching into a discussion as to what kind of king is preferable to what other kind. It will be observed that the alternatives discussed are not simply theoretical but such as must have presented themselves in practical politics already when the book was written; the ideal king's accomplishments having been previously recounted in Bk. VI, Ch. 1. In fact, as we have seen, the very title of the chapter *rājarājyayor vyasanacintā*—implies consideration of measures to be taken in order to preserve the well-being of the State. We here get a glimpse into the state of affairs obtaining in the world of politics immediately before K. and may realize to ourselves the type of king favoured by K. against his predecessors in politics. Three pairs of alternatives are discussed:

अन्धश्चलितशास्त्रो वा राजेति ? अशास्त्रचक्षुरन्धो यत्किञ्चनकारी दृढाभिनिवेशी परप्रणेयो वा राज्यमन्यायेनोपहन्ति । चलितशास्त्रस्तु यत्र शास्त्राच्चलितमतिर्भवति शक्यानुनयो भवतीत्याचार्याः । नेति कौटिल्यः । अन्धो राजा शक्यते सहायसम्पदा यत्र तत्र वा पर्यवस्थापयितुमिति । चलितशास्त्रस्तु शास्त्रादन्यथाभिनिविष्टबुद्धिरन्यायेन राज्यमात्मानञ्चोपहन्ति ।

"(Which is better), a king with no eye or a king deviating from *śāstra*? The authorities say: A king with no eye, that is, with no eye for *śāstra*, acts arbitrarily and is obstinate or, guided by

others, injures the kingdom by injustice. But a king deviating from *śāstra* is, where he is inclined to deviate, amenable to persuasion.—Not so, says Kauṭilya: A king with no eye is, with liberal assistance (of officers) capable of collecting himself (against improper conduct) everywhere. But a king deviating from *śāstra* deviates deliberately and, by injustice, injures the kingdom as well as himself."

This attitude becomes intelligible when we recall the concluding verse of the Kauṭilīya:

येन शस्त्रं च शास्त्रं च नन्दराजगता च भूः ।
अमर्षेणोद्धृतान्याशु तेन शास्त्रमिदं कृतम् ।

The Nanda kings who had preceded Candragupta are here represented to have appropriated *śāstra* ('Law'), *śastra* ('Army') and *bhū* ('Earth') to themselves, and the author of the treatise is said to have, from a feeling of resentment (*amarṣeṇa*),[3] forthwith (*āśu*) rescued (*uddhṛtāni*) these from them. In the body of the treatise we find that the king has control over *śastra* and *bhū* but not over *śāstra* which is left to qualified State-officers called *amātyāḥ*. This is clear from a comparison of K.'s enumeration of the ideal king's accomplishments (Bk. VI, ch. 1) which has no reference to mastery of *śāstra* (although, of course, a prince is required to learn *śāstra* as part of his training, Bk. I, chs. 1-5) with his enumeration of the ideal *amātya's* accomplishments (Bk. I, ch. 9) which require an *amātya* to be *cakṣuṣmān*, his *śāstracakṣuṣmattā* being declared ascertainable from equals in learning (*samānavidyebhyaḥ*). The concluding portion of the last-named chapter sums up K.'s entire attitude:[4]

3 On *amarṣa* the *Nāṭyaśāstra* cites the śloka:

आक्षिप्तानां सभामध्ये विद्यैश्वर्यबलाधिकैः ।
नृणामुत्साहसम्पन्नो ह्यमर्षो नाम जायते । *Nāṭ. Ś.*, VII. 77.

4 Bhandarkar (*op. cit.*, p. 109) thinks that the verse refers to the rescue of *Arthaśāstra* from oblivion; but the context contains no such idea and clearly implies that K. rescued the śātra, and bhū from the Nanda kings' control. The Purāṇas also speak

पुरोहितमुदितोदितकुलशीलम् षडङ्गे वेदे दैवे निमित्ते दण्डनीत्याम् च अभिविनीतम् आपदाम् दैवमानुषीणाम् अथर्वभिरुपायैश्च प्रतिकर्तारम् कुर्वीत। तम् आचार्यम् शिष्यः पितरम् पुत्रो भृत्यः स्वामिनम् इव च अनुवर्तेत।

The king is here represented as dependent on his *purohita* even like a pupil on teacher, a son on father, a servant on master, and the qualifications of the *purohita* enumerated here include, beisde his priestly skill, a special training in *daṇḍanīti*. Then comes the verse:

ब्राह्मणेनैधितं क्षत्रं मन्त्रिमन्त्राभिमन्त्रितम्।
जयत्यजितमत्यन्तम् शास्त्रानुगतशस्त्रितम्।

"A prince (*kṣatra*), brought up by a brāhmaṇa, well-advised by ministers, following *śāstra* and provided with *śastra*, attains complete success, being invincible." The king therefore had to follow śāstra or Law but had control over śastra or Army. He was thus not a tyrant, but a constitutional monarch.

The next alternatives in K.'s discussion are:

व्याधितो नवो वा राजेति? व्याधितो राजा राज्योपघातममात्यमूलम् प्राणाबाधम् वा राज्यमूलमवाप्नोति। नवस्तु राजा स्वधर्मानुग्रहपरिहारदानमानकर्मभिः प्रकृतिरञ्जनोपकारैः चरतीत्याचार्याः।

नेति कौटिल्यः। व्याधितो राजा यथाप्रवृत्तम् राजप्रणिधिम् अनुवर्तयति। नवस्तु राजा बलावर्जितम् "ममेदम् राज्यम्" इति यथेष्टम् अनवग्रहः चरति। सामुत्थायिकैरवगृहीतो वा राज्योपघातम् मर्षयति। प्रकृतिषु अगूढः सुखमुच्छेत्तुम् भवति। व्याधिते विशेषः पापरोगी अपापरोगी च नवेऽपि अभिजातोऽनभिजात इति[5]

"(Which is better), a diseased or a new king? The authorities say: In a diseased king's rājya, either the rājya suffers on account of Officers (upon whom the king has to rely), or the king loses his life on account of the *rājya* (i.e. the five dravyaprakṛtis). But a new

of Mahāpadma and his line being in possession of "the earth which K. 'will rescue' (uddharisyati) for the Mauryas; and reference is made to Mahāpadma's śāsana being absolute (anullaṅghita): see Pargiter, *Dyns. Kali Age*, pp. 25-6. According to tradition, K., who was proud of his learning, wanted to occupy a seat of honour in the Nanda court, and, being insulted, swore to destroy his dynasty. The tradition is known to the *Bṛhatkathā*.

5 Cf. *Mudrā Rākṣasa*, Act IV. 15—*Maurye nave rājani*. Viśākhadatta depended on incorrect tradition. See my paper "Was Candragupta low-born?" in *IHQ.*, VIII, pp. 466 ff.

king pleases and benefits the (dravya)prakṛtis by favour, remission of taxes, gift and honour according to his own dharma. But Kauṭilya dissents and says: A diseased king performs his kingly duties as directed. But a new king, thinking 'this kingdom, obtained by force, is mine,' behaves arbitrarily and without restraint; or, being under the clutches of those who elevated him to the throne, suffers the kingdom to be oppressed, and, being unpopular, is easily uprooted. There is, however, a distinction among diseased kings,—the disease may be pāparoga or aparoga; also among new kings,—the king may be h i g h-b o r n or l o w-b o r n."

The term *nava* means "not hereditary": it is used antithetically to *pitṛpaitāmaha* in Bk. I, ch. 8 where Kauṇapadanta is stated to have recommended hereditary Officers (pitṛpaitāmahān amātyān),[6] while Vātavyādhi is represented as opposing this view and recommending instead the appointment of n e w m e n (*navān amātyān kurvīta*) to these offices; and Kauṭilya himself a 'new man' (cf. Roman *novus homo*), characteristically approves of the appointment of able Officers, irrespective of their being 'new' or hereditary, descent from a high State-officer being in his eyes no qualification. Concerning, however, the desirability of having a 'new' king, it is to be noted that the question raised is not the theoretical question: Which is better? A new king or a hereditary king? The question is: Which is better? A new king or a diseased king? By implication, of course, this 'diseased king' could not be a 'new king'; for, there can be no sense in calling for choice between a 'diseased new king' and simply a 'new king' free from disease. The question therefore amounts to this: Which is better? A diseased monarch ruling by hereditary right, or an undiseased monarch having no

6 K. distinguishes mantriṇaḥ from amātyāḥ in Bk. I, ch. 8 as 'advisers' from 'executive officers'. An amātya could be a mantrin only when he had passed three tests initiated by the purohita (ch. 10) whose qualifications (detailed in ch. 9) include training *ṣaḍaṅge vede daive nimitte daṇḍanītyām ca*. K. sets no limit to the number of mantrins constituting the mantripariṣad.

hereditary right to the throne? The question is raised not for the first time by K.: it had been raised by his predecessors denominated vaguely as *ācāryāḥ*. They had evidently been faced with a situation which left them to choose between a diseased king and a new king. In other words, a ruling king of an established dynasty was afflicted with disease, and the appointment of a new king had to be contemplated. The pre-Kauṭilīyan authorities sanctioned the overthrow of an existing dynasty, because the king was diseased, and favoured the appointment of a king having no hereditary right to the throne. We are most forcefully reminded of Mahāpadma; his dynasty is designated *nava*-Nanda, apparently as distinguished from his predecessors, the *pūrva*-Nandas from whom according to the *Bṛhatkathā*, Candragupta was descended. And when we reflect on K.'s adverse remarks relating to the behaviour of *nava* kings and to their being 'easily uprooted', the traditional picture of K. uprooting the overbearing and arbitrary *nava*-Nandas gains in definition. The picture stands out in vivid relief as K. goes on to discuss the next pair of alternatives:

दुर्बलोऽभिजातो बलवाननभिजातो राजेति ? दुर्बलस्याभिजातस्य उपजापम् दौर्बल्यापेक्षाः प्रकृतयः कृच्छ्रेण उपगच्छन्ति । बलवतश्चानभिजातस्य बलापेक्षाः सुखेन इत्याचार्याः ।

नेति कौटिल्यः । दुर्बलमभिजातम् प्रकृतयः स्वयम् उपनमन्ति । जात्यम् ऐश्वर्यप्रकृतिः अनुवर्तत इति । बलवतश्चानभिजातस्य उपजापम् विसंवादयन्ति । अनुयोगे साद्गुण्यम् इति ।[7]

"(Which is better), a weak and high-born king, or a strong and low-born king? The authorities say: In the case of a weak and high-born king, the prakṛtis (i.e. the dravyaprakṛtis having regard to his weakness, endure with difficulty (i.e. hardly tolerate) his secret measures; and, in the case of a strong and low-born king, they,

7 In place of अनुयोगे साद्गुण्यम we should perhaps read अनुरागे सार्वगुण्यम्—cf. Bk. VII. ch. 5—क्षीणलुब्धा हि प्रकृतयः भर्तरि स्निग्धा भतृहिते तिष्ठन्ति । उपजापम् वा विसंवादयन्ति । अनुरागे सार्वगुण्यम् इति ।

8 Cf. *Mudrārākṣasa* II:

अपि क्षमन्तेऽस्मदुपजापं चन्द्रगुप्तप्रकृतयः ? वाढं क्षमन्ते यथाप्रकाशमनुगच्छन्त्येव ।

having regard to his strength, endure with ease (i.e. submit to) his secret measures. But Kauṭilya dissents and says: The prakṛtis spontaneously submit to a weak and high-born king; for, it is a characteristic of power to attach itself to high birth. And (the prakṛtis) baffle the secret measures of a strong and low-born king; for, the character of virtue (is revealed) in enquiry."[9]

It will be observed that, in these combinations of the categories of birth and strength, the pre-Kauṭilīya thinkers emphasize the importance of strength and pass over the factor of birth, whereas K. considers high birth to be more important than strength, consistently with his view expressed in Bk. VI. ch. I that the king should be *mahākulīnaḥ*, "of high family." This is significant as showing that K.'s master was of high birth and displaced a line of strong but low-born monarchs whose elevation to the throne had met with approval from the pre-Mauryan politicians whom K. calls the *ācaryāḥ*. Those politicians seem to have found Mahānanda, the last member of the well-born dynasty of earlier Nandas (pūrva-Nanda), weak (durbala), diseased (vyādhita) and having no eye for Law (andha or śāstracakṣus), and decided to sanction the transference of royalty from Mahānanda to Mahāpadma, a new *nava* and low-born *anabhijāta* monarch, described in the Purāṇas as a son of Mahānanda by a Śūdra woman, who made himself powerful (*balavān*) by securing control over *śāstra, śastra* and *bhū*, i.e. over Law, Army and Land. The relation headed by K. overthrew Mahāpadma's line and re-established on the throne the high-born Candragupta, a scion of the earlier Nanda dynasty, who changed his dynastic designation apparently because 'Nanda' had become a hated name. K. instituted a reform in the constitution by taking away from the king all real control over Law.

HARIT KRISHNA DEB

9 Or, if we emend the text as suggested above (note 7),—"for, all virtue is comprised in devotion."

The Beginnings of Intercourse between India and China

In his epoch-marking paper entitled *Deux Intinéráires de Chine en Inde* Prof. Paul Pelliot discussed the various views put forward in modern times on the origin of the name China, and reached the conclusion that the hypothesis put forward in 1655 A.D. by Father Martini deriving the name from that of the first *Ts'in* dynasty (249-207 B.C.) was the most satisfactory explanation so far known. He said that this etymology was satisfactory from the standpoints of phonetics and geography, historically probable and still attested by indigenous Chinese tradition.[1] This was in 1904.

When the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya came to light some years later, the late Prof. Jacobi stood up for its authenticity and a fourth century date for the present text, and he did not shrink from the logical results that followed from his stand. Two of the theses put forward by him are of interest to the subject of this paper. One of them relates to the name of China. In *Kauṭilya,* II, 11 we have the expression, *kauśeyaṁ cīnapaṭṭāśca cīnabhūmijāḥ.* This is a clear reference to varieties of Chinese silk.[2] If the name China is rightly derived from Ts'in, then the occurrence of this name in a work professedly of the late fourth or early third century B.C. renders it suspect, and this is, in fact, the ground taken by some scholars who assign the work in its present form to a date much later than the reign of Candragupta Maurya. But Jacobi follows the other alternative and says: "The name *Cīna* is hence secured as a designation for China in B.C. 300, so that the derivation of the word China from the dynasty of Ts'in (B.C. 247) is definitely ex-

1 *BEFEO.*, iv, p. 149.

2 Jacobi renders *cīnapaṭṭa* into ribbons of silk, and Pelliot objects to it with reason. *Toung Pao,* xiii, p. 728 n.

ploded. On the other hand, this notice is of interest also as proving the export of Chinese silk into India in the fourth century B.C.".[3]

This position of Jacobi was discussed soon after by Laufer and Pelliot in the *T'oung Pao*.[4] The former accepted Jacobi's arguments as conclusive and even suggested that the Chinese Buddhists of later times first encountered the name *Cīna* in Sanskrit texts and then by a most happy chance read the word *Ts'in* into the word *Cīna*. He said that the Chinese were not known to have called themselves 'the people of Tsin' and added: 'There is no reason to believe that the word *Cīna* had its origin in China or its foundation in a Chinese word. It is very possible that it arose in India or in Farther India.' He then made the interesting observation: "the one fact clearly stands out that the series of names headed by *Cīna* or *Tsīna* and followed by the classical names *Thinai* or *Sinai* and finally ending in our word China spread along the maritime route of the Indian ocean, in opposition to the names Seres and Serike by which China became known in the West overland'. He concluded by suggesting that as I-tsing says that *Chi-na* more specifically related to Canton, *Cīna* might have been the ancient (perhaps Malayan) name of this part of the Chinese coast in times anterior to the settlement of the Chinese in those regions.

Pelliot on the other hand was much more critical of Jacobi's arguments on the age of the *Kauṭilīya*, but proceeded to show that the connection between Ts'in and China could still be maintained even with a 300 B.C. date for Kauṭilya. He set aside Laufer's view that the name *Cīna* reached India along the sea route; he said: "It is only in the second half of the third century B.C. that the influence of the Chinese reached Kuang-tong, and there is no trace of a navigation which might have placed Southern China in commercial relations with the Indian ocean from this period. When,

3 *SKPA.*, 1911, p. 961, as translated by Laufer in *TP.*, xiii, p. 719.

4 xiii (1912), pp. 718-42.

towards 128 A.D., Chang Kien, being the first to traverse the route across Chinese Turkestan, sojourned in Bactriana, he saw there Chinese products which had come by way of India; but these products were textiles and bamboos of Sseu-Ch'üan, and for going from China to India they did not make use of the sea route by Canton or Tonkin, but the land route by Upper Burma. It is very probable that it is by this way also that the Hindus gained their first knowledge of the Chinese world. That this knowledge might go back to the fourth century B.C. is not absolutely impossible. Indeed from this time, the kingdom of Tch'ou, which was not Chinese by its origins but already moved in the Chinese orbit, extended up to Yunnan; communications, very precarious, might from this period have revealed to each other the two great civilizations of Eastern Asia. But there is nothing to show that such was in reality the case. It seems much more probable that the first relations were a reaction to the formidable shake by which Ts'in Che-houang-ti galvanized all the peoples to the south of the Blue River. We thus think it quite possible that the Chinese were known in India under the dynastic title of this sovereign, who was no doubt abhorred by his countrymen, but who was probably the most magnificent leader of men his country had so far produced, and who knew how in a few years to extend considerably to the south and to the north-west the prestige of his race and name."

Pelliot then cited two passages from the *Ts'ien han chou* relating to the first century B.C. in which the Chinese are called 'people of Ts'in,'[5] and showed that among the Hiong-nu as in India the most ancient name for China and the Chinese was derived from Ts'in. And he added: "If by chance the date 300 B.C. is confirmed for the appearance of the name *Cīna* in India in the sense of China, we should then suppose that it was the state of Ts'in,

5 *TP.*, xiii, pp. 736-40

anterior to the dynasty of Ts'in Che-houang-ti, that gave rise to it. This state is found in Chàn-si in the N. W. of China, in contact with the populations of Central Asia," but like the name Khitai in later times the name Cīna began to be applied to China first in Central Asia from that of the principality by which one entered China from there. But as there is as yet no decisive evidence of such a high antiquity for the name Cīna, he concluded, the view that the name is a memento of Ts'in Che-houang-ti seems still to be the most probable. This view holds the field and is followed unreservedly by Cordier in his *Histoire Générale de la Chine*.[6]

The second thesis of Jacobi that concerns us is his view that the *Kauṭilīya* throws light on the age of the Hindu colonisation of the East. He suggested that the phrase *abhūtapūrvam janapadam* in the chapter on Janapadaniveśa (II, i) must be taken to refer to Indo-China, as by Kauṭilya's time the whole of India had become fully Hinduised. Accordingly he concluded that the spread of the Brahminical religion and the Sanskrit language in Indo-China must have begun many centuries earlier than is usually supposed. Both Louis Finot and Pelliot are inclined to dismiss the argument as of no value. They are impressed by the fact that the Chinese evidence on Fu-nan does not take us further back than the third or second century A.D.;[7] and feel that we should have much more direct evidence before we can proceed to date the beginning of the Hindu expansion to the East earlier than the commencement of the Christian era. Finot has argued that, though Brahminised, Dekkan still offered vast spaces for settlement, and that Kauṭilya must have had them in mind, rather than thought of distant Indo-China. And he brushes aside the reference in the *Mahāvaṁsa*[8] to Aśoka's missions to Suvarṇabhūmi as religious history having nothing to tell us on the history of colonisation.

6 Pp. 213-4.
7 *BEFEO.*, xii (1912) No. 8, pp. 1-4; *TP.*, xiii (1912), p. 729. 8 xii. 44.

Blagden, on the other hand, is inclined to a less sceptical estimate of the value of the *Mahāvaṁsa* story. He says: "The precise position of Suvaṇṇabhūmi is not beyond doubt, but its early missionaries, Soṇa and Uttara, have long been claimed by Burma as the founders of their branch of the Church; and though the tale has been embellished with many legendary accretions in the course of ages, it can hardly on that account be dismissed as being altogether devoid of foundation. Evidence is gradually accumulating from various different quarters which tends to show that Indian influence made itself felt in Indo-China from about the beginning of the Christian era, or possibly even two or three centuries before that date; and there seems to be nothing antecedently improbable in the story of a Buddhist mission being sent there at a relatively early period, though it may well be hazardous at present to attempt to fix that date exactly."[9]

For the contacts established in these very early times it is not surprising that we lack more direct evidence and are thrown on guesses based on slight hints derived from different quarters. But there are two pieces of evidence bearing directly on the antiquity of maritime relations between India and China, which confirm each other and together seem to constitute as direct an evidence of these contacts as we are ever likely to get. One of them we owe to Pelliot himself. It is a passage from the *Ts'ien han chou* of Pan Kou, a Chinese writer who lived not later than the first century A.D. The passage is as follows:

"From the gates of Je-nan,[10] from Siu-Wen and Ho-p'ou travelling by boat for five months we reach the kingdom of Ton-Yuan. After a further journey of about four months by sea is reached the kingdom of Yi-lou-mo. By sailing still further for a period of over twenty days, the kingdom of Chen-li is reached.

9 *Ep. Birm.*, iii, pp. 83-84.

10 Upper Annam, at the interior of the Gulf of Tonkin.

From there you travel more than ten days by land to the kingdom of Fou-kan-tou-lou.[11] From the kingdom of Fou-kan-tou-lou, going by boat for more than two months you reach the kingdom of Houang-tche. The habits of the people there generally resemble those of the people of Tchou-yai. These are extensive and populous lands, full of strange products. From the time of Emperor Wou (140-86 B.C.) all of them have been sending tribute.[12] There are official interpreters who belong to the (administration of the) palace *houang-men* (*yellow-gate*); with the recruits they go by sea to buy shining pearls, glass,[13] rare stones and strange products, giving gold and silks in exchange. In the lands to which they go, the people supply them with food and join them in their repast. The merchant ships of the foreigners take them to their destination by turns. These foreigners also profit by the trade; (besides) they also plunder and kill people. Moreover (the passengers) have to be afraid of tempests which drown them. If nothing happens, they take many years to go and come back. The large pearls measure up to seven fingers.[14] In the period of *Yuan-che* (1-6 A.D.) of the emperor P'ing, Wang Mang desired to transform the government and manifest stately power. He sent rich presents to the king of Houang-tche and asked him to send an embassy bringing a live rhinoceros as tribute. From the kingdom of Houang-tche, going by boat for about eight months, we reach P'i-tsong.[15] Travelling again by sea for about two months, we get to the frontier of Siang-lin in Je-nan. They say that to the south of Houang-tche lies the kingdom of Ssen-tch'eng- pou, whence the interpreter envoys of the Han return."[16]

11 Pagan—Ferrand—*JA.*, 11: 14 p. 47.
12 i.e. have had trade relations with China. See *Coḷas*, ii, p. 25.
13 pi—lieou-li, sometimes taken to be *vaiḍūrya*.
14 Pelliot himself expresses a doubt about his translation of this sentence.
15 Pisang island on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. *JA.*, 11: 14; p. 47.
16 Pelliot in *Toung Pao*, xiii (1912), pp. 457-9; cf. *JA.*, 11: 13, pp. 451-5.

It is seen, observes Pelliot, that Pan-Kou has joined two series of data, one going back to the period of the emperor Wou (140-86 B.C.), and the other coming from the envoys of Wang Mang in the initial years of the Christian era. He also points out that in this passage, in spite of its obscurities, we are in the realm of history, not legend. Now the country which is reached after a year's voyage from the coasts of Indo-China, and from which pearls and glass were procured, must have been in the midst of the Indian Ocean,[17] possibly even at its western end. Herrmann locates Houang-tche in Abyssinia and Laufer in Malaya; Ferrand rejects these identifications with good reason,[18] and says: "Phonetically, the equivalence Houang-tche < Kāñcī is satisfactory for the epoch of Han; historically it is possible"[19] that China had relations with Kāñcī in the second century B.C. Let us note also this. A Cōḷa embassy of the eleventh century from Coromandel to Canton took eight months to complete the journey; Pan Kou gives ten months to one year for the same voyage, nearly a dozen centuries earlier. Chinese vessels, it should be noted finally, had not yet begun to sail to India; they began to do so only much later. And the Chinese are distinctly stated by Pan Kou to have depended for their transport on foreign ships. But he makes it no less clear that from the first century B.C. the products of Southern India had begun to reach China by sea, and that at the beginning of the Christian era, under orders of the Court, a Chinese mission traversed the entire Indian Ocean.[20]

Thus we have good reason to think that the maritime contacts between China and Southern India reach as far back as the second century. This is confirmed by a curious find of a Chinese coin, most probably of the second century B.C., from Mysore. This coin was discovered in 1909 by R. A. Narasimhachar in the

17 Pelliot, *ibid.*, p. 460.
18 *JA.*, 11: 13, p. 453 *n.* 2.
19 *JA.*, 11: 4, pp. 45-6.
20 *TP.*, xiii, p. 461.

Candravalli site, and Taw Sein Ko to whom the coin was referred made the following observations on it:[21]

"There are four Chinese characters on the coin, of which three are very much blurred. The following dates have been suggested: 138 B.C., 502 A.D., and 886 A.D. The first appears to be the most appropriate, because in the second century B.C., during the reign of Emperor Han Wu-ti, the limits of the Chinese Empire almost coincided with its present boundaries, and Chinese arms were carried to Korea in the north, to Tibet in the west, and to Annam in the south. Most probably, Chinese merchants visited Southern India during that period, and they came from Canton or some other southern port bringing with them Chinese brass coins of low value. It is on record that, during the early centuries of the Christian era, there was a brisk commerce carried on between China and Southern India and Ceylon."

If the Chinese traversed the entire Indian Ocean at the beginning of the Christian era and used foreign vessels earlier in the second century B.C. for travelling to and from Kāñci, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the eastern expansion of Hinduism began much earlier than is commonly believed.

The antiquity of land contacts again does not rest only on the texts of Kauṭilya discussed by Jacobi. The term *Cīna* occurs in many early Sanskrit texts, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Manusmṛti,* as is well known; but the trouble is that there is no general agreement on the exact age of the particular texts that enter into such discussions; but it seems that the prevailing views err by underrating the antiquity of the contacts between India and China both by land and sea, and that, on the whole, Jacobi and Winternitz were nearer the truth in their estimates of the chronology of Indian literature and culture than others have found it possible to concede.

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri

21 *Mys. Arch. Rep.* for 1910, pp. 44.

Jambudvīpa-prajñapti-saṃgraha of Padmanandi

Indian cosmography is a subject by itself. Many Jaina texts, earlier and later, both in Prākrit and Sanskrit, treat this subject in an exhaustive manner giving many a minute detail. In the Ardhamāgadhī canon, works like *Sūrapaṇṇatti,* (Skt. Sūryaprajñapti), *Jambuddīva-paṇṇatti* (Skt. Jambudvīpa-prajñapti) and *Caṃdapaṇṇatti* (Skt. Candra-prajñapti) are devoted to this subject. An excellent account of Jaina cosmography is given by Dr. W. Kirfel in his work *Die Kosmographie der Inder* (Bonn u. Leipzig, 1920, pp. 208-340). Many Śvetāmbara texts, both canonical and non-canonical, are used by him. Among the Digambara works Indravāmadeva's *Trailokyadīpikā* and Nemicandra's *Trailokyasāra* (Prākrit) are drawn upon. With the Digambaras *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* (Skt. Trilokaprajñapti) of Jadivasaha (Skt. Yativṛṣabha) and *Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti* (Skt. Jambudvīpa-prajñapti) of Paümaṇaṃdi (Skt. Padmanandi) are considered as the most important Prākrit works dealing with cosmography. So far as I know, no commentaries are available on these texts; and further the obscurity of the subject-matter and the unsatisfactory preservation of the text only heighten the difficulties of a student who wants to wade through the technical details of these works. From the linguistic point of view these two texts are very important, as they contain much additional matter for the student of Prākrit grammar. *Tiloyapṇṇatti* is being tentatively edited by me in the *Jaina Antiquary* (Arrah, Bihar); and I propose to discuss in this article some important details about *Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti,* a Ms. of which has just reached my hands.

The paper Ms., measuring 14 by 8½ inches, is a recent copy (Vaiśākha śu. 1, Saṃvat 1971), and belongs to the Ailaka Pannālala Digambara Jaina Pāṭhaśālā, Sholapur. It has 84 leaves in double

folios. Though carefully copied in bold Devanāgarī script, there are scribal errors here and there.

The copyist calls it *Jambudvīpa-prajñapti,* but the actual title of the text, as mentioned in the colophons of various Uddeśas, is *Jambudvīpa-prajñapti-saṃgraha.* The word *saṃgraha* indicates that the author is compiling the contents from some earlier source, whose name was perhaps *Dīvasāgarapaṇṇatti,* as indicated by the following two verses:

दे वन्दिदूण सिरसा वोच्छामि जहा-कमेण जिण-दिट्ठं ।
आयरियपरम्परया पण्णत्तिं दीव जलधीगं ॥
अयारिय-परम्परया सायर-दीवाण तहा य पण्णत्ती ।
संखेवेण समत्थं वोच्छामि जहाणुपुव्वीए ॥

The contents are attributed to Mahāvīra; they were codified into texts by Gaṇadharas, and handed down by succeding teachers (I. 8 etc. & XIII. 141 etc.). Padmanandi says that he is writing down a summary of what was traditionally handed down:

आयरिय-परम्परेण य गंथत्थं चेव आगयं सम्मं ।
उवसंहरित्थ लिहियं समासदो हि णायव्वं ॥[1]

In all there are thirteen Uddeśas, and the total number of gāthās comes to 2426, as seen from the following table:

	Name of the Uddeśas:	No. of gāthās:
I.	उवघाय-पत्थावो[2]	74
II.	भरहेरावय-वंस-वण्णणो	210
III.	पव्वद-नदी-भोगभूमी- वण्णणो	246
IV.	महाविदेहाहियारे चत्तदेशो[3]	291
V.	महाविदेहाहियारे मन्दरगिरि-जिणभवण-वण्णणो	125
VI.	महाविदेहाहियारे देवकुरु-उत्तरकुरु-विण्णास-पत्थारो[4]	177
VII.	महाविदेहाहियारे कच्छाविजय-वण्णणो	152
VIII.	महाविदेहाहियारे पुव्वविदेह वण्णणो	198
IX.	महाविदेहाहियारे अवरविदेह वण्णणो	197

1 The line appears to be defective.
2 Is it *upodghāta-prastāvaḥ*?
3 The last word appears to be corrupt.
4 The last word looks like *-yacchāro* as well.

	Name of the Uddeśas:	No. of gāthās:
X.	लवण समुद्द-वावरणणो	102
XI.	वाहिर-उहार-दीव-दीसायर[5]-नरयगदि-सिद्धखेत्त-वरणणो	365
XII.	जोइसलोय-वरणणो	113
XIII.	पमाण-परिच्छेदो	176

The names of the Uddeśas, read in the light of Dr. Kirfel's account of Jaina cosmography, give a fair idea of the contents of the work. As far as I have seen, the whole work is written in gāthā metre; and the Prākrit dialect used by Padmanandi is Jaina Śaurasenī. Now and then there are descriptions of some regions which remind us of the long compounds in the Ardhamāgadhī canon.

Though no date of the composition is mentioned, Padmanandi has supplied us with some information about his spiritual genealogy in the concluding verses. There was a great saint Vīranandi who was endowed with five Mahāvratas, pure in faith, possessed of knowledge and the merits of self-control and penance, free from attachment etc., heroic, full of five-fold conduct, kind to six classes of living beings, free from infatuation, and above pleasure and pain (XIII. 158-9). His great disciple was Balanandi, who was well-versed in the Sūtras and their interpretation, who was of deep wisdom, who abstained from scandalising others, who was free from attachment, and who was endowed with faith, knowledge and conduct (XIII. 160-1). And his disciple was Paümaṇaṃdi (Skt. Padmanandi), endowed with many a virtue, free from three Daṇḍas, pure with reference to three Śalyas, free from three Gāravas, who had reached the other end of Siddhānta, who was endowed with penances and other vows, who was devoted to faith, knowledge and conduct, and who was free from preliminary sins (XIII. 162-3). Padmanandi tells us that he received instructions in the scripture from Siri Vijaya (Sk. Śrīvijaya), also mentioned as Risi Vijaya (Skt.

5 The reading is not satisfactory.

Ṛṣi Vijaya), who was a great monk of spiritual virtues and a great teacher of Paramāgama (XIII. 144-5, 164). There was a famous and learned monk Māghanandi; he had a well-disciplined and wise pupil Sakalacandra; his disciple was Śrīnandi; and it is for the sake of Śrīnandi that Padmanandi wrote this work. The work was written when Padmanandi was staying in Bārā-nayara, i.e. the town of Bārā, in the country of Pariyatra, the contemporary king of which was Śānti-bhūpāla[6] (*Vārā-nayarassa pahū naruttamo Sa[ṃ]ti-bhūpālo,* 166) who was respected by the sovereign king (Narapati), who was heroic, who was endowed with many religious virtues, and was devoted to Jainism. To state the bare facts in brief, Padmanandi was a monk, his immediate predecessor was Balanandi, the pupil of Vīranandi. He studied under Śrīvijaya, and composed or compiled this work for Śrīnandi, the disciple of Sakalacandra, the pupil of Māghanandi. The work was composed in the town of Bāra in the country of Pariyatra, when the contemporary chief was Śānti.

To commemorate the memory of Winternitz who has so much obliged the students of Indian literature by his authoritative studies, I have just introduced this work to the students of Prākrit literature. An attempt to discuss the date and other details will be made at a later stage, as I am in search of some more Ms. material.

A. N. Upadhye

6 The Ms. reads Sati, apparently a scribal error for Saṃti=Śānti.

Gauḍapāda

"नैतद् बुद्धेन भाषितम् ।"

"This is not said by the Buddha."

The following is the last but one kārikā of the fourth or last chapter of Gauḍapāda's *Āgamaśāstra:*

क्रमते नहि बुद्धस्य ज्ञानं धर्मेषु तायिनः ।
सर्वं धर्मास्तथा ज्ञानं नैतद् बुद्धेन भाषितम् ॥

Literally it says that according to the Buddha who instructs the way known to him (*tāyin*)[1] *jñāna* 'knowledge' does not approach the *dharmas* 'elements' of existence (i.e. it does not relate itself to the objects). But all *dharmas* and *jñāna*—this is not said by the Buddha.

1 The word *tāyin* is thus interpreted by Prajñākaramati in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra-pañjikā,* p. 75: तायिनाम् इति, स्वाधिगतमार्गोपदेशकानाम् । यदुक्तं तायः स्वदृष्टमार्गोक्तिः (*Pramāṇavārttika,* ed. R. Sāṅkṛtyāyana, 2. 145). See the present writer's paper, 'Pramāṇavārttika of Dharmakirtti' in *IHQ.,* vol. XIII, 1937. This explanation is partly followed by Udayanācārya in his *Tātparyaṭīkā-pariśuddhi* (Bib. Ind.) in explaining *tāyin* in Vācaspatimiśra's *Tātparyaṭīkā,* 2 (अक्षपादाय तायिने)। तायी तत्त्वाध्यवसायसंरक्षणसम्प्रदायप्रवर्तकः । Prajñākaramati (*loc. cit.*) offers another explanation: अथवा तायः सन्तानार्थम् आसंसारमप्रतिष्ठितनिर्वाणतया अवस्थायिनाम् । This word is widely used in Buddhist [e.g. *Lalitavistara,* ed. Lefmann, p. 421; *Bodhicaryāvatāra,* III. 2; *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (Bib. Bud.) pp. 25, 57, 67, etc.] and Jaina [e.g. Hemacandra's *Yogaśāstra,* (Bib. Ind., vol. 1, pp. 1, 47); *Daśavaikālika* (Devacānd Lalbhai Jaina Pustakoddhāra, No. 49, p. 115)] works and is misunderstood. Sometimes it is read as *trāyin* 'protector,' and *tāpin,* as in the present case. As a name for Buddha it is translated into Tibetan by *Skyob pa* (*Mahāvyutpatti,* § 1. 15) which suggests its Sanskrit equivalent *trāyin* 'protector'. See *JRAS.,* 1910, p. 140; *JPTS.,* 1891-1893, p. 53; *JA.,* 1912, p. 243; *Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference,* Calcutta, 1922, pp. 450-1.

It has been repeatedly shown in the *Āgamaśāstra*[2] (specially in IV. 96) that *jñāna* is *asaṅga* 'free from attachment, i.e. free from any relation to its objects', as the *dharmas* or objects have no reality. Here the author refers to that fact and concludes showing the supreme truth that according to the Buddha there is neither *jñāna* nor *dharmas* as he has said neither of them: *naitad buddhena bhāṣitam*.

What does the last line mean? Scholars of the orthodox school interpret it in various ways, but without sufficient justification.[3] In this paper an attempt will be made to throw some new light on the line.

In one way it can be said that there are only two things, *jñāna* 'knowledge' and *jñeya* 'knowable' or *dharmas* 'elements of existence', 'objects'.[4] Here we are told that neither of them is said by the Buddha. But how? Has he ever said anything? The Buddhists would give the answer in the negative. According to them the Buddha has never uttered a single word, as the following quotations will show:

Nāgārjuna in his *Madhyamakakārikā*, XX, 25:

सर्वोपलम्भोपशमः प्रपञ्चोपशमः शिवः ।
न क्वचित् कस्यचित् कश्चिद् धर्मो बुद्धेन देशितः ॥

Tathāgataguhyasūtra quoted in the *Madhyamakavṛtti* on the above:

यञ्च रात्रिं तथागतोऽनुत्तरां सम्यक् सम्बोधिमभिसम्बुद्धो यञ्च रात्रिमुपादाय परिनिर्वास्यति अत्रान्तरे तथागतेन एकमप्यक्षरं नोदाहृतं न व्याहृतं नापि प्रव्याहरति नापि प्रव्याहरिष्यति ।

2 See IV. 72: चित्तं निर्विषयं नित्यमसङ्गं तेन कीर्तितम् ।
See also IV. 97, 79 (*nirasaṅga*); cf. III. 32 (*agraha*).

3 Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Ananta Krishna Shastri: *Vedāntarakṣāmaṇi*, 1937, Introduction, p. 6.

4 See our text, IV. 1.

Laṅkāvatāra, ed. B. Nanjio, 1923, pp. 142-3:

याञ्च रात्रिं तथागतोऽभिसम्बुद्धो याञ्च रात्रिं परिनिर्वास्यति अत्रान्तरे एकमप्यक्षरं तथागतेन नोदाहृतं न प्रव्याहरिष्यति। अवचनं बुद्धवचनम्।

Nāgārjuna in his *Niraupamyastava*, ed. G. Tucci, *JRAS*, 1932, pp. 309 ff. 17:

नोदाहृतं त्वया किञ्चिदेकमप्यक्षरं विभो।
कृतस्नश्च वैनेयजनो धर्मवर्षेण तर्पितः॥

Bhagavat quoted in *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 264, and *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*, p. 365 (with a slight change):

अनक्षरस्य धर्मस्य श्रुतिः का देशना चका।
श्रूयते देश्यते चापि समारोपादनक्षरः॥

Laṅkāvatāra, p. 137:

न मे यानं महायानं न घोषो न च अक्षराः।[5]

तत्त्वं ह्यक्षरवर्जितम्। *Op. cit.*, p. 48.

निरक्षरत्वात्तत्त्वस्य। *Op. cit.*, p. 190.

Vajracchedikā, ed. Max Müller, p. 24:

तत् किं मन्यसे सुभूते अपि न्वस्ति स कश्चिद्धर्मो यस्तथागतेन देशितः। एवमुक्त आयुष्मान् सुभूतिर्भगवन्तमेवमोवचत्। यथाहं भगवन् भगवतो भाषितस्यार्थमाजानामि नास्ति स कश्चिद् धर्मो यस्तथागतेनानुत्तरा सम्यक्सम्बोधिरित्यभिसम्बुद्धो नास्ति धर्मो यस्तथागतेन देशितः॥

तत् किं मन्यसे सुभूते अपि न्वस्ति स कश्चिद्धर्मो यस्तथागतेन भाषितः। सुभूतिराह। नो हीदं भगवन् नास्ति स कश्चिद्धर्मो यस्तथागतेन भाषितः।

Laṅkāvatāra, p. 144:

यस्याञ्च रात्र्यां धिगमो यस्याञ्च परिनिर्वृतः।
एतस्मिन्नन्तरे नास्ति मया किञ्चित् प्रकाशितम्॥

Madhyamakavṛtti, p. 539:

अवाच ऽनक्षराः सर्वे शून्याः शान्तादिनिर्मलाः।
य एवं जानति धर्मान् कुमारो बुद्ध सोच्यते॥

5 Cf. *Āgamaśāstra*, IV. 60: यत्र वर्णा न वर्तन्ते।

The passages quoted above show that the Buddha has said nothing. Let us now try to understand what it signifies. This statement is based on two grounds: (i) *pratyātmadharmatā*, i.e. the nature of the highest truth that it is realised in one's own self, and (ii) *paurāṇasthitidharmatā*, i.e. the nature of the elements of existence that remains from the past. This requires some explanation.

As regards the first it is held that the transcendental reality (*paramārtha*) springs up only as an inward conviction (*pratyātmavedya*), it cannot be attained through an instruction from others (*aparapratyaya = paropadeśāgamya*), for it cannot be expressed by any speech or word. So we are told that for the noble the transcendental truth is silence.[6] This is well-known in the Vedānta.[7] Candrakīrtti writes in his *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 493:

सर्व एवायमभिधानाभिधेयज्ञानज्ञेयादिव्यवहारोऽशेषो लोकसंवृतिसत्यमित्युच्यते। नहि परमार्थत एव तत् सम्भवति। कुतस्तत्र परमार्थे वाचां प्रवृत्तिः कुतो वा ज्ञानस्य। स हि परमार्थोऽपरप्रत्ययः शान्तः प्रत्यात्मवेद्य आर्याणां सर्वप्रपञ्चातीतः। स नोपदिश्यते न चापि ज्ञायते।

Thus the Buddha did not say anything in fact, yet the people according to their own dispositions think that he did so. We read therefore in a text, *Tathāgataguhyasūtra*, quoted in the *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 539, just after the passage, No. 2, cited above:

अथ च यथाधिमुक्ताः सर्वसत्त्वा नानाधात्वाशयास्तां तां विविधां तथागतवाचं निश्चरन्तीं संजानन्ति। तेषामेवं पृथक् पृथग् भवति। अयं भगवान् अस्मभ्यमिमं धर्मं देशयति। वयं च तथागतस्य धर्मदेशनां शृणुमः। तत्र तथागतो न कल्पयति न विकल्पयति सर्वकल्पविकल्पजातवासनाप्रपञ्चविगतो हि शान्तमते तथागत इति विस्तरः।

यदि तर्ह्येवं [न]क्वचित् कस्यचि[त् कश्चि-]द् धर्मो बुद्धेन देशितस्तत् कथमिम एते विचित्राः प्रवचनव्यवहाराः प्रज्ञायन्ते। उच्यते। अविद्यानिद्रानुगतानां देहिनां स्वप्नायमानानामिव

6 *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 56: परमार्थो हि आर्याणां तूष्णीम्भावः।

7 *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, II. 4. 1: यतो वाचो निवर्तन्ते अप्राप्य मनसा सह। See also *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, II. 3; *Brahmasūtras* with *Śaṅkara*, III. 2-17; *The Basic Conception of Buddhism* pp. 19 ff.

स्वविकल्पाभ्युदय एषः। अयं भगवान् सकललिभुवनसुरासुरनरनाथ इमं धर्ममस्मभ्यं देशयतीति।

The following may also be cited here from the *Laṅkāvatāra*, p. 194:

न च महामते तथागत अक्षरपतितं धर्मं देशयन्ति।० पुनर्महामते योऽक्षरपतितं धर्मं देशयति स प्रलपति। निरक्षरत्वाद् धर्मस्य। अत एतस्मात् कारणान्महामते उक्तं देशनापाठे मयान्यैश्च बुद्धबोधिसत्त्वैर्यथैकमप्यक्षरं तथागता नोदाहरन्ति न प्रव्याहरन्तीति। तत् कस्य हेतोर्यदनक्षरत्वाद्धर्माणाम्। न च नार्थोपसंहितमुदाहरन्ति। उदाहरन्त्येव विकल्पमुपादायानुपादायान् (०दानान् ?) महामते सर्वधर्माणां शासनलोपः स्यात्।

And the conclusion arrived at here is that one should rest on the meaning and not on only letters, for one who rests on letters not only ruins oneself, but also cannot make others understand:

अर्थप्रतिशरणेन[8] महामते बोधिसत्त्वेन महासत्त्वेन भवितव्यं न व्यञ्जनप्रतिशरणेन।[8] व्यञ्जनानुसारी महामते कुलपुत्रो वा कुलदुहिता वा स्वात्मानं च नाशयति परार्थांश्च नावबोधयति। *Op. cit.*, pp. 194-95.

This second ground is this: The Buddha has said nothing because what he is reported to have said was from the past. Nothing depends on the birth or absence of birth of the Tathāgatas, the true nature of elements of existence remains always the same. This is meant by the statement that the speech of the Buddha is no speech (अवचनं बुद्धवचनम्).

Taking both the grounds together the *Laṅkāvatāra* says (pp. 143-4):

यदुक्तं भगवता याश्च रात्रिं तथागतोऽभिसम्बुद्धो याश्च रात्रिं परिनिर्वास्यति अत्रान्तर एकमप्यक्षरं तथागतेन नोदाहृतं न प्रव्याहरिष्यति अवचनं बुद्धवचनमिति किमिदं सन्धायोक्तम्। भगवानाह। धर्मद्वयं महामते सन्धाय मयैतदुक्तम्। कतमद्धर्मद्वयम्। यदुत प्रत्यात्मधर्मताश्च पौराणस्थितिधर्मताश्च।० उत्पादाद् वा तथागतानामनुत्पादाद्वा तथागतानां स्थितैवैषा धर्माणां धर्मता धर्मस्थितिता धर्मनियामता पौराणनगरमहापथवन्महामते। तद्

8 In such cases other texts read °*pratisaraṇa* for °*pratiśaraṇa*.

यथा कश्चिदेव पुरुषोऽटव्यां पर्यटन् पौराणं नगरमनुपश्येदभविकलप्रवेशं। स तं नगरमनुप्रविशेत्। तत्र प्रविश्य प्रतिनिविश्य नगरं नगरक्रियासुखमनुभवेत्। तत् किं मन्यसे महामते अपि नु तेन पुरुषेण स पन्था उत्पादितो येन पथा तं नगरमनुप्रविष्टो नगरवैचित्र्यञ्च। आह। नो भगवन्। भगवानाह। एवमेव महामते यन्मया तैश्च तथागतैरधिगतं स्थितैवैषा धर्मता धर्मस्थितिता धर्मनियामता तथता भूतता सत्यता। अत एतस्मात् कारणान्महामते मयेदमुक्तं याञ्च रात्रिं तथागतोऽभिसम्बुद्धो० नोदाहरिष्यति॥

The following may also be quoted here from the *Vajracchedikā*, p. 24, just after the passage, No. 9, cited above:

तत् कस्य हेतोः। योऽसौ तथागतेन धर्मोऽभिसम्बुद्धो देशितो वा अग्राह्यः सोऽनभिलप्यः। न स धर्मो नाधर्मः। तत् कस्य हेतोः। असंस्कृतप्रभाविता ह्यार्यपुद्गलाः।

This is the significance of the passage under discussion (i.e. सर्वे धर्मास्तथा ज्ञानं नैतद् बुद्धेन भाषितम्, IV. 99), and it is reasonable that the author who begins the chapter (IV) with *jñāna* and *dharmas*[9] should state in conclusion the transcendental truth about them.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

9 ज्ञानेनाकाशकल्पेन धर्मान् यो गगनोपमान्।

A Tun-huang Prelude to the Karaṇḍavyūha

Manuscript No. 241[1] of the Pelliot Tibetan Collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, deserves to be studied thoroughly. Here is, in the meantime, a brief analysis.

The title, in Tibetan, which can be translated, or restored in Sanskrit *bhūta-mārga-nirdeśa* (བཀའ་ཤིན་ལམ་བསྟན་ བ་)[2] is followed by a few lines of Buddhist invocation. Then an instruction anonymous and without any localisation, addresses the dead man in a direct speech (ཅོ་འདོན་པ་ཁྱོད་ཉོན་ཤིག །"O Dead One! Listen!"). The anonymous instructor describes the Great Hell (ན་དག་ཆེན་པོ), the world of the *preta* and the world of the animals, that is to say the three evil *gati,* and then the "land of the gods" (རྒྱའི་ཡུལ)

The Great Hell lies 8,000 *yojana* below the Jambudvīpa. The dead man who falls (རྒྱུང) into it can be saved by Avalokiteśvara if he takes refuge in this Bodhisattva by means of the formula: *ōṃ hri huṅ pad ma pri ya sva hā.*

The world of the *preta* is 500 *yojana* below the Jambudvīpa. In case he has fallen there, the dead being who calls upon Gagana-gañja is saved by the formula: *ōṃ ga ga na sam ba ba jra ho da ha sa.*

Out of the world of the animals, which lies between the Great Ocean, the Great Iron Mountain and the four *dvīpa,* the deceased is rescued by Ñan-caṅ-sbyoṅ (*Durgatiśodhana) through his propitiatory formula: *na ma sa rba dur ga de// ba ri ço da ni// ra ja ya da*

1 Eighteen sheets of paper measuring 7 cm. 8 to 31 cm. The end is decorated with a flower and a scaly dragon.

2 I have quoted faithfully the spelling of the Tibetan ms.

tha ga da ya a ri ha di// çud de byi çud de// sa rba kar rma a ba ra na byi çud de sva hā.[3]

If the dead man manages to escape those three dangers he goes then to the land of the gods, on the Meru, north of the Jambudvīpa. The description of the abode of the gods and of its inhabitants contains nothing unusual, save this indication: Śākyamuni and the *dharmayuvarāja* (ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་བུ་) Ārya Maitreya reside in the dwelling place of the Tuṣita *deva,* surrounded by the Bodhisattva Vasumitra (Ba-su-myi-tra), Siṃhāntarikṣa (སེང་གེ་བར་སྣང་) etc. and innumerable *devaputra.*

After these descriptions of the three evil regions that the dead man must contrive to avoid and of the divine land which he must endeavour to reach, following the instructor's exhortations, come six paragraphs, separated by small drawings. One of them, bearing the title: (དྲ་སྦྱོར་བ་) can be easily identified, notwithstanding the difficulties which the writing and the spelling of the manuscript offer: it is a version, notably shortened, of the *Balahajātaka.*

In short, the Tun-huang manuscript offers a type of popular text which exalts the Bodhisattvas of salvation, and Avalokiteśvara in particular. It is this kind of literature, amplified, much adorned, and above all crowded with ready-made 'clichés' of the decaying Mahâyânism, which is recognizable in the *Karaṇḍavyūha* in prose. This compilation develops, in order to illustrate Avalokiteśvara's liberating influence, the three themes which are also connected with this Bodhisattva in the Tun-huang manuscript: salvation of the beings who have sunken in the Great Hell; miraculous formula; description of a previous life in the shape of the horse saver Balaha.

This comparison between the *sūtra* of the Mahāyāna and the popular text suggests another point: in the Tung-huang manus-

3 It is the essential formula of the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-nāmadhāraṇi* cf. Sanskrit collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 62, text 25.

cript, Avalokiteśvara's miraculous formula is: *ōṃ hri huṅ pad ma pri ya,* whereas in the *Karaṇḍavyūha,* it is the famous *mantra* in six syllables: *oṃ maṇi padme hum.* But M. Pelliot notes[4] that this magical formula is not attested prior to 1000 A.D. Moreover, there is not a single instance of its appearing upon the thousands of Tibetan sheets and rolls (though many of these are covered with graffitti) found in the Tsien fo-t'ong and which are kept in Paris.

It seems likely that the Tun-huang manuscript is anterior to the period when the mantra *oṃ maṇi padme hum* was used, that is, anterior to 1000 A.D., and of course, anterior to the redaction of the *Karaṇḍavyūha* in prose where this mantra holds an outstanding place, because, if the manuscript was a shortened reading of the Mahâyânist text, the famous formula would without any doubt have been quoted instead of *ōṃ hri huṅ pad ma pri ya.*

MARCELLE LALOU

4 *T'oung Pao,* XXXI, 1934, 1-2, pp. 172-76 or *Bibliographie Bouddhique,* VI, No. 173 bis.

Advaitācāryas of the 12th and 13th Centuries*

In the history of the development of the various Advaitic Schools, the period which witnessed the rise of Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvaita is of importance, because it shows the state of the Advaita philosophy and the criticisms provoked by it. The two main schools of Advaita-Vivaraṇa prasthāna and Bhāmati prasthāna had already secured adherents throughout India, Vācaspati had been criticised by the Prakaṭārthakāra as a follower of Maṇḍana who had criticised Śaṅkara. Therefore it is important that we should note the relative chronological position of the various outstanding authors after Śaṅkara.

Śaṅkara, as I have pointed out elsewhere,[1] cannot be placed later than 620 A.D. since he is later than Diṅnāga and far earlier than Bhavabhūti-Śrīkaṇṭha (720 A.D.) and was the older contemporary of Dharmakīrti. Mr. Kunhan Raja has doubted the testimony of I-tsing as to the date of Bhartṛhari and gives evidence to show that Bhartṛhari must be assigned to an earlier date probably the 5th century.[2] Śurēśvara, the disciple of Śaṅkara is earlier than Pātrakeśari Vidyānanda, the disciple of Akalaṅka (*c.* 600 A.D.).[3] Sarvajñātman can no longer be assumed to be the disciple of Surēśvara, as he mentions Dēvēśvara, Dēvānanda and Śreṣṭhānanda as his *guru, parama guru* and *parātpara guru*.[4]. Sarvajñātman is later than Vimuktātman, the author of *Iṣṭasiddhi,* who was later than Bhāskara.[5] Bhāskarīya Vēdāntins are mentioned by Prabhācandra,[6] who is a pupil of Akalaṅka and Vidyānanda. Therefore Bhāskara cannot be placed later than the middle of the 7th century. Moreover Śāntirakṣita and his disciple Kamalaśīla (740 A.D.) criticise

* The paper was read in the 8th All India Oriental Conference, Mysore and now revised.

1 *QJMS.*, 1930. Proc. VIII. *Or. Confce.* 1935, p. 562.
2 *S. K. Iyengar Comm. Vol.*
3 *An. Bh. Or. Inst.*, 1931.
4 *Pramāṇa Lakṣaṇa, JOR.*, 1937; *Mad. Uni. Journal*, 1937.
5 *Iṣṭasiddhi,* GOS., p. 375.
6 *Pramēya Kamala Mārtaṇḍa.*

the Advaita doctrine[7] and Ubēyaka is criticised by Kamalaśīla and Vimuktātman.

Then comes another great figure, Vācaspati (841 A.D.), who is followed by the Prakaṭārthakāra. The *Pañcapādikā-vivaraṇa* was written by Prakāśātman, known also as Svayaṃ prakāśānubhava, a disciple of Ananyānubhava,[8] Prakāśātman implies that Ananyānubhava wrote on Ātma Saṃbuddhi probably referring to the work *Ātmatattva* mentioned by Jñānaghana. Jñānaghana was the disciple of Bōdhaghana and wrote his *Tattvaśuddhi* on the basis of *'ananyānubhavānandādvitiya ātmatattvam'*, (which probably implies that Ananyānubhavānanda wrote a work called *Ātmatattva*), prior to Jñānaghana.[9] Therefore Jñānaghana was a contemporary of Prakāśātma Yati, who was a disciple of Ananyānubhava guru. But the Śriṅgēri list gives early dates for Bōdhaghana and Jñānaghana.

Śaṅkara	
Surēśvara	(Ś. 695=777 A.D.?)
Nityabōdhaghana	773-848 A.D.
Jñānaghana	848-910 A.D.
Jñānōttama Śiva	910-953 A.D.
Jñānagiri	953-1038 A.D.
Nṛsiṃhagiri	1038-1107 A.D.
Īśvaratīrtha	1098-1146 A.D.
Nṛsimhatīrtha	1146-1228 A.D.
Vidyātīrtha	1228-1333 A.D.
Bhāratī Kṛṣṇatīrtha	1333-1380 A.D.
Vidyāraṇya	1380-1386 D.D.

7 *Tattvasaṁgraha*, GOS., Intro.

8 वंदे तमात्मसंबुद्धस्फुरद्ब्रह्मावबोधतः ।
अर्थतोपि न नाम्नैव योऽनन्यानुभवो गुरुः ॥ *Pañcapādikā Vivaraṇa.*

9 शश्वद्बोधधनस्य यस्य गुरवे तस्मै नमः श्रेयसे ॥

If we can safely accept these dates, Jñānaghana must be placed before 910 A.D. Therefore Ananyānubhava's date also falls in the 9th century and his disciple, the Vivaraṇakāra must be a contemporary of Jñānaghana. The *Vallāla-carita* says that one Bhaṭṭa Siṃhagiri became the preceptor of Ballālasena and that for this *Mahārāja-guru* a Maṭh was constructed at Pradyumnēśvara. Mr. J. C. Ghosh[10] thinks that this Siṃhagiri is the same as Gauḍēśvarācārya. But in the Śriṅgēri list Jñānottama Śiva was the successor of Jñānaghana and is placed between 910 and 953 A.D. But the Bhaṭṭa Siṃhagiri is either Nṛsiṃha or Siṃhagiri (1038-1107 A.D.) or Nṛsiṃhatīrtha (1146-1228 A.D.) most probably the latter, who was the contemporary of Ballālasena (*c.* 1150 A.D.). Therefore it is not possible that Siṃhagiri was also known as Gauḍēśvarācārya. If Jñānottama Śiva is the same as Jñānottama Gauḍēśvarācārya, he must be the contemporary of some ruler of Bengal in the 10th century.

Moreover, there seem to be two Jñānottamas—one a native of the Chola country who wrote commentaries on the Naiṣkarmya and *Iṣṭasiddhi* granthas, and the other Gauḍēśvarācārya who is the author of *Nyāyasudhā, Jñānasiddhi* and *Jñānasudhā*. The first Jñānottama, of the Coḷa country was not an ascetic and mentions only his father as his preceptor. Also he had the appellation '*miśra*', showing his connection with Bengal. The guru of Citsukha on the other hand was probably known as Satyānanda also[11] Another disciple of Jñānottama was Vijñānātman.[12]

इह खलु निखिलोपनिषत्कदम्बकतात्पर्यपर्यालोचनापरिनिश्चितम् अनन्यानुभवानंदाद्वितीयात्मतत्त्वम् अधिकृत्य केषु चिदर्थेषु तत्त्वं परिशोधनं विधीयते—*Tattvaśuddhi* of Jñanaghana (*Mad. Uni. Journal*, 1937).

10 *IHQ.*, Dec. 1937.

11 ज्योतिर्यदक्षिणामूर्तिर्व्यासशंकरशब्दितम् ।
ज्ञानोत्तमाख्यं तद्वंदे सत्यानंदपदोत्थितम् ॥
(*Bhāṣyabhāva Prakāśikā* of Citsukha).

12 *Śvētaśvatarōpaniṣadbhāṣyaṭikā* of Vijñānātman.

Citsukha is the author of *Bhāṣyabhāva Prakāśikā* and *Tattvapradīpikā*. His disciple was Sukha-prakāśa the author of *Adhikaraṇaratnamālā* and *Tattvapradīpikā-Vyākhyā*. Sukha Prakāśa's disciple Amalānanda is the author of *Kalpataru* (1247-1260 A.D.).[13] Another disciple of Sukha Prakāśa was Ānanda Jñāna, the author of *Tarkasaṁgraha(?)*. The date of Citsukha is therefore *c.* 1200 A.D. and that of his guru is probably *c.* 1180 A.D.

If we investigate the inscriptions at Siṃhācalam and Śrīkūrmam,[14] we have—

Narasiṃhamahāmuni Ś. 1152, 1168.

Naraharitīrtha Śrīpāda (Mādhva) Ś. 1186, 1193, 1200, 1213, 1214, and 1215.

Narasiṃha Bhārati Ś. 1278, 1280, 1281, 1283.

Jagannāthatīrtha Śripāda Ś. 1295.

Vāsudēva Bhārati (disciple of Narasiṃha Bhārati) Ś. 1310.

Rāghava Bhārati (disciple of Vāsudēva) Ś. 1312.

Narasiṃha mahāmuni is no other than Citsukha Bhaṭṭāraka of the inscription of Ś. 1142, (1220 A.D.).[15] The inscriptions also mention a Vāsudēva Yati in 1255 A.D. and a Narasiṃha Bhaṭṭōpādhyāya—a family man in 1283 A.D. A Citsukha Sāmayājin is mentioned in the years 1266 and 1284 A.D. therefore there were at least two Citsukhas separated from each other by an interval of about half a century.

Sukhaprakāśa the disciple of Citsukha I, was also a pupil under Ānandātman. Amalānanda in his *Kalpataru* says that Sukhaprakāśa was his vidyāguru, and his dīkṣāguru was Svayamprabha Anubhavānanda[16] (probably identical with Ānandānubhava) whose

13 *Kalpataru*, सुखप्रकाशयतिनं तं नौमि विद्यागुरुम् ॥

14 *SII.*, V and VI.

15 *MER.*, 134 and 365 of 1899.

16. स्वयंप्रभसुखं ब्रह्म दयारचितविग्रहम् ।
यथार्थानुभवानंदपदगीतं गुरुं नमः ॥—*Kalpataru.*

guru was Ānadātma Yati.[17] Ānandānubhava was the pupil of Nārāyaṇa Jyōtisa and wrote a commentary on the *Iṣṭasiddhi* and *Nyāyaratnadīpāvaḷi*, and is later than Ānandabōdha the pupil of Ātmāvāsa and the author of *Nyāyamakaranda* and *Pramāṇamālā*.

Another disciple of Ānandātman was Śaṅkarānanda[18] who wrote Dīpikās on the Upaniṣad Bhāṣyas. Śaṅkarānanda was the teacher of Bhāratīkṛṣṇa-tīrtha and Vidyāraṇya[19] Mr. Tripāṭhi[20] regarding Ānandagiri says that he is the same as Ānanda Jñāna and in his previous āśrama he was known as Janārdana and wrote *Tattvālōka*, under the guidance of Anubhūti Svarūpa. Later Ānandagiri became the disciple of Śuddhānanda.[21] One Śuddhānanda is mentioned along with Kaivalyānanda and Saccidānanda as guru of Svayamprakāśa who wrote commentaries on *Advaitamakaranda* of Lakṣmīdhara and on *Harimīḍē stotra*. *Svayamprakāśa* is later than Vidyāraṇya and Bhōganātha, and must be assigned to the 16th century. Therefore this Śuddhānanda is different from the guru of Ānandagiri.

Ānandagiri is as we have seen, was also known as Janārdana in his previous āśrama. The son of Janārdana is Sarvajña Viṣṇubhaṭṭōpādhyāya the author of *Ṛjuvivaraṇa* on the *Pañcapādikā*

17 आनंदात्मयतीश्वरं तमनिशं वंदे गुरूणां गुरुम् ॥
—*Kalpataru*.

18 माण्डूक्योपनिषद्भाष्यां करिष्ये पदचारिणीम् ।
ओमात्माभेदसंबोधाद् आनंदात्मप्रकाशनीम् ॥
(*Māṇḍūkyōpaniṣadbhāṣya dipikā*)

19 नमः श्रीशंकरानंदगुरुपादांबुजन्मने ।
स विलासमहामोहग्राहग्रासैककर्मणे ॥
(*Pañcadaśi*)

20 Introduction to *Tarkasaṁgraha* (G.O.S.).

21 शुद्धानंद पदाम्भोज द्वंद्वमद्वंद्वतास्पदम् ।
(*Māṇḍūkyōpaniṣadbhāṣyatikā*).

vivaraṇa.[22] This Sarvajña Viṣṇu calls himself a disciple of Indrapurṇa Pūjyapāda, (who was probably a pontiff of the Kāmakōṭipīṭha). Now the great Vidyāśaṅkara was the son of Śāraṅgapāṇi and was born at Bilvāraṇya. In his previous āśrama he was known as Sarvajña Viṣṇu[23] and was initiated by Candraśēkhara according to the Kāmakōṭipīṭha tradition. If Śāraṅgapāṇi and Janārdana are the same, the author of *Ṛju-vivaraṇa* is no other than the great Vidyāśaṅkara. Vidyātīrtha in his *Rudrapraśnabhāṣya* however mentions Paramātmatīrtha as his guru, while the Śriṅgēri list makes him the successor of Narasiṃhatīrtha. But it is not improbabale that Vidyāśaṅkara studied under more than one teacher. Śāyaṇa in his *Śāṅkara Darśana* mentions Sarvajña Viṣṇubhaṭṭōpādhyāya as the author of a Vivaraṇa on the Vivaraṇa (evidently *Ṛjuvivaraṇa*).[24] Mr. R. Narasiṃhācārya thought that Sarvajña Viṣṇubhaṭṭa is the father of a Sarvajña and Cennubhaṭṭa.

We have to distinguish this Ānandagiri from a later Ānanda or Anantānandagiri. Lakṣmīdhara the author of *Advaitamakaranda* (on which Svayamprakāśa wrote a commentary) says that his guru was Anantānanda.[25] This Brahmavid Lakṣmīdhara is probabaly identical with the patron of the Kannaḍa poet Madhura in the time of Deva Rāya I (1406 A.D.). Lakṣmīdhara was the son of Singaḷā, the sister of Vidyāraṇya, Sāyaṇa and Bhōganātha.[26] Therefore

22 स्वामीन्द्रपूर्णपूज्यपादशिष्यसर्वशास्त्रविशारदजनार्दनात्मजसर्वज्ञविष्णुभट्टोपाध्यायकृतौ... ऋजुविवरणे.....

23 विल्वारण्यजशाईपाणितनयः सर्वज्ञविष्णुः श्रयन्
सन्यासं गुरुचंद्रशेखरमुनेरास्थाय पीठं गुरोः ।
योगेशस्य च चक्रराजवसतेर्देव्याश्च सत्कोर्चने
श्रीमन्माधववुक्कभारतियतिप्रष्ठैर्मिहिष्ठैर्वृतः ॥

24 *IA.*, 1916.

25 कटाक्षकिरणाचांतनमन्मोहान्धये नमः ।
अनंतानंदकृष्णाय जगन्मंगलमूर्तये ॥
Advaita Makaranda

26 *Ar. S. India*, Rep. 1907-8. *SII.*, IV, p. 267.

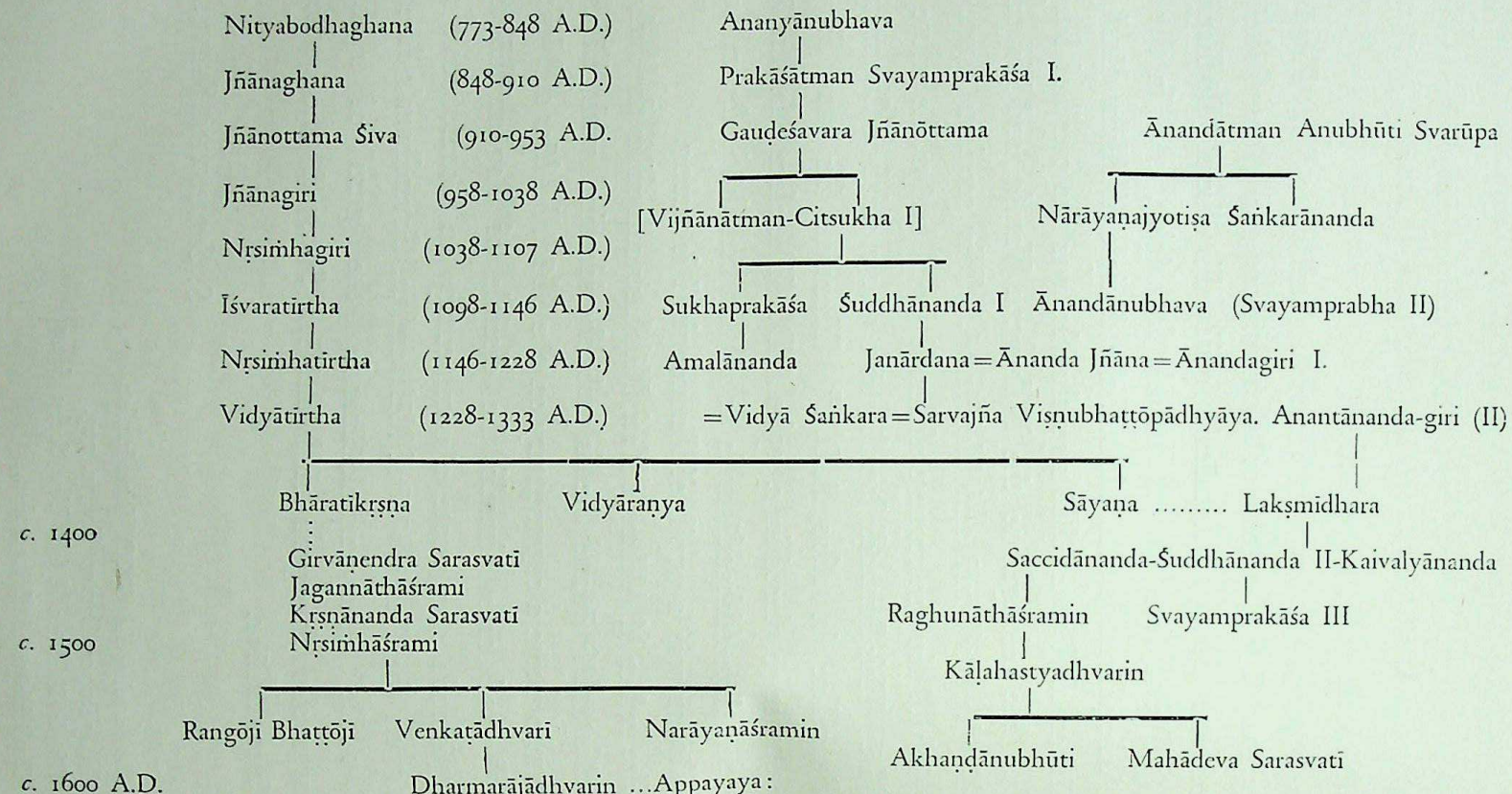
Anantānandagiri must be placed in *c.* 1380 A.D. Several works attributed to this Ānandagiri like *Praśnabhāṣyaṭīkā, Aitareyōpaniṣadbhāṣyaṭīkā, Śaṅkaravijaya* quote from the works of Śaṅkarānanda, Sāyaṇa, and Bhōganātha.

A pupil of Ānandagiri I was, according to Mr. Tripāṭhi,[27] Akhaṇḍānanda the author of *Tattvadīpana* and *Ṛjuprakāśikā* the *Tattvadīpana* mentions Ratnācala (giri?), his disciple Bōdhapṛthvīdhara (giri) and then salutes Ānanda Śaila (giri). But in the *colophon* Akhaṇḍānanda calls himself the disciple of Akhaṇḍānubhūti. The author of *Ṛjuprakāśikā* says that he was the pupil of Svayamprakāśa. He belonged to the Nalagantu Vaṃśa, and his parents were Kāḷahastyadhvarī and Yajñāmbā. His previous name was Raṅganātha. At the request of Imaḍi Jagadēkarāya, he wrote *Ṛjuprakāśikā*. This Immaḍi Jagadēkarāya was a chief of Chennapatna near Bangalore (*c.* 1600 A.D.).[28] Therefore his guru Svayamprākāśa must be placed in *c.* 1580 A.D. Therefore Mr. Ṭripāṭhi's contention that Akhandānanda or Akhaṇḍānubhūti, the author of *Tattvadīpana* was a pupil, of Ānandagiri I is wrong.

The father of Akhaṇḍa Yati, Kāḷahastyadhvari is the author of *Ratnakōśaprakāśikā* and he is probably identical with Kāḷahasti. yajvan who wrote a commentary on the *Bhēdidhikkāra* of Nṛsiṁhāśramin[29] and calls himself the disciple of Raghunāthāśramin. Akhaṇḍānanda also wrote a commentary on Govardhana's commentary on the *Tarkabhāṣā* of Kēśavamiśra. Govardhana's date is *c.* 1560 A.D.[30] Svayamprakāśānanda, the guru of Akhaṇḍa Yati was also the guru of Mahādēva Sarasvatī, the author of *Tattvānusandhāna*.

S. Srikantha Sastri

27 *Tarkasaṅgraha* G.S.O. Introduction.
28 *Vijayanagar Comm. Vol.*, p. 323.
29 *Bheda-dhikkāra*. Mad. Uni. Series, Intro.
30 *Tarkabhāṣā* of Kēśavamiśra.


Nityabodhaghana (773-848 A.D.)
Jñānaghana (848-910 A.D.)
Jñānottama Śiva (910-953 A.D.
Jñānagiri (958-1038 A.D.)
Nṛsiṁhagiri (1038-1107 A.D.)
Īśvaratīrtha (1098-1146 A.D.)
Nṛsiṁhatīrtha (1146-1228 A.D.)
Vidyātīrtha (1228-1333 A.D.)
Ananyānubhava
Prakāśātman Svayamprakāśa I.
Gauḍeśavara Jñānōttama
[Vijñānātman-Citsukha I]
Sukhaprakāśa
Amalānanda
Śuddhānanda I
Janārdana = Ānanda Jñāna = Ānandagiri I.
= Vidyā Śaṅkara = Sarvajña Viṣṇubhaṭṭōpādhyāya.
Ānandātman Anubhūti Svarūpa
Nārāyaṇajyotiṣa Śaṅkarānanda
Ānandānubhava (Svayamprabha II)
Anantānanda-giri (II)
Bhāratikṛṣṇa
Vidyāraṇya
Sāyaṇa ..... Lakṣmīdhara
c. 1400
Girvāṇendra Sarasvatī
Jagannāthāśrami
Kṛṣṇānanda Sarasvatī
c. 1500
Nṛsiṁhāśrami
Saccidānanda-Śuddhānanda II-Kaivalyānanda
Raghunāthāśramin
Svayamprakāśa III
Kāḷahastyadhvarin
Rangōji Bhaṭṭōji
Venkaṭādhvarī
Narāyaṇāśramin
Akhaṇḍānubhūti
Mahādeva Sarasvatī
c. 1600 A.D.
Dharmarājādhvarin ...Appayaya:

Gilgit Ms. of the Vinaya Piṭaka

The Gilgit mss., so far dealt with by me in this *Quarterly*, belong mostly to the later period of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Since the discoveries of the fragments of the Sanskrit Sūtra and Vinaya texts in Eastern Turkestan and the neighbouring places, the Buddhist scholars have been eagerly hoping to obtain more information about the activities of a Hīnayāna sect which attained prominence in India in the post-Aśokan, and particularly, in the Kushan period. The history of Buddhism as also the history of India of the few centuries before and after the Christian era are still incomplete and await the discovery of further materials, and so it is a matter of gratification that Gilgit has yielded some, which will throw light on a hitherto unknown aspect of Indian culture, for which the world of Indologists should be grateful to H. H. the Maharaja of Kashmir, his present Prime Minister and the Chief Secretary for their appreciation of the importance of these finds and taking up the work of their publication in right earnest.

A few leaves of the ms., of which a preliminary account is being given here, passed into the hands of Sir Aurel Stein, who handed them over to the British Museum, the authorities of which again passed them on to the late Prof. Sylvain Lévi. Professor Lévi published two leaves (49b—51a) with the errors and omissions along with a facsimile of a leaf of the ms. in the *JA.*, CCXX (1932), pp. 26-36. The remaining leaves (i.e. from leaf no. 55) have been kindly placed by the Kashmir Government at my disposal for an emended edition.

Many leaves of this ms. have been lost or destroyed or have passed into different hands. A fragmentary leaf of this ms. has been preserved at the St. Xavier's College, Bombay, by Prof. Heras who was kind enough to show it to me when I was last in Bombay.

In the present ms. there are many leaves which do not bear the leaf mark and it is only with the help of the Tibetan version that the leaves can be placed properly. The few leaves published here are without any mark but they correspond to leaves 14-17 of the Derge edition of the Kanjur. The Sanskrit text corresponding to the first 3 leaves is lost and so it has been restored by me. The first and last lines of many of the leaves have been destroyed and so these omissions have also been restored. The restorations are printed here in smaller types. Our ms. begins at leaf 55 and ends with the words: *Saṃghabhedavastusamāptam,* but with omissions here and there.

The first leaf of the Dulva (see p. 411) furnishes us with a list of the chapters of the first book of the *Vinaya Piṭaka,* from which it is evident that the present ms. represents the original of the first four volumes of the Dulva (Narthang edition, see *Asiatic Researches,* XX, pp. 45-78). The Sanskrit *Vinaya* is divided into four books entitled (i) *Vinaya-vastu,* (ii) *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* and *Vinaya-vibhaṅga,* (iii) *Vinaya-kṣudraka-vastu* and (iv) *Vinayottara-grantha* corresponding to the four divisions of the Pāli text, viz., (i) *Mahāvagga,* (ii) *Sutta-vibhaṅga,* (iii) *Cullavagga* and (iv) *Parivāra-pāṭha.* The present ms. therefore contains the whole of the *Vinaya-vastu* i.e. the *Mahāvagga* of the Pāli text. There are many agreements, sometimes *verbatim,* between the Sanskrit and Pāli versions but there is a wide divergence in the contents. Our text is composed in the style of the *Mahā-vastu,* the first book of the *Vinaya Piṭaka* of the Lokottaravādins of the Mahāsaṅghikas, both the texts containing several stories relating to the anterior births of Śākyamuni and his noted disciples including the famous upāsakas and upāsikās. The agreement between the Mahāsaṅghika *Vinaya* and our text presents a new problem, I mean, the probable form of the original *Vinaya Piṭaka* and the relation of the Pāli *Piṭaka* to the same.

In the present ms., there is a large number of quotations from the *Dīrghāgama, Madhyamāgama* and *Ekottarāgama,* and these

when published, we hope, will contribute substantially to our knowledge of the Sanskrit *Sūtra Piṭaka*.

With the find of this ms. and the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* we may say that almost half of the Sanskrit *Vinaya* has been recovered and we may hope to find the rest if the Kashmir Government carries on further excavations in the region where these mss. have come to light.

Prof. Lévi announced that he had in his possession leaves 43-53 of the present ms. and we have got the leaves from 55; the first four leaves are published here, and 2 or 3 leaves exist in fragmentary condition. There is thus a gap of about 30 leaves. The restoration of this portion from the Tibetan version has been entrusted to my student Mr. Anukul Chandra Banerji who has already completed the translation. As the work of editing the ms. proceeds, I hope to publish further materials on the subject in question. Thanks are due to Pandit Shiv Nath Sastri Sahityabhūsaṇa for transcribing the ms.

TEXT

नमो रत्नत्रयाय। नमो विच्छिन्नबन्धनाय। नमः सर्वतीर्थिक-मारसेन-प्रमर्दनाय। नमो बोधिप्राप्ताय।

आगारं हित्वा दुष्करो प्रव्रज्या। प्रव्रज्य च पुनर्दुष्करो जनपदचर्याधिगमानन्दः। कथमानन्दोत्पत्तिः। दुष्करा सम्यक्क्रिया। दुष्करं काषायवस्त्रधारणम्। सुदुष्करं कुशल-शीलकर्मचित्तमिति।

अथ विनयवस्तुविभागाः—प्रव्रज्यावस्तु प्रवारणावस्तु चर्मवस्तु भैषज्यचीवरकठिनवस्तु कौशाम्बीकर्मवस्तु पारुडुलोहितकवस्तु पुद्गलवस्तु पारिवासिकवस्तु पोषधवस्तु संघभेदवस्तु चेति। अथ प्रव्रज्यावस्तुनः संविभागाः—शारीपुत्र-तीर्थिकः। द्वौ श्रामणेरौ। अर्हद्घातकः। कुण्डः —सर्वमिदं समासतः शारीपुत्रप्रव्रज्या इति। उपसम्पन्नविधानम्। उपसेनादि इति समासतः पञ्च विभागाः।

अथ बोधिसत्त्वस्तुपितालये वसति स्म। तेन समयेन अङ्गदेशे राजाधिराज इति नाम राजा राज्यं करोति स्म ऋद्धं च स्फीतं च सुभिक्षं बहुजनाकीर्णम्। मगधदेशे महापद्म

इति नाम राजा राज्यं करोति स्म ऋद्धं च स्फीतं च सुभिक्षं बहुजनाकीर्णम्। एकस्मिन् समये अङ्गराजस्य बलकायो महान् एकस्मिन् समये च राज्ञो महापद्मस्य बलकायः। यदा अङ्गराजस्य बलकायो महान् हस्तिकायोऽश्वकायो रथकायः पत्तिकाय इति चतुरङ्गसमन्वितः तदा राजगृहं स्थापयित्वा मगधदेशमभिभूय निवर्तते स्म। पुनर्यदा राज्ञो महापद्मस्य बलकायो महान् हस्तिकायोऽश्वकायो रथकायः पत्तिकाय इति चतुरङ्गसमन्वितः तदा चम्पां स्थापयित्वा अङ्गमभिभूय निवर्तते स्म। अपरेण समयेन अङ्गराजस्य चतुरङ्गबलकायो मगधदेशमाक्रमितुमारब्धः। मगधदेशवासिनो राजानं महापद्ममारोचयामासुः 'देव अङ्गराजेन चतुरङ्गबलकायसमन्वितेन मगधदेशः समाक्रान्तः' राजा महापद्म एतद्वचनं श्रुत्वा चतुरङ्गबलकायपरिवृतोऽङ्गराजदेशाभिमुखं प्रयातः। अथ महापद्मस्य हस्त्यश्वरथपत्तिकाया अङ्गराजेन गृहीताः। राजा महापद्मोऽपि पराजितो भीतोऽभिभूतः। अपरेऽपि क्षत्रिया राजगृहे प्रत्यागताः। राजगृहं प्रविश्य तस्य द्वारं बध्वा तत् प्राकारैः परिवेष्टयामासुः। अङ्गराजेन महापद्मस्य लेखोऽनुप्रेषितः 'त्वं चेद् बहिरागच्छसि इति कुशलं नोचेद् बहिरागच्छसि आकाशपथे गमिष्यसि शरेण पातयिष्यामि। त्वं चेत् पृथिव्यन्तरं प्रवेक्ष्यसि शक्त्या उद्ग्रहीष्यामि। त्वं चेत् पर्वतशिखरे तिष्ठसि तत्रापि ते नात्मरक्षणमिति।' राजा महापद्म एतं लेखं पठित्वा व्यथितः करे कपोलं दत्त्वा चिन्तापरव्यवस्थितो दुःखितश्चाभवत्। अथ सोऽमात्यानामन्त्र्य एतदुवाच 'भवन्त एषोऽङ्गराजः परन्तपो निष्ठुरो महाबलकायप्रभावाद् अस्माकमेतं लेखं प्रेषितवान्। किमिदानीं विधेयमिति। ते गाथया अभाषन्त।

संशयमाप्ते विषये प्राणेषु च रक्ष्याः प्राणाः सर्वैः।
इत्याहुर्बुधा यतः पुनरपि विषयो न तु प्राणाः॥

एतद्वचनं श्रुत्वा राजा कण्ठे असिं बध्वा बहिर्गतः। अथाङ्गराजस्तस्य वार्षिकं शुल्कं निर्धार्य प्रक्रान्तः।

तेन समयेन बोधिसत्त्वस्तुषितालये निषण्णः पञ्चमहाविलोकितानि विलोकयति स्म। कामावचरान् षड्देवनिकायान् विस्कृत्वो ज्ञापयित्वा स गजवरमहाप्रमाणं मातुः कुक्षिमवक्रामति स्म। समनन्तरावक्रान्ते च बोधिसत्त्वे महान् भूमिचालः अभूत। सर्वमिदं लोकधातुस्त्रायस्त्रिंशदेवाश्च तस्य वर्णरूपतेजसा अवभासिताश्चभूवन् परिस्फुटाश्च। यत्र लोकधातौ अनयोश्चन्द्रसूर्ययोरेवंमहानुभावयोरेवंमहर्धिकयोराभया वर्णेन च अन्धकारतमिस्रा न स्फुटाः तत्र ये सत्त्वा उपपन्नास्ते स्वकानपि बाहून् प्रसारितान् न पश्यन्ति। अथ तेन अवभासेन ते चान्योन्यं पश्यन्ति स्म अन्योन्यं संजानते स्म। एवञ्चाहुरन्येऽपि किल भोः सत्त्वा इहोपपन्ना इति।

बोधिसत्त्वस्य जन्मकालसमये चतुर्महानगरेषु चत्वारो महाराजा अभूवन्। तद्यथा राजगृहे महापद्मस्य पुत्रः। श्रावस्त्यां ब्रह्मदत्तस्य पुत्रः। उज्जयिन्यां राज्ञोऽनन्तनेमेः पुत्रः। कौशाम्ब्यां राज्ञः शतानीकस्य पुत्रः। भगवतो बोधिसत्त्वस्य जन्मकालसमये सर्वेमिदं लोकधातुस्त्रायस्त्रिंशदेवाश्च तस्यानन्ताभया अवभासिता अभूवन् परिस्फुटाश्च यत्र लोकधातौ अनयोश्चन्द्रसूर्ययोरेवंमहानुभावयोरेवंमहर्धिकयोराभया वर्णेन च अन्धकारतमिस्रा न स्फुटाः तत्र ये सत्त्वा उपपन्नास्ते स्वकानपि बाहून् प्रसारितान् न पश्यन्ति। अथ तेन अवभासेन ते चान्योन्यं पश्यन्ति स्म अन्योन्यं संजानते स्म। एवञ्चाहुः अन्येऽपि किल भोः सत्त्वा इहोपपन्ना इति।

राजा महापद्मोऽचिन्तयत्। मम पुत्रो जातः लोकधातौ उद्यद्भास्कर इव समुज्ज्वलोऽयं महिष्या बिम्बायास्तनयः अतोऽस्य बिम्बिसार इति नाम कार्यम्। राजा ब्रह्मदत्तोऽचिन्तयत्। मम पुत्रे जाते लोकधातुः प्रकटपरिस्फुटोऽवभासितश्चाभवत्। अतोऽस्य प्रसेनजिदिति नाम कार्यम्। राजा अनन्तनेमिरचिन्तयत्। मम पुत्रो जातः लोकधातौ उद्यद्भास्कर इव समुज्ज्वलः। अतोऽस्य प्रद्योत इति नाम कार्यम्। राजा शतानीकोऽचिन्तयत्। मम पुत्रो जातः लोकधातौ उद्यद्भास्कर इव समुज्ज्वलोऽयम्। अतोऽस्य उदयन इति नाम कार्यम्। अथ पञ्चभिरमात्यैः बिम्बिसारस्य जातिमहं कृत्वा गोत्रानुरूपं नामधेयं **व्यवस्थापितम्। बिम्बिसारः कुमारोऽष्टाभ्यो धात्रीभ्योऽनुप्रदत्तः। द्वाभ्यामंकधात्रीभ्यां द्वाभ्यां क्षीरधात्रीभ्यां द्वाभ्यां मलधात्रीभ्यां द्वाभ्यां क्रीडनिकाभ्यां धात्रीभ्याम्।** ताभिर्धात्रीभिर्दुग्धेन दध्ना नवनीतेन सर्पिषा सर्पिर्मण्डेनान्यैश्च उत्तप्तोत्तप्तैरुपकरणविशेषैराशु **वर्धते हृदस्थमिव पंकजम्। यदा स महान् संवृत्तः तदा लिप्यामुपन्यस्तः। संख्यायां गणनायां मुद्रायां**[1] **यानि च तानि राज्ञां क्षत्रियाणां शिल्पस्थानकर्मस्थानानि। तद्यथा हस्तिग्रीवायामश्वपृष्ठे रथे त्सरौ धनुषि पर्याणे निर्याणे अंकुशग्रहे पाशग्राहे तोमरग्राहे**[2] **च्छेद्ये भेद्ये वेध्ये** तद्यथा दूरवेध्ये शब्दवेध्ये मर्मवेध्ये अक्षुरणवेध्ये दृढप्रहारितायां चेति **पंचसु स्थानेषु कृतावी संवृत्तः। तान्यपि पंचामात्यपुत्रशतानि पंचसु स्थानेषु कृतावीनि संवृत्तानि। स पित्राष्टादशसु श्रेणीष्ववतारितः।**

1 Tib. adds मुष्टिबन्धे शिखाबन्धे पादबन्धे।

2 Tib. adds here चर्यायां शौचे समाचारे च उपन्यस्तः। तेष्वपि पारं गतः। अष्टसु परीक्षासु कुशलो जातः। रत्नपरीक्षायां वास्तुपरीक्षायां वस्त्रपरीक्षायां रथपरीक्षायां हस्तिपरीक्षायामश्वपरीक्षायां स्त्रीपरीक्षायां भूतपरीक्षायां चेति।

अतोऽस्य श्रेण्यो विम्बिसार इति ख्यातिः। ततोऽपरेण समयेन स हस्तिस्कन्धाधिरूढो जनपदान्निर्गच्छति। तेन ते दृष्टाः अङ्गस्य राज्ञः पौरुषेयाः करप्रत्यायानुद्ग्राहयन्तः। स कथयति। भवन्तः कस्यैते करप्रत्यायान् उद्ग्राहयन्ति। ते कथयन्ति। अङ्गराजस्येति। स कथयति। किं नास्माकमिति। ते कथयन्ति। देव करदाः। स कथयति। भवन्तः शब्दयतैतान् पौरुषेयानिति। ते शब्दिताः। स कथयति। भवन्तः सोऽपि राजा क्षत्रियो मूर्धाभिषिक्तो वयमपि राजानः क्षत्रिया मूर्धाभिषिक्ताः। तत् कथमुद्ग्राहयथ। इतः परं मा उद्ग्राहयिष्यथेति। ते संलक्षयन्ति। अप्रकृतिज्ञोऽयं कुमारः। गच्छामो वयम्। महापद्मस्य राज्ञो गत्वा आरोचयामः। ते राज्ञो महापद्मस्य सकाशमुपसंक्रान्ताः। उपसंक्रम्य कथयन्ति। देव वयमङ्गराजस्य पौरुषेया बिंबिसारेण कुमारेण करप्रत्यायानुद्ग्राहयन्तो निवारिताः। किन्नु ग्राहयामो नेति। स कथयति। भवन्तः अप्रकृतिज्ञोऽयम् इह कुमारः। यथैव यूयं भूताः करप्रत्यायानुद्ग्राहयत तथैवेति। अथ ते पुनः करप्रत्यायानुद्ग्राहयन्तो जनपदेभ्यो विवर्तिता दृष्टाः। उक्ताश्च। भवन्तो न मया यूयं निवारिताः। मा भूयः करप्रत्यायानुद्ग्राहयिष्यथेति। कस्माद्यूयं पुनः करप्रत्यायानुद्ग्राहयथ। यदि तावत्तिष्ठथेत्येतत् कुशलम्। यदि न तिष्ठथ तदा सीमाबन्धनं कारयेयम्। ते अचिन्तयन्। कुमारो व्याडो विक्रान्तः। स्थानमेतद्विद्यते यदनर्थं करिष्यतीति। ते अङ्गस्य राज्ञः सकाशमुपसंक्रान्ताः। उपसंक्रम्य कथयन्ति। देव महापद्मस्य राज्ञो बिंबिसारो नाम कुमारः करप्रत्यायानुद्ग्राहयितुं निवारयति। यद्युपेक्षिष्यते स्थानमेतद्विद्यते यत्कालेन महाननर्थं करिष्यतीति गाथां भाषन्ते।

शक्यः कररुहैश्छेत्तुं यावद् बालो हि पादपः।
स एव वृद्धो दुश्छेद्यः परशूनां शतैरपीति॥

अथ अङ्गराजेन महापद्मस्य लेखः प्रेषितः। बिम्बिसारस्य करठे असिं बध्वा प्रेषय यवसयोग्यमशनं वा सज्जीकुरु। एषोऽहमागच्छामीति। महापद्मो राजा लेखं श्रुत्वा व्यथितः। तेन बिंबिसारः कुमारः शब्दापितः। उक्तश्च। पुत्र कस्मात्त्वया अङ्गस्य राज्ञः पौरुषेया निवारिताः। स कथयति। देव कस्मात् परतन्त्राः करप्रत्यायान् प्रयच्छामः। पुत्र वयं करदा इति। स कथयति। देव सोऽपि राजा क्षत्रियो मूर्धाभिषिक्तः। कस्माद्वयं तस्य करप्रत्यायाननुप्रयच्छामः। केवलं मम देव चतुरंगं बलकायमाज्ञापय। वयमङ्गराजेन सह संग्रामं करिष्यामः। अथ महापद्मेन राज्ञा लेखोऽनुप्रेषितो या ते शक्तिर्बलं वीर्यं पराक्रमस्तन्न हापयिष्यसीति। स श्रुत्वा रुषितोऽमात्यानामन्त्रयते। सन्नाहयन्तु भवन्तो चतुरंगं बलकायम्।

तेन बलकायेन मगधविषय आक्रमितव्यः। अथ स चतुरङ्गबलकायं सज्जीकृत्य हस्तिकाय-मश्वकायं रथकायं पत्तिकायं मगधविषयं नाशयितुमारब्धो नाशयतीति। मगध-विषयनिवासिना जनकायेन महापद्मस्य राज्ञ उद्ग्राहका दत्ताः। देव अङ्गराजेन मगध-विषय आक्रान्तः। तच्छ्रुत्वा राजा महापद्मो व्यथितः करे कपोलं दत्त्वा चिन्तापर-व्यवस्थितः। अथ तेन बिम्बिसारं कुमारं शब्दापयित्वा तस्य चतुरंगो बलकायो-ऽनुप्रदत्तः। बिंबिसारः कुमारस्तान् सर्वान् कुमारान् संनिपात्य कथयति। अह-मङ्गेन राज्ञा सार्धं संग्रामयिष्यामि। किं करणीयम्। ते कथयन्ति। देव भवतां यथा-वस्था अस्माकमपि तथैव भवेत्। अथ ते इमां गाथां भाषन्ते!

यस्मिन् मनुष्ये रमते कुलश्रीः स सर्वतः संपरिरक्षितव्यः।
तस्मिन् विनष्टे विनश्यन्ति सर्वे नाभेर्विनाशादिव चक्रपादाः॥

अहं भवद्भिः सर्वतः संपरिरक्षितव्यः। यत्र भवतः पादौ तत्र नः शिरांसि। अथ स चतुरङ्गबलकायपरिवृतो राजगृहान्निर्गतः। तेन समयेन राजा महापद्मोऽमात्य-परिवृत उपरि प्रासादतलगतस्तिष्ठति। तेनासौ निर्गच्छन् दृष्टः। सोऽमात्या-नामन्त्रयते। भवन्तः कस्येयं सेनेति। ते कथयन्ति। देव बिंबिसारस्य कुमारस्येति। स कथयति अहो प्रभूतबलकायोऽयमिति बलकायबिम्बिसारः संजानते। केचित् श्रेण्यो बिंबिसार इति संजानते। केचित् सैनिकबिम्बिसार इति। बिम्बिसारः कुमारः कुमारानामन्त्रयते। भवन्तोऽयमङ्गो राजा उदीर्णबलवाहनः। न शक्नुमो बलेन पराजेतुम्। अतोऽस्य परिरक्षितं दुर्गमाक्रम्य उपायकौशल्येन हन्तव्य-मिति। ते तस्य मुक्तसन्नाहस्य शिविरे निपातिताः। तैरङ्गो राजा प्रघातितः। अङ्गस्य राज्ञश्चतुरंगो बलकायश्चतुर्दिशं विद्रुतः। अथ श्रेणिकबिम्बिसारेण चतुर्दिश-मश्वदूताः प्रेषिताः। भो भवन्तोऽपि क्षत्रिया मूर्धाभिषिक्ता वयमपि क्षत्रिया मूर्धाभिषिक्ताः। निवर्तन्तां भवन्तः। अहं भवतां वृद्ध्युपादानं प्रज्ञापयिष्यामीति। ते निवर्तिताः। ततो यश्चंपायामारक्षकः स्थापितः। तेन श्रुतं यथा अङ्गराजो निहतः। तेन द्वारं बध्वा स्थितः। अथ तत् प्राकारैः परिवेष्टयामासुः। बिम्बिसारः कुमारोऽनुपूर्वेण चंपां गतः। तेन दीर्घया लतया अङ्गस्य राज्ञः शिरो बध्वा दर्शितम्। यस्ते स्वामी तस्येयमेवंरूपा समवस्था कृता। यदि तावन्निर्गच्छसि निर्गच्छ। यदि न निर्गच्छसि तवापि एवंरूपावस्था भविष्यति। स श्रुत्वा व्यथितः संलक्षयति। पुनरपि विषयो न तु प्राणा इति। स कण्ठे असिं बध्वा निर्गतः।

ततो बिंबिसारेण कुमारेण चंपामवष्टभ्य महापद्मस्य राज्ञो लेखोऽनुप्रेषितः। देव मया अङ्गराजं विनाश्य चंपानगरं प्रतिलब्धम्। आज्ञापय किमन्यदपरिप्राप्तं

परिप्रापयामीति। महापद्मो राजा तुष्टः। तेन तस्य पट्टमौलिच्छत्रं तमनुप्रेषितम्। पुत्र त्वंतत्रैव राज्यं कारय। अहम् अत्र राज्यं करिष्यामि इति लेखोऽनुप्रेषितः। ततोऽङ्गदेशे बिम्बिसारो राजा राज्यं कारयति ऋद्धं च स्फीतं च क्षेमं च सुभिक्षं चाकीर्णबहुजनमनुष्यं च। मगधेषु महापद्मो राजा राज्यं कारयति ऋद्धं च स्फीतं च क्षेमं च सुभिक्षं चाकीर्णबहुजनमनुष्यं च। अपरेण समयेन राजगृहे महापद्मो राजा कालगतः। अमात्यैर्बिंबिसारस्य राज्ञः संदिष्टम्। देव पिता ते कालगतः। आगच्छ राज्यं प्रतीच्छेति। स आगतः। ततोऽङ्गमगधीयकैरमात्यैरङ्गमगधयोः राजकुमारो महाभिषेकेण अभिषिक्तः। ततो राजा बिम्बिसारः अङ्गमगधयोः राज्यं करोति। तं च सुभिक्षं चाकीर्णबहुजनमनुष्यं च।

मध्यदेशादन्यतमो माणवो मन्त्रार्थी मन्त्रगवेषी दक्षिणापथमनुप्राप्तः। दक्षिणापथेऽन्यतमो ब्राह्मणो वेदवेदाङ्गपारगः। स तस्य सकाशमुपसंक्रान्तः। उपसंक्रम्याभिवादनं कृत्वा तस्य पुरत आगत्य कथयति। इच्छाम्यहमुपाध्यायस्य पादशुश्रूषां कर्तुम्। कस्यार्थाय। वेदाध्ययनं करिष्ये। स कथयति। एवं कुरुष्वेति। स तस्यान्तिके वेदाध्ययनं कर्तुमारब्धः। आचरितं तेषां माणवकानाम्। यदा अपठा भवन्ति तदा कदाचित्तीर्थोपस्पर्शिका गच्छन्ति कदाचिन्नगरावलोककाः कदाचित् समिधाहारकाः। यावदपरेण समयेन अपठाः संवृत्ताः। ततः सर्व एव समिधाहारकाः संप्रस्थिताः। समिधाहारकाणां संप्रस्थितानामयमेवंरूपोऽभूत् अन्तराकथासमुदाहारः। भोः कौत्सा वात्साः शाण्डिल्या भारद्वाजाः पंचकाः उपपंचकाः। को वः कस्मादेशादिति। तत्रैके कथयन्ति। वयं पूर्वदेशादिति अपरे वयं दक्षिणापथादिति अपरे कथयन्ति वयं पाश्चात्या इति अपरे कथयन्ति वयमुत्तरापथादिति। स माणवः कथयति। अहं मध्यदेशादिति। ते कथयन्ति। सर्व एव भवन्तोऽस्माभिर्देशा दृष्टाः श्रुताश्च न तु मध्यदेशः।

बुद्धिर्वसति पूर्वेण दाक्षिण्यं दक्षिणापथे।
पैशुन्यं पश्चिमे देशे पारुष्यं चोत्तरापथे॥ इति

मध्यदेशोऽस्माभिर्न दृष्टः। कीदृशो माणव मध्यदेशः। मध्यदेशो भवन्तो देशानामग्रः। इक्षुशालिगोमहिषीसंपन्नो भैक्षुकशतकलिलो दस्युजनविवर्जितः आर्यजनाकीर्णो विद्वज्जननिषेवितः। यत्र नदी गंगा पुण्या मंगल्या शुचिशौचेयसंमता उभयतः कूलान्यभिष्यन्दयमाना आवहति। अष्टादशवको नाम

ऋषीणामग्रपदः। यत्र ऋषयस्तपश्चर्यया सशरीरं स्वर्गं कामयमानाः। **ते कथयन्ति। सन्ति माणव मध्यदेशे पण्डितसंख्याता इति। स कथयति। नन्वहं भवन्तः पूर्वमेवावोचं मध्यदेशो भवन्तो देशानामग्रः। इक्षुशालिमालागोमहिषी-संपन्नो** भैक्षुकशतकलिलो दस्युजनविवर्जित आर्यजनाकीर्णो विद्वज्जननिषेवितः। यस्तु पूर्वमेवेत्यवोचः **त्वं माणव। सन्ति माणव मध्यदेशे एवंविधा वादिवृषभा यादृश उपाध्यायः। मध्यदेशे भवन्तस्तादृशाः सन्ति येषामुपाध्यायो मुखमपि न शक्नुयाद् द्रष्टुमित।** मृष्टाभिधायी स माणवः। तेन तथा तथा मध्यदेशस्य वर्णो भाषितो **यथा ते माणवकाः सर्व एव मध्यदेशगमनोत्सुकाः संवृत्ताः। अथ ते माणवकाः समिधाकाष्ठानि पर्येष्य समिधाभारकानादाय येन तस्य ब्राह्मणस्य निवेशनं तेनोपसंक्रान्ताः।** उपसंक्रम्य समिधाकाष्ठभारकानेकान्ते उपनिक्षिप्य येन स **ब्राह्मणस्तेनोपसंक्रान्ताः। उपसंक्रम्य तं ब्राह्मणमिदमवोचन्। यत्खलूपाध्याय जानीथ अनेनास्माकं माणवेन मध्यदेशस्य तथा तथा वर्णो भाषितो येन वयं सर्व एव मध्यदेशगमनोत्सुकाः संवृत्ताः।** पुत्रकाः किं यावच्छ्रूयते तावता गम्यते। **अपि तु श्रुतिरमणीयो देशः श्रोतव्यो नो तु गन्तव्यः। उपाध्याय एष माणवः कथयति। मध्यदेशे तादृशा वादिवृषभाः सन्ति येषामुपाध्यायो मुखमपि न शक्नोति द्रष्टुमिति। पुत्रकाः** तादृशः स एवैकः पृथिव्यां वादी नान्यः कश्चिदस्ति। बहुरत्नधरा व**सुन्धरा पूर्णा महीसुन्दरसुन्दराणाम्। उपाध्याय गच्छामः। तदपि तावद्देशावलोकनं कृतं भविष्यतीति तीर्थोपस्पर्शनं च ते च वादिवृषभाः पर्युपासिता भविष्यन्तीति। वादिनो निग्रहीष्यामः।** देशं च पश्यामो लाभं च निष्पादयिष्याम इति। शिष्यानुरागी स ब्राह्मणोऽल्पपरिच्छदश्च। **स तावन्माणवकानिदमवोचत्। पुत्रका यद्येवं गृह्णीथ अजिनानि वल्कलानि दण्डकमण्डलूनि स्रग्भाजनानि। गच्छाम मध्यदेशमिति। तैर्गृहीतानि। स तैः सार्धं मध्यदेशं संप्रस्थितः।** स कांश्चिद्वादिनो निगृह्य वादिरथे योजयति। केषांचिद् भस्मघटिकया शिरःसु भिनत्ति। **केचिद्दिष्वस्त्रशालामिव वायसा आरात्परिवर्जयन्ति। केचिच्छत्रध्वजपताकाभिः प्रत्युद्गच्छन्ति। केचित् शिष्यत्वमभ्युपगच्छन्ति। सोऽनुपूर्वेण ग्रामनगर-**निगमपल्लिकापत्तनेषु च**रंचूर्यमाणोऽनुपूर्वेण राजगृहमनुप्राप्तः। स ब्राह्मणः संलक्षयति। यावत् खलु पण्डितसंख्याताः सर्वे ते राज्ञः सन्निधौ। तत्किमहं मूलमपहाय शाखा-पत्रपलाशं परामृष्टव्यं मंस्ये। यत्त्वहं राज्ञः सकाशमुपसंक्रामेयमिति।** स राज्ञः सकाश-मुपसंक्रान्तो राजानं जयेनायुषा च वर्धयित्वा पुरतोऽवस्थितः। **देव अस्ति मया गुरुसकाशा-त्कतिपायन्यक्षराण्युद्गृहीतानि। तदिच्छाम्यहं देवस्य पुरस्ताद्वादिभिः सार्धं कथा-**

विमर्शं कर्तुमिति। ततः स राजा अमात्यानामन्त्रयते। अस्ति भवन्तः कश्चिदस्माकं विजिते वादी प्रतिवसति। अमात्याः कथयन्ति। देवास्ति नालदग्रामके माठरो नाम ब्राह्मणो वेदवेदाङ्गपारगोऽग्निकल्प इव ज्ञानेन। तेन माठरं नाम शास्त्रं प्रणीतमिति। राजा कथयति। आह्वयतां स उपाध्याय इति। अमात्यैराहूतः। सोऽपि राजानं जयेनायुषा च वर्धयित्वा पुरतोऽवस्थितः। ततो राज्ञाभिहितः 'शक्तोपि त्वमुपाध्याय अनेन ब्राह्मणेन सार्धं मम पुरस्तात्कथाविमर्शं कर्तुमिति'। स कथयति। शक्तितोऽहं देवं भाषिष्ये इति। ततो वादिमण्डलं प्रज्ञप्तम्। पक्षापरपक्षौ व्यवस्थापितौ। राजा कथयति। कस्य भवतु पूर्वपक्ष इति। अमात्याः कथयन्ति। देवायं सर्वं जानाति। तदस्यैव भवतु पूर्वपक्ष इति। तस्य पूर्वपक्षो दत्तः। तेन पंचशतिको दण्डः समुच्चारितः। माठरेण प्रत्युच्चार्य दोषो दत्तः। इदं ते अयुक्तमिदमसदृशम् इदं नोपपद्यते इति। स तूष्णीमवस्थितः। नैतत् प्रतिकृष्टं चैतन्निग्रहस्थानानां यदुतान्तरे निष्प्रतिभानता। राजा अमात्यानामन्त्रयते। कतरोऽत्र भवन्तः शोभत इति। ते कथयन्ति। देव उपाध्यायो माठर इति। ततो राजा आत्तमनाः संवृत्तः। तस्य मे लाभा सुलब्धाः यस्य मे विजिते एवंविधो वादिनामग्रो निवसति। अभिलपनार्थं स उवाच 'आचार्य कस्मिन् ग्रामे भवान् निवसति'। देव नालदग्रामके। गच्छ स एव ते वादिभोगो भवतु। स तस्य वादिभोगो दत्तः। संपत्तिकामो लोको विपत्तिप्रतिकूलः। सोऽनेकैर्ब्राह्मणैः कन्यानिमित्तं प्रार्थ्यते। ततस्तेन सदृशात् कुलात् कलत्रमानीतम्। ततस्तेन सार्धं क्रीडति रमते परिचारयति। तस्य क्रीडतो रममाणस्य परिचारयतः पुत्रो जातः। दीर्घदीर्घाभ्यां कोष्ठाभ्यां तस्य विस्तरेण जातस्य जातिमहं कृत्वा कोष्ठिल इति नामधेयं व्यवस्थापितम्। कोष्ठिलो दारकः उन्नीयते वर्धते क्षीरेण दध्ना नवनीतेन सर्पिषा सर्पिर्मण्डेनान्यैश्चोत्तप्तोत्तप्तैरुपकरणविशेषैराशु वर्धते ह्रदस्थमिव पंकजम्। स यदा महान् संवृत्तः तदा लिप्यामुपन्यस्तः। स संख्यायां मुद्रायां गणनायां ब्राह्मणिकायामीर्यायां चर्चायां शौचे समाचारे भस्मग्राहे मृत्तिकाग्राहे ङोंकारे भोंकारे ऋग्वेदे यजुर्वेदे अथर्ववेदे सामवेदे यजने याजने अध्ययने अध्यापने दाने प्रतिग्रहे षट्कर्मनिरतो ब्राह्मणः संवृत्तः। भूयस्तस्य क्रीडतो रममाणस्य परिचारयतो दारिका जाता। तस्याः शारिकाया यादृशी अक्षिणी इति तस्या ज्ञातिभिः शारिकेति नामधेयं व्यवस्थापितम्। यावदपरेण कालेनापरेण समयेन सा वर्धिता महती संवृत्ता। सा लिप्यक्षराणि ग्राहिता। यावदपरेण समयेन भ्रात्रा सार्धं वादं करोति। स तया गृह्यते। ततः पित्राभिहितः। पुत्र कथं नाम त्वं पुरुषो भूत्वा स्त्रिया पराजितः। मयि कालगते वादिभोगो विनश्यति।

अथ स ब्राह्मणमाणवो मन्त्रार्थी मन्त्रगवेषी दक्षिणापथमनुप्राप्तः। दक्षिणापथे तिष्यो नाम ब्राह्मणो लोकायते कृतावी। स तस्य सकाशमुपसंक्रान्तः। उपसंक्रम्याभिवादनं कृत्वा कथयति। इच्छाम्युपाध्यायस्य पादशुश्रूषां कर्तुम्। कस्यार्थाय। लोकायतिकमुद्ग्रहीष्यामि। एवं कुरुष्वेति। स तस्यान्तिके लोकायतमुद्ग्रहीतुमारब्धः। आचरितं तेषां माणवकानाम्। यदा अपठा भवन्ति तदा कदाचित्तीर्थोपस्पर्शिका गच्छन्ति कदाचिन्नगरावलोककाः कदाचित्समिधाहारकाः। यावदपरेण समयेन अपठाः संवृत्ताः ततः सर्व एव समिधाहारकाः संप्रस्थिताः। तेषां समिधाहारकाणां संप्रस्थितानामयमेवंरूपोऽभूत् अन्तराकथासमुदाहारः। भोः कौत्सा वात्साः शाण्डिल्या भारद्वाजाः पंचका उपपंचकाः को वः कस्माद्देशादिति। तत्रैके कथयन्ति वयं पूर्वदेशादिति। अपरे वयं दक्षिणापथादिति। अपरे कथयन्ति वयं पाश्चात्त्या इति। अपरे वयमुत्तरापथादिति। स माणवः कथयति। अहं मध्यदेशादिति। ते कथयन्ति। सर्व एव भवन्तोऽस्माभिर्देशा दृष्टाः श्रुताश्च न तु मध्यदेशः।

बुद्धिर्वसति पूर्वेण दाक्षिण्यं दक्षिणापथे।

पैशुन्यं पश्चिमे देशे पारुष्यं चोत्तरापथे॥ इति।

मध्यदेशोऽस्माभिर्न दृष्टः। कीदृशो माणव मध्यदेशः। मध्यदेशो भवन्तो देशानामग्रः। इक्षुशालिगोमहिषीसंपन्नो भैक्षुकशतकलिलो दस्युजनविवर्जितः आर्यजनाकीर्णो विद्वज्जननिषेवितः। यत्र गंगा नदी धन्या मंगल्या शुचिशौचेयसंमता उभयतः कूलान्यभिष्यन्दयमाना वहति। अष्टादशवक्रो नाम ऋषीणामग्रपदः। ऋषयस्तपश्चर्यया सशरीरं स्वर्गं कामयमानाः। ते कथयन्ति। सन्ति माणव मध्यदेशे परिण्डतसंख्याता इति। स कथयति। भवन्तः नन्वहं पूर्वमेवावोचम्। मध्यदेशो भवन्तो देशानामग्रः। इक्षुशालिमालागोमहिषीसंपन्नो भैक्षुकशतकलिलो दस्युजनविवर्जित आर्यजनाकीर्णो विद्वज्जननिषेवितः। यस्तु पूर्वमेवेत्यवोचः त्वं माणव। सन्ति माणव मध्यदेशे एवंविधा वादिवृषभा यादृश उपाध्यायः। मध्यदेशे भवन्तस्तादृशा वादिवृषभाः सन्ति येषामुपाध्यायो मुखमपि न शक्नुयाद् द्रष्टुम्। मृष्टाभिधायी स माणवः। तेन तथा तथा मध्यदेशस्य वर्णो भाषितो यथा ते माणवकाः सर्व एव मध्यदेशगमनोत्सुकाः संवृत्ताः। अथ ते माणवकाः समिधा काष्ठानि पर्येष्य समिधाभारकानादाय येन तस्य ब्राह्मणस्य निवेशनं तेनोपसंक्रान्ताः। उपसंक्रम्य समिधाकाष्ठभारकानेकान्ते उपनिक्षिप्य येन स ब्राह्मणस्तेनोपसंक्रान्ताः। उपसंक्रम्य तं ब्राह्मणमिदमवोचन्। यत्खलूपाध्याय जानीथ अनेनास्माकं माणवेन मध्यदेशस्य तथा तथा वर्णो भाषितो येन वयं सर्व एव मध्यदेशगम-

नोत्सुकाः संवृत्ताः। पुत्रकाः किं यावच्छ्रूयते तावता गम्यते। अपि तु श्रुतिरमणीया देशाः श्रोतव्या नो तु गन्तव्याः। उपाध्याय एष माणवः कथयति। मध्यदेशे तादृशा वादिवृषभाः सन्ति येषामुपाध्यायो मुखमपि न शक्नुयाद् द्रष्टुमिति। पुत्रकाः तादृशः स एवैकः पृथिव्यां वादी नान्यः कश्चिदस्तीति। बहुरत्नधरा वसुन्धरा पूर्णा महीसुन्दरसुन्दराणाम्। उपाध्याय गच्छामः। तदपि तावद् देशावलोकनं कृतं भविष्यतीति तीर्थोपस्पर्शनं च। ते च वादिवृषभाः पर्युपासिता भविष्यन्तीति वादिनो निग्रहीष्यामः देशं च पश्यामः लाभं च निष्पादयिष्याम इति। शिष्यानुरागी स ब्राह्मणोऽल्पपरिच्छदश्च। स तान् माणवकानिदमवोचत्। पुत्रका यद्येवं गृह्णीथ अजिनानि वल्कलानि दण्डकमण्डलूनि स्रग्भाजनानि। गच्छाम मध्यदेशमिति तैर्गृहीतानि। स तैः सार्धं मध्यदेशं संप्रस्थितः। स कांश्चिद्वादिनो निगृह्य वादिरथे योजयति। केषांचिद्वस्मघटिकया शिरःसु भिनत्ति। केचिदिष्वस्त्रशालामिव वायसा आरात्परिवर्जयन्ति। केचिच्छत्रध्वजपताकाभिः प्रत्युद्गच्छन्ति। केचिच्छिष्यत्वमभ्युपगच्छन्ति। सोऽनुपूर्वेण ग्रामनगरनिगमपल्लिकापत्तनेषु चंचूर्यमाणोऽनुपूर्वेण राजगृहमनुप्राप्तः। स ब्राह्मणः संलक्षयति। यावत् खलु पण्डितसंख्याताः सर्वे ते राज्ञः सन्निधौ। तत्किमहं मूलमपहाय शाखापत्रपलाशं परामृष्टव्यं मंस्ये। यत् त्वहं राज्ञः सकाशमुपसंक्रामेयमिति। स राज्ञः सकाशमुपसंक्रान्तो राजानं जयेनायुषा च वर्धयित्वा पुरतोऽवस्थितः। देव अस्ति मया गुरुसकाशात् कतिपयान्यक्षराणि उद्गृहीतानि। तदिच्छाम्यहं देवस्य पुरस्ताद्वादिभिः सार्धं कथाविमर्शं कर्तुमिति। ततः स राजा अमात्यानामन्त्रयते। अस्ति भवन्तोऽस्माकं विजिते कश्चिद्वादी प्रतिवसतीति। अमात्याः कथयन्ति। देवास्ति नालदग्रामके माठरो नाम ब्राह्मणो वेदवेदाङ्गपारगोऽग्निकल्प इव ज्ञानेन। तेन माठरं नाम शास्त्रं प्रणीतमिति। राजा कथयति। आह्वयतां स उपाध्याय इति। अमात्यैराहूतः। सोऽपि राजानं जयेनायुषा च वर्धयित्वा पुरतोऽवस्थितः। ततो राज्ञाभिहितः। शक्नोषि त्वमुपाध्याय अनेन ब्राह्मणेन सार्धं मम पुरस्तात्कथाविमर्शं कर्तुमिति। स कथयति। शक्तितोऽहं देव भाषिष्ये इति। ततो वादिमण्डलं प्रज्ञप्तम्। पक्षापरपक्षौ व्यवस्थापितौ। राजा कथयति। कस्य भवतु पूर्वपक्ष इति। अमात्याः कथयन्ति। देवायं माठरो ब्राह्मणो वृद्धोऽस्य एव भवतु पूर्वपक्ष इति। तस्य पूर्वपक्षो दत्तः। माठरब्राह्मणोऽचिन्तयत्। अयं नवग्रन्थः पटुकरणश्च न शक्यं मयानेन सार्धं कथाविमर्शं कर्तुम्। वादपिच्छिलिकायां योजयामीति। तेन पञ्चशतिको दण्डकः समुच्चारितः। तेनापि ब्राह्मणेन प्रत्युच्चार्य दोषो दत्तः। इदं ते

अयुक्तमिदमसदृशम्। इदं नोपपद्यते। स तूष्णीमवस्थितः। नैतत् **प्रतिक्रुष्टं चौतन्निग्रहस्थानानां यदुतान्तरे निष्प्रतिभानता। राजा अमात्यानामन्त्रयते। भवन्तः कतरोऽत्र शोभन इति। ते कथयन्ति। तिष्यो ब्राह्मण इति। राजा कथयति। दीयतामस्य वादिभोगः।** ते कथयन्ति। वयं चेदागन्तुकवादिनो **भोगान् दास्यामः न चिरादस्माक मङ्गमगधा जनपदा वादिभोगा भविष्यन्ति। अपि त्वेष एव नालदग्रामकोऽस्य वादिभोगो भवतु। माठरस्यान्तिकादस्मै ब्राह्मणाय तानस्यान्तिकाद्योऽन्यः शोभनः।** राजा आह तथास्तु। अथ **तैर्माठरस्यान्तिकादाच्छिद्य तिष्याय दत्तः। ततो माठरो ब्राह्मणः पत्नीमामन्त्रयते।** भद्रे गृहव्याकुलिकां संक्षिप। अन्यत्र **गमिष्यामः। कस्यार्थे। अस्य राज्ञः प्रभूतमस्माभिरुपकृतं न वयमनेनानुरक्षिताः।** तस्माद्गच्छामो वयमन्यत्रेति। तस्य अन्तेवासिनः आचार्यस्य माठरस्य अन्यत्र गमनकथां श्रुत्वा तस्य सकाशं गताः। ते **कथयन्ति। उपाध्याय कस्यार्थं गृहव्याकुलिका संक्षिप्यत इति। स कथयति। प्रभूतमस्माभिर्भवन्तोऽस्य राज्ञः उपकृतम्। न वयमनेनानुरक्षिताः। तस्माद्गच्छामो वयमन्यत्रेति।** ते कथयन्ति। मान्यत्र गच्छत। अन्तेवासिनः असुखचित्ता भविष्यन्ति। **स गाथां भाषते।**

वरं नरस्य परदेशवासो न तु स्वदेशे परिभूतवासः।
यस्मिन्नराणां न पराभवोऽस्ति स वै स्वदेशः स्वजनोऽपि तत्र॥ इति।

तिष्येण ब्राह्मणेन श्रुतम्। सः अन्यत्र गच्छति वयं दूरात् आगन्तुका वयं गमिष्यामः। इहैव तिष्ठ। **तवैव वादिभोगा भविष्यन्तीति। स न तिष्ठति। ततस्तिष्येणोक्तः। उपाध्याय इहैव तिष्ठ अस्य कर्वटकस्योपार्धं तव भवतु। उपार्धं ममेति। स कथयति। एवमस्त्विति। स पत्नीमामन्त्रयते।** भद्रे अस्य राज्ञः प्रभूतमस्माभिरुपकृतं न वयमनेनानुरक्षिताः। **अपि तु तिष्येणैव ब्राह्मणेनास्माकं प्रभूतमुपकृतम् वादिभोगानामुपार्धं ददता। तदस्य शारिकां भार्यार्थमनुप्रयच्छाम इति।** सा कथयति। अस्य माणवस्य ख्यातिर्दूरंगता। तौ पुत्रमामन्त्र्य तदर्थमारोचयामासतुः। स कथयति। कस्मादस्य दीयते। पितरौ कथं सुहृद्भावेन शत्रुं ज्ञास्यामि। सर्वेण सर्वथैतं जीविताद्व्यपरोपयेत। **वयमनेन भोगेभ्यः च्याविताः।**[1] **सर्वथा न दातव्येति। तौ कथयतः। मूर्खस्त्वं किं ज्ञास्यसीति। ताभ्यां तस्य वचनमवचनं कृत्वा दत्ता। तेन महता श्रीसमुदयेन परिणीता।** ब्राह्मणमाणवः कोप्रिलोऽचिन्तयत्। एतैरहमवज्ञातः। अथ तत् सर्वं श्रुत्वा यत् कृत्यं **तदल्पं कृतमिति। कृत्वा अपि तु**

1 Tib. is more diffuse here.

किमयं तिष्यो माणवो जानीते। लोकायतम्। कुत्र भवन्तो लोकायतं ज्ञायते। दक्षिणापथे। सोऽनुपूर्वेण दक्षिणापथमनुप्राप्तः। स तत्र गत्वा पृच्छति। को अत्र भवन्तः लोकायतमधिगतः। सन्ति kun-tu-rgyu। स तेषां सकाशमुपसंक्रान्तः। उपसंक्रम्य कथयति। इच्छाम्यहं युष्माकं पादशुश्रूषां कर्तुम्। कस्यार्थाय। लोकायतमुद्ग्रहीष्यामि। ते कथयन्ति। न वयमागारिकस्य लोकायतमुपदिशामः। स कथयति। यद्येवं प्रव्रजिष्यामि। तैः स प्रव्राजितः। प्रव्रज्य नखान् न तावच्छेत्स्यामीति यावन्मया लोकायतमुद्गृहीतं भवतीति। दीर्घदीर्घाणि नखानि दीर्घनखः परिव्राजको दीर्घनखः परिव्राजक इति संज्ञा उदपादि।

शारिकापि तिष्येण ब्राह्मणेन सार्धं वादम् आरोपयति। तिष्येण सा निगृहीता। तिष्यब्राह्मणः शारिकया सार्धं क्रीडति रमते परिचारयति। अन्यतरश्च सत्त्वश्चरमभविकश्च चरितैषी गृहीतमोक्षगर्भोऽन्तर्मुखनिर्वाणो बहिर्मुखः संसारादनर्थिकः सर्वभवगतिच्युत्युपपत्तिष्वन्तिमदेहधारी अन्यतमस्मात्प्रणीताद्देवनिकायात् च्यवित्वा शारिकायां गर्भमवक्रान्तः। शारिकया स्वप्नो दृष्टः। उल्काहस्तः पुरुषः कुक्षिं भित्त्वा प्रविष्टो महाशैलं पर्वतमधिरोहामि। उपरि विहायसा गच्छामि। महाजनकायो मे प्रणामं करोतीति। तया तिष्यस्य ब्राह्मणस्य निवेदितम्। ईदृशं चेदृशं च मया स्वप्नो दृष्ट इति। स्वप्नाध्यायमजानता तेनान्येषामपि स्वप्नाध्यायपाठकानां ब्राह्मणानां निवेदितम्। मम ब्राह्मण्या इदृशश्च स्वप्नो दृष्ट इति। ते कथयन्ति। उपाध्याय शोभनः स्वप्नो यत्कथयति। उल्काहस्तो मे पुरुषः कुक्षिं भित्त्वा प्रविष्टः। सा पुत्रं प्रसूयते। स वर्षाष्टद्वयेन ऐन्द्रव्याकरणमधीत्य सर्ववादिनो निग्रहीष्यति। यत्कथयति। महाशैलं पर्वतमधिरोहामि। उपरि विहायसा गच्छामि। महाजनकायो मे प्रणामं करोतीति। प्रव्रजिष्यति च संयमसिद्धिं च आत्मदृष्टिं लप्स्यते।

यावदपरेण समयेन तिष्यो ब्राह्मण्या सार्धं वादं करोतीति। तयाऽसौ निगृह्यते। स संलक्षयति। को योगः पूर्वमहमेतां निगृह्णामि। साम्प्रतमहमनया निगृह्ये। इतोऽस्या प्रभावो नाभूत्। यतः सत्त्वः अस्या कुक्षिमवक्रान्तः तस्यैषोऽनुभाव इति। सा अष्टानां नवानां वा मासानामत्ययात्प्रसूता। दारको जातः अभिरूपो दर्शनीयः प्रासादिको गौरः कनकवर्णः छत्राकारशिराः दीर्घबाहुः विस्तीर्णललाटः युग्मभ्रूः उत्तुङ्गनासः।[1] ज्ञातयः संगम्य समागम्य विस्तरेण जातौ जातिमहं कृत्वा नामधेयं व्यवस्थापयितुमारब्धः। किं भवतु माणवस्य नामेति। तिष्यो

1 Tib. differs here.

माणवकमुपानामयद् मातामहसकाशम्। सः अचिन्तयत्। माणवस्य किं भवितव्यं नाम इति। स संलक्षयति। अयं माणवस्तिष्यस्य ब्राह्मणस्य पुत्रः। भवतु माणवस्य उपतिष्य इति नामेति। तिष्यो ब्राह्मणः कथयति। कीदृशं माणवस्य आर्यकेण नाम व्यवस्थापितमुपतिष्य इति। स संलक्षयति। मातामहेन माणवस्य नाम पितुः नामतः कृतः। अहमस्य मातृकं नामधेयं व्यवस्थापयामि। अयं माणवः शारिकायाः पुत्रो भवतु माणवस्य शारिपुत्र इति नाम इति। ततः केचिच्छारिपुत्रो माणव इति संजानते। केचिदुपतिष्यो माणव इति। स अष्टाभ्यः धात्रीभ्यः प्रदत्तः। स दारकः क्षीरेण दध्ना नवनीतेन सर्पिषा सर्पिर्मण्डेनान्यैश्च उत्तप्तोत्तप्तैरुपकरणविशेषैराशु वर्धते ह्रदस्थमिव पंकजम्। स यदा महान्संवृत्तः तदा लिप्यामुपन्यस्तः। स लिप्यां पारंगतः। संख्यायां गणनायां चर्यायां शौचे समाचारे भस्मगृहे मृत्तिकागृहे ओंकारे भोंकारे ऋग्वेदे यजुर्वेदे अथर्ववेदे सामवेदे यजने याजने अध्ययने अध्यापने दाने प्रतिग्रहे षट्कर्मनिरतो ब्राह्मणः संवृत्तः। स पित्रा सर्वविद्यास्थानानि समाप्य वर्षाष्टद्वयेन ऐन्द्रव्याकरणं पठित्वा सर्ववादिनो निगृह्णाति। अपरेण समयेन पित्रा सार्धमध्ययनं कुर्वन्नेवमाह। तात कोऽस्य भाषितस्यार्थः। पुत्र अहमपि न जाने कोऽस्यभाषितस्यार्थं। इति अपि त्वेवमेतानि मंत्रपदानि पूर्वकैः ऋषिभिस्तुतानि गीतानि समायुक्तानि। यान्येतर्हि ब्राह्मणाऽप्यनुगायन्तेऽप्यनुभाषन्ते। स कथयति। न खलु तात निरर्थकान्येतानि मंत्रपदानि पूर्वकैः ऋषिभिस्तुतानि गीतानि समायुक्तानि यान्येतर्हि ब्राह्मणा अनुगायन्तेऽप्यनुभाषन्तेऽपि। तेषामर्थो नैष इति संलक्ष्य कः खलु सोऽर्थः। स कथयति अर्थोऽस्य अयमेव। तिष्यब्राह्मण आत्तमनाः संवृत्तः। स संलक्षयति। एतावत्पुत्रेण करणीयम्। यदुत पैतृकी वा धुरा उन्नामयितव्या उत्तरो वा विशेषोऽधिगन्तव्यः। तदनेन माणवेन उत्तरो विशेषोऽधिगन्तव्यः। स पञ्चशतानि ब्राह्मणमाणवकान्मंत्रान्वाचयति। तेनात्तमनसा तस्यैव तानि दत्तान्युपतिष्योऽपि माणवः पंचमात्राणि माणवशतानि ब्राह्मणकान्मंत्रान्वाचयितुमारब्धः। तेन ये दीर्घा वेदास्तेहस्वा ग्रन्थतो व्यञ्जनतश्च स्थापयित्वा अर्थतो निरुक्तितश्च स्थापिताः।[1]

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काष्ठवाटग्रामके मुद्गलो नाम पुरोहितः प्रतिवसति। आढ्यो महाधनो महाभोगो विस्तीर्णविशालपरिग्रहो वैश्रवणधनसमृद्धः। तेन सदृशात् कुलात् कलत्रमानीतं। स तेन

1 According to the Tib., the first chapter ends here.

सार्धं क्रीडति रमते परिचारयति। तस्य क्रीडतो रममाणस्य परिचारयतो न पुत्रो न दुहिता। सोऽपुत्रः पुत्राभिनन्दी च वरुणकुवेरशक्रब्रह्मादीनन्यांश्च देवता-विशेषानायाचते। तद्यथा आरामदेवताः वनदेवताश्चत्त्वरदेवताः शृंगाटकदेवता बलिप्रतिग्राहिकाः देवताः सहजाः सहधार्मिकाः नित्यानुबद्धा अपि देवता आयाचते। अस्ति चैव लोके प्रवादः यदायाचनहेतोः पुत्रा जायन्ते दुहितरश्चेति। तद् नैवं। यद्येवमभविष्यत् एकैकस्य पुत्रसहस्रमभविष्यत्। तद्यथा राज्ञश्चक्रवर्तिनः। अपि तु त्रयाणां स्थानानां संमुखीभावात्पुत्राः जायन्ते दुहितरश्च। कतमेषां त्रयाणाम्। मातापितरौ रक्तौ भवतः संनिपतितौ। माता च कल्या भवति ऋतुमती। गन्धर्वश्च प्रत्युपस्थितो भवति। येषां त्रयाणां[1]

NALINAKSHA DUTT

1 Here ends one complete leaf perhaps the 6th and the following leaf has not yet been traced.

A Pre-Mughal Citrapaṭa from Gujarat

A pre-Mughal Citrapaṭa from Gujarat

A fairly large number of illustrated manuscripts has been found in Gujarāt. Most of these manuscripts are Jaina. Kumārapāla the famous Jaina ruler of Gujarāt is said to have employed hundreds of writers to copy out in golden ink some important Jaina works for free distribution. Vastupāla the multi-millionaire of Gujarāt spent, according to the *Upadeśataraṅgiṇī*, seven crores of rupees on this pious work of copying books for the use of scholars. Other rich Gujarātīs who followed these noble examples are also known. Manuscripts were written on palm-leaf, cloth or paper, generally. Pictures or illustrations were drawn on wooden tablets, palm-leaves, cloth, leather and paper, as we learn from the several specimens which have been brought to light. Pre-Mughal specimens of painting on cloth are rare and one is ever anxious to see another work of the type of the *Vasantavilāsa*, written in Ahmedabad in the year 1508 of the Vikrama era (= 1451 A.D.), on account of the various secular pictures it contains. One religious *citrapaṭa* of the pre-Mughal times has been seen in Pāṭan, the old capital of Gujarāt, and my learned friend Muni Puṇyavijayajī of the Sāgar kā Upāsarā there has kindly lent it to me for publication. A note on it in Gujaratī was contributed to the *Atmaram Commemorative Volume* conjointly by me and my pupil Mr. Sarabhai. Owing to the importance of its pictures, however, I think it would be advantageous to publish a note on it in English for the benefit of the scholars not conversant with Gujaratī. Accordingly I have drawn the following account of it in honour of the late Professor Winternitz as a mark of respect for and admiration of his scholarship and of the splendid work he did as a great Indologist.

A good deal of admixture is seen in the *tāntric* systems of Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism, the three great religions of India, and there can be no denying the fact that this is the result of borrowing from one another. When a certain system proves successful the followers of the rival faiths would adopt and incorporate it into their own cults so that there may be no reason or justification for the wavering minds to go over to the other sect on that account. In the *tāntric* side Hinduism and Buddhism are greatly indebted to each other. It is not yet established how much Jainism gave in return for what it took from Hinduism as far as the *tāntric* phase is concerned. As it not infrequently happens, when a sect loses its original vigour and becomes decadent, it imitates the ideas of other religions. The Jainas, in imitation of Hindu and Buddhist ideas, created mystic diagrams or *yantras*. Of such diagrams the two, namely the *Suddhayantra* and the *Ṛsimaṇḍala* have been very popular with them. Many varieties of both these *yantras* are known to us. The *citrapaṭa* I am noticing here, illustrates the *Ṛsimaṇḍalayantrāmnāya* as is stated in the words *'iti śrī-Ṛsimaṇḍalayantrāmnāyaḥ'* of the scribe written on the picture itself. The *paṭa* further informs us of the name of the Jaina *muni* who got it prepared under his instructions. The text given in the *paṭa* is as under:—

"संवत् १५७१ वर्षे वि(वै)शाख-मासे शुक्लपक्षे वि(तृ)तीयायां तिथौ सोमवारे रोह(हि)णी नक्षत्रे वर्द्धमाननाम्नि योगे उपएसगच्छे सिद्धाचार्यसंताने पूज्यश्री-जयरत्न-सूरि-श(शि)ष्य पं० हर्षरत्नगणीनां परिवारस्य का(की)र्त्ति लक्ष्मीँ धृतिं मतिं कुरु २ स्वाहा।

Here we are told that the *yantra-paṭa* was prepared in Saṃ. 1571, on the 3rd day of the bright half of Vaiśākha for the prosperity of the followers of Paṁnyāsa Harṣaratnagaṇi, a disciple of Jayaratnasūri who belonged to the direct line of disciples of Siddhācārya.

In the centre of the *paṭa* is drawn the letter *hrīṁ* in five colours. The painter has drawn the word *Oṁ* in the Jaina style on the right

of the top of *hrīṁ*, and *namaḥ* on its left. Thus the artist has painted the words *Oṁ hrīṁ namaḥ* which form the *bījākṣara* or the initial portion of the *Ṛṣimaṇḍalayantra*.

In all the three main systems named above, *hrīṁ* is the *māyā-bīja* or the sacred symbol which controls this illusory world. The Jaina teachers have based on it a separate treatise called *Hrīṁkāra-kalpa*. This syllable *hrīṁ* is painted in five colours and thus represents the twenty-four *Tīrthaṅkaras* in the traditional manner laid down by ancient Jaina *Ācāryas*. It is divided into five parts, viz., *hr*, *ī*, the crescent or *siddhaśilā* above *ī* and the *bindu* over the crescent which is divided into two parts by a horizontal line drawn through it. *Hṛ* is drawn in yellow and is meant to represent the sixteen *Tīrthaṅkaras* who are said to be of that colour. These *Tīrthaṅkaras* are:—(1) Ṛṣabhadeva, (2) Ajitanātha, (3) Sambhavanātha (4) Abhinandanasvāmī, (5) Sumatinātha, (7) Supārśvanātha (10) Śītalanātha, (11) Śreyāṁsanātha, (13) Vimalanātha (14) Anantanātha, (15) Dharmanātha (16) Śāntinātha, (17) Kunthunātha (18) Aranātha, (21) Neminātha and (24) Mahāvīrasvāmī. It is painted blue which is the colour of the 19th *Tīrthaṅkara* Mallinātha and the 23rd *Tīrthaṅkara* Pārśvanātha. Its connection with Mallinātha is significant for it represents Śakti and Mallinātha is believed to have been a woman. The crescent-shaped Siddhaśilā drawn over *hrī* is red which is the colour of the sixth *Tīrthaṅkara* Padmaprabhu and the twelfth Vāsupūjya. The *bindu* over the crescent is divided into two parts by a horizontal line drawn through it. The upper portion of the *bindu* is white which represents the 8th *Tīrthaṅkara*, Candraprabhu, and the 9th Suvidhinātha. The lower portion of the *bindu* is painted black and stands for the 20th *Tīrthaṅkara* Munisuvrata and the 22nd, Neminātha who also shares the same colour. Thus the painter has represented all the *Tīrthaṅkaras* in the *hrīṁ* syllable and has thus supplied us with a specimen of pre-Mughal portraiture of the religious type.

Round *hrīṁ* the artist has drawn four concentric circles. In the innermost circle the painter has drawn a lotus of forty-eight petals. In twenty three of these petals he has written the *mantrākṣaras* or syllables used in spells or charms. They are the twenty-three consonants beginning with *k, m, l, r, vyūṁ* and ending with *h, m, l, r, vyuṁ*. After every four consonants and two petals *v* has been inserted. In the first petal *v* is written thrice while in the second it is written four times. The painter has written *p, m, l, r, vyūṁ* twice and *v* seven times. Thus the circle has been completed. I am unable to explain why the *mantrākṣaras* have been arranged by the painter in this way.

In the next circle the painter has drawn blue lines which stand for water.

In the third circle are depicted eight lotus-petals to show the eight cardinal points. (1) *Oṁ hrīṁ arhadbhyḥ īśebhyo namaḥ/ Ravi brīṁ Śrī dhṛti pūrvva-di* is written in the petal in the east. The *Arihanta* is white in colour, so the painter has drawn a white figure of *Arihanta* as also of the superintending deity (*Adhiṣṭhāyaka*) of the post of Arihanta.

(2) In the south-east petal is written *Oṁ hrīṁ siddhebhyo namaḥ*/Agni, Soma, Lakṣmī, Umā, Gaurī, etc. The Siddha is red. So a red figure of the Siddha and of the *Adhiṣṭhāyaka* of his post is drawn after the petal. (3) In the southern petal *Oṁ hrīṁ sarvasuribhyo namah Yama Maṅgala Sarasvatī Jayā Ambā,* has been written. *Ācārya* is of yellow colour, so a yellow *Ācārya* and the *Adhiṣṭhāyaka* of his *pada* is painted after him. (4) In the south-western petal we have *Oṁ hrīṁ upādhyāyebhyo namaḥ. Budha Naira(ri)to, Vijayā, Nityā, Klinnā.* The *Upādhyāya* is of blue colour but the painter has drawn him as well as the *Adhiṣṭhāyaka* of his post as yellow. (5) In the western petal we find *Oṁ hrīṁ sarvasādhubhyo namaḥ Varuṇa Guru, Ajitā, Madadravā, Kāmāṅgā,* The *Sādhu* is of dark colour. Hence a dark figure of a *sādhu*

and of the *Adhiṣṭhāyaka* of his post are drawn after the petal. (6) In the north-western petal we notice *Oṁ hrīṁ jñānibhyo namaḥ/Vāyu, Sukra, Kamabāṇā Sānandānandamālinī (bhyo) namaḥ. Jñāna* is of a bright or white colour. Still through oversight the painter has drawn a figure of a yellow *sādhu* and of the *Adhiṣṭhāyaka* of his post. (7) In the northern petal we have *Oṁ hrauṁ tattvadṛṣṭibhyo namaḥ. Dhanada Śani Māyā Māyāvinī Raudrī Gurubhyo namaḥ. Tattvadṛṣṭi* or *Darśanapada* is white or bright. Still as in the previous case, the painter has drawn a yellow figure of a *sādhu* and of the *Adhiṣṭhāyaka* of his post.

(8) In the north-eastern petal we read *Oṁ hrīṁ cāritrebhyo namaḥ. Īśāna, Rāhu, Ketu, Kalā, Kālī, Kalpṛ(ri)yā,* etc. Though *cāritrapada* is of white colour, the painter has, as before, drawn a yellow figure of a *sādhu* and of the *Adhiṣṭhāyaka* of his post. Thus the third circle is completed.

In the fourth or the outermost circle we read the inscription beginning with Saṁvat 1571 which I have given above in full. After this inscription are written all the vowels from *a* to *aḥ,* the consonants from *ka* to *kṣa* and at the end the words *iti Ṛṣimaṇḍala-mantrāmnāyāḥ.* Thus the yantra is completed.

The whole of this mystic diagram is drawn inside a *pūrṇa-kalaśa,* i.e., an entire pitcher. Thus the twenty-four *Tīrthaṅkaras* are included in the syllable *hrīṁ* which is in the middle of the *kalaśa.* This syllable *hrīṁ* is encircled by four concentric circles which are described above. At the mouth of the *kalaśa* we have again the syllable *hrīṁ.* The yantra is surmounted by the *aṅkuśa-bīja kroṁ.*

The *kalaśa* has an eye painted at each of its two sides. *Kalaśa,* also called *maṅgala-kalaśa* or *ghaṭa,* is a symbol which is sacred to all the three main religions of India. The speciality of Jainism, however, lies in associating it with two *divyacakṣus* or divine eyes. In the four corners of this *citrapaṭa* the figures of Dharaṇendra, Padmā-

vatī, Gurumūrti and Vairāṭyādevī are to be seen. Dharaṇendra is painted yellow. There are six hoods over his head. He holds a noose in his right hand and a goad in the left. His lower hands are shown empty. He is seated in the *bhadrāsana* posture. Beneath his left thigh is shown an elephant, his cognizance. (2) Padmāvatī has the colour of burnished gold. She has three hoods over her head. She holds a goad in the upper right hand and a noose in the upper left hand. Her lower right hand is in the *varada* (boon-giving) pose and the lower left hand in the *abhaya* pose. A cock is shown as her cognizance. (3) *Gurumūrti* is seated on a square wooden seat in the *padmāsana* posture. His hands are in the *pravacana-mudrā* or teaching attitude. His complexion is yellow and he wears white garments. He has placed his sacred broom on his right thigh. (4) Vairāṭyā's complexion is dark. She has three hoods of a snake over her head. Her upper hands hold snakes. Her lower right hand is in the *varada* pose, and the lower left hand is empty. She is seated in the *bhadrāsana* pose without her emblem.

Besides these portraits in the corners, the artist has drawn pictures of the *Nava-grahas*, the *Nava-nidhis* and their guardian deities. These are detailed as below:—

At the top of the *paṭa* Sūrya is drawn on the right and Candra on the left. On the left side of it we have Maṅgala and Budha. Guru and Śukra are accommodated at the bottom of the *paṭa*, and its right side makes room for Śani, Rāhu and Ketu. Near the bottom of the *Maṅgala-kalaśa*, the *Nava-nidhis* are represented in the form of nine small pitchers. Nearby is the five-hooded *Śeṣa* who guards them. The figure of Gaṇeśa and the representation of leaves of a *kalpa-vṛkṣa* above the mouth of the *kalaśa* complete the picture.

In conclusion it may be observed that the artist who prepared the *citrapaṭa* under notice had to work in accordance with the canonical injunctions regarding the representations of the divinities of

the Jaina religion. He is not accurate in one or two cases as I have shown above. But that might have been due to his ignorance, or perhaps, he followed some new school of orthodox Jaina painting. In any case the *citrapaṭa* under notice possesses considerable value for the comparative study of the three main *tāntric* systems of India. Moreover, it is one of the rare specimens of pre-Mughal ecclesiastic pictures requiring attention of scholars interested in Indian pictorial art.

HIRANANDA SASTRI

The Title Daśavaikālika Sūtra

Even from the earliest times, it appears, there was no agreement among the traditional writers about the form and the interpretation of the name of the work usually known as the *Daśavaikālika Sūtra*. Like many other works of the Ardha-Māgadhī canon there is no occasion to give the title name either in the introductory or concluding portions of the text. References in other works and the comments upon it are also not unanimous.

In the *Nandī Sūtra*,[1] where a list of the works forming the canon is given, we find the name of the work in the form Dasaveyāliya, and stands at the beginning of the Ukkāliya section of the Suyanāṇa. Bhadrabāhu, the oldest commentator of this text, used in his Nijjutti[2] the form Dasakāliya six times (vv. 1, 7; twice, 12, 14, 25) and the form Dasaveyāliya twice (vv. 6, 397). Of these two forms of the title, he decidedly favours the first as the name of the work and he used the second only incidentally. This will be clear from the fact that in all the three places (vv. 7, 12, 15) where an attempt is made to explain the name the form is invariably Dasakāliya and not Dasaveyāliya. Jinadāsamahattara in his *Cūrṇi*[3] on the text, however, and following him Haribhadra in his Sanskrit Ṭīkā, usually use the form Dasaveyāliya, even though the other form is found in their works incidentally (*Cūrṇi*, p. 4, Hari. p. 1). They have not seen any discrepancy between the two names and explain the title always in the form of Dasaveyāliya.

No material help can be derived from the names of the other books of the canon. Even though the first word of the name, Dasa

1 Ed. Āgamodaya Samiti p. 201b.

2 Ed. Prof. Abhyaṅkara at the end of his edition of the text. The numbers of the Nijjutti gāthās refer to his edition.

3 Ed. of Jāmnagar 1933.

occurs in many names of the canonical works, and according to W. Schubring[4] all these works form a group by themselves, the meaning of the word is clear and it always refers to the number of the chapters found in the particular book. It is only in case of the Vaṇhidasāo that we find a disagreement between the title and the number of the chapters. In the present case also, there is no objection to take the word to mean ten chapters, because the additional two sections are expressly called Cūlikās and are clearly intended to be later additions. The second element of the name Veyāliya occurs in only one other text of the canon, viz., the *Taṇḍulaveyāliya* a book included among the Paiṇṇas but also in the Ukkāliya section along with the Dasaveyāliya. But there the name means a calculation (veyāliya = vicāra)[5] of the number of rice grains, and cannot have anything to do with the second element of the name of Dasaveyāliya.

A correct interpretation of the name is equally hard to find out. In this connection it is difficult to decide what meaning of the title was intended by the author of the Nijjutti, in spite of the three different attempts made by him to explain the name. In the introductory portion of the Nijjutti we find the analysis of the title as *dasa* and *kāla* both the words receiving further elucidation. To explain the import of the word *Dasa* the author was led to explain the word *ekka*. On this verse the *Cūrṇi* has preserved an interesting passage which runs:

एत्थ कतरेण इक्कगेण अहिगारो। भद्दियायरिओवदेसेण जम्हा दस एए पज्जाय-अज्झयण संगहेक्कएण सङ्गहिया तम्हा सङ्गहेक्कएण एत्थ अहिगारो। दत्तिलायरिओवएसेणम् जम्हा सुयनाणं खओवसमिए भावे वट्टइ (? वट्टइ) तम्हा भावेक्कएणम्। दोन्नि वि एए आदेसा अविरुद्धा। भावेक्क एणं अधिगारो॥ (p. 4).

In spite of the assurance of the author and his own inclination towards the second view, it is undoubtedly the first which is historically correct and offers one more proof to say that the present work is

4 *Die Lehre der Jainas*, p. 58.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 75.

a collection. After the explanation of the number 'one' the Nijjutti goes to explain the number 'ten', and after that it states:

दव्वे अद्ध अहाउय उवक्कमे देस-काल-काले य ।
तह य पमाणे वरणे भावे पगयं तु भावेणम् ॥

Here it clearly states nine different senses of the word kāla and points out that in the present context the bhāva sense is applicable. What is meant by the bhāvakāla we are left to guess. The explanation of Haribhadra that it refers to kṣāyika and other bhāvas of the soul is of no great use and like the above one of the *Cūrṇi* on *ekka* is a convenient way for the commentators to pass over the difficulty. In fact Haribhadra has noticed the discrepancy between the words of the *Nijjutti* and his own explanation, and so he remarks

यदुक्तं । पगयं तु भावेणं ति । तत् कथं न विरुद्धयते इति । उच्यते, क्षायोपशमिकभावकाले शय्यम्भवेन निर्व्यूढं प्रमाणकाले च उक्तलक्षणे इति अविरोधः । अथवा प्रमाणकालोऽपि भावकाल एव ।

The remarks are sufficient to point out his inability to explain the intention of the author. The *Cūrṇi* offers no more light on the point.

That Bhadrabhāhu really meant to explain by the present remark the title of the work and was not merely speculating about the bhāva meaning of the word can be proved from many other places in the *Nijjutti*. While explaining the word *mahugāra* he remarks; *ihayam puṇa ahigāro vihāyagamaṇehi bhamarehim*/117. While explaining the title of the third chapter he says *paikhuḍḍaeṇa pagayaṃ*/185. So also we find him remarking: *etthaṃ puṇa ahigāro nikāyakāeṇa hoi suttammi*/289 *ettham davvesaṇāe ahigāro*/304 *niddesapasaṁsāe ahigāro ettha ajjhayaṇe*/316 and in all these cases he is perfectly right.

There are two more verses in the *Nijjutti* which offer another interpretation of the name. Verse 12 runs:

सामादियञ्चणुक्कमओ वरणेउं, विगयपोरिसीए उ ।
निज्जूढं किर सेज्जम्भवेण दशकालियं तेण ॥

This suggests that the work was called Dasakāliya because it was composed or culled out by Sejjaṃbhava when the period of time called Paurusī was over. Verse 15 of the same text runs:

मणगं पडुच्च सेज्जम्भवेण निज्जूहिया दसज्झयणा ।
वेयालियाए ठविया तम्हा दसकालियं नाम ॥

Here also a nearly identical explanation is offered. Because the ten chapters which he culled out were placed at the time of Vikāla the work was called Dasakāliya. Besides the apparent disagreement between the two words of explanation *vigayaporisī* and *veyāliyā* with the title *dasakāliya,* there are two interpretations of the word *vikāla* possible. It may mean the time of the evening, as the commentators take it or it may mean an improper time, as is suggested by some modern scholars.[6] The choice between the two for Bhadrabāhu's own interpretation cannot be decided on the mere authority of the commentators.

The *Cūrṇi* throws very little additional light on the question of interpreting the title. It remarks:

विगतः कालो विकालः । अथवा विकालः कालः असकलः खण्डश्चेत्यनर्थान्तरम् विकालवेलायां परिसमाप्तं वैकालिकम् । अथवा विकाले पठ्यत इति वैकालिकम् । अथवा दशैतानि अध्ययनानि व्यवगते दिने कृतानीति दशवैकालिकम् । (p. 5)

Here he accepts the usual interpretation but makes a new suggestion in the form that because it is studied at an improper (or evening time) it is called Vaikālika. Haribhadra only accepts the usually accepted explanation that it was written in the evening and tries to explain the text of the Nijjutti accordingly. After him both the form of the title and its interpretation were settled once for all and all later writers follow him closely.[7]

Now all these explanations except the first obscure one of the Nijjutti are based upon the traditional story about the composition

6 Cp. for a discussion of the title M. V. Patwardhan *The Daśavaikālikā: A Study*, pp. 9-10. He himself accepts the traditional explanation.

7 Cp. Hema. Pari. V. 86. *Samayasundara*, p. 1.

of the work. But even taking the story as it is, it is difficult to see how such a small detail, that the work was written in the evening, should give the title to it. This is much more striking in face of the fact that there was nothing abnormal about the time itself. It is true that the Uttarāddhyayana prescribes the first and the last watch of the day and night for study (XXVI. 12, 18) and the *Cūrṇi* remarks that the work was composed in the third Porisī, a little earlier. But Sejjaṃbhava could have well waited a little more, and it would have made little difference, as Maṇaga was to live six months more. The suggestion of the *Cūrṇi* is more to the point. The story tells us that Maṇaga was to live only six months and it was not possible for him to complete the study of the scriptures in the usual method which extended over a very long period. We know that the Pūrvas can be studied by a monk in the 19th year of his Paryāya[8] and it was impossible for Maṇaga to study them. This naturally led Sejjaṃbhava to have selections from these works for the benefit of his short-lived son and he taught them to him irrespective of the time which are prescribed for the study of these works. As such the work would well receive the name Vaikālika. In this very sense we can understand the words of the Nijjutti '*veyāliyāe ṭhaviyā*' (15). In fact, all these extractions from the Pūrva books were intended to bring the important contents of the works within the province of study of monks who cannot wait for the regualr period of time prescribed for their study. In this connection one remark in the Prakrit story as preserved in the *Cūrṇi* is instructive. For pointing out the motive of Sejjaṃbhava to cull out these texts from the Pūrvas he remarks:

तं चोद्दसपुव्वी कहिं पि कारणे समुप्पन्ने निज्जूहइ। दसपुव्वी पुण अपच्छिमो अवस्समेव निज्जूहइ॥

So, this rule has same value when we consider that the earlier monks were not allowed to violate the rules of study unless some specific

8 *Ind. Stud.*, XVI. 223.

cause was available. But when the knowledge of the Pūrvas began to grow scarce it was allowed for the few who knew them to make extractions from them with the intention of preserving whatever little they can. It can be easily seen that these statements confirms the view of Charpentier[9] that the Pūrvas were lost on account of their study being placed late in the regular plan of mastering the scriptures. I cannot see any strong reason to suppose that the work got the name Vaikālika because it was culled out against the rules of doing so.

All these explanations, however, accept the name to be Daśavaikālika and see no contradiction between it and the other form Daśakālika. But as seen above, the older name appears to be Daśakālika and not Daśavaikālika. The story itself, probably gave greater currency to the second form of the title.

To explain the title Daśakāliya we must try to know the meaning of the word kāliya. Two meanings of this word are of importance to us. There is a method of dividing the canon into four Anuyogas and it is common to both the sects of the Jaina community and as such must be very old. The very first of these Anuyogas is called the *caraṇakaraṇānuyoga* and the Daśavaikālika Cūrṇi remarks: *tattha caraṇakaraṇāṇuogo ṇāma kāliyasuyaṃ* p. 2. From this it appears that the canonical works dealing with caraṇa or rules of good conduct and karaṇa or rules of begging food were called by the name Kālika Śruta. This description passes very well with the contents of the Daśavaikālika. We have further the authority of the Nijjutti to group the present work in this Anuyoga, because it remarks:

अपुहत्तपुहत्ताइं निद्दिसिउं, एत्थ होइ अहिगारो ।
चरणकरणाणुयोगेण तस्स दारा इमे होन्ति ॥

There is, however, another meaning of the word kālika in connection with the texts of the canon. In the *Nandī* we get the older

9 *Uttarāddhyayana*, Intro. pp. 23. ff.

classification of the canon into those into Aṅgas and Aṅgabāhiras, the second of which is divided into Āvassaya and Āvassayavairitta. The last is divided into Kāliya and Ukkāliya. The explanations of the two terms is given by Malayagiri,[10] which runs:

तत्र यद्दिवसनिशाप्रथमपश्चिमपौरुषीद्वय एव पठ्यते तत्कालिकम् ।
यत् पुनः कालवेलावर्जम् पठ्यते तत् उत्कालिकम् ॥

and quotes a passage from the *Cūrṇi* to the same effect. This second meaning also harmonises with the one suggested above. But this meaning of the word kālika cannot be seen in the title because the text is included in the Utkālika section and stands first in that list and not in the Kālika one, which we should naturally expect if the word has this meaning in the title.

From the facts stated above we can conclude something about the real state of facts at different times in the history of the text, even though it must be admitted that it is something of a convenient supposition to explain the conflicting facts. To my mind, originally the work was called Daśakālika and not Daśavaikālika, as is amply proved from the words of the Nijjutti. Thus it really meant '*ten chapters dealing with the rules of conduct and of begging food*', the word Kālika being used in the sense of a part of the canon called caraṇakaraṇānuyoga or kālikaśruta. Later on when the book was canonised, as is suggested by the story, it was included in the Utkālika group of the texts because it could be studied at any time of the day, though taken from the Pūrvas and at any year of the monk's paryāya. Here, there must have arisen some confusion about the name Kālika which, in close connection with the name of the group Utkālika, was taken in the sense of a book to be studied at the prescribed time, as there was the other group of texts in contrast with it, even though the word was used in the title in quite a different sense, namely to mean a kind of part of the canon dealing

10 P. 203b.

with rules of conduct. Naturally to overcome the supposed discrepancy the title was changed to Daśavaikālika, a term identical in meaning with Utkālika and a trace of which meaning is preserved in the remark of the *Cūrṇi*. Later on the title was explained in the light of the story to mean the book composed at the time of the evening, another meaning of the term vikāla. This was tried to be supported by the facts of the story as best as they could, and thus both the name and its interpretation were settled in a form quite different from their original nature.

A. M. Ghatage

Origin and Early History of Caityas

Sanctuaries of different kinds are frequently met with in the Buddhist literature. "The most general name for a sanctuary as Kern says is *Caitya* (Pāli, *Cetiya*), a term not only applying to buildings, but to sacred trees, memorial stones, holy spots, images, religious inscriptions. Hence all edifices having the character of a sacred monument are *caityas*, but *not all caityas are edificee*."[1] As I have said elsewhere, the custom of worshipping foot-prints was in vogue before the time of the Buddha,[2] and so also it will be seen that the worship of caityas was in existence long before the epoch of the Buddha. Its probable origin can be traced to the Vedic ritual of *cayana*.[3] The term caitya does not occur in the Saṃhitās. The earliest work in which the term occurs is the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, assigned generally to the sixth century B.C., but probably belongs to a much earlier date. Before we proceed to examine the use of this term caitya in the *Āśvalāyana Gṛ. Sū.* or other works of equal authority, let us examine it etymologically. The expression admits of several etymological transformations and one is *cityasya idam = caityam*.

Now 'What is citya?' The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* explains citya[4] as that which could be used for *cayana*, or more appropriately, that which is fit for *cayana*.[5] Though the term caitya as such does not occur in the *Aitareya* or *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, still it is significant

1 *Mannual of Indian Buddhism*, (1896), p. 91.

2 *Proceedings of All-India Fifth Oriental Conference*, (1930)—'The History of Early Buddhism in India' p. 930).

3 See in this connection the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XI, pp. 20-22

4 For an explanation of Agni-citya see Martin Haug—Transl. of *Ait. Br.*, V. *Note* 28

5 सोऽस्यैव चित्य आसीत्। चेतव्यो ह्यस्यासीत्तस्माच्चित्यश्चित्य उ एवायं यजमानस्य भवति। चेतव्यो ह्यस्य भवति तस्मात् एव चित्यः॥ VI. 1. 2. 16 (Bib. Indica).

to note the use of the expression *citya* from which the original expression caitya has been undoubtedly derived. In the older Saṃhitās we find the use of the term *citya*. In the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, in the fifth kāṇḍa, we have the following lines:

Rūpāṇi|sarvāṇi|rūpāṇi|
agnau|citye|kriyante|tas-
māt|etāḥ|agneḥ|cityasya[6]|

Thus we hear of an Agni-citya to which offerings are made. The term *cityam* again occurs in the *Atharva Veda*[7] but it is doubtful whether here an Agni-citya is meant. Whatever this may be, there is clear evidence of an Agni-citya and its use in the Vedic sacrifices. And this may be regarded as the origin and commencement of Caitya cult which reached very large dimensions in the post-Vedic period. But there are other derivations of the word caitya. First is *cityāyā idam*. Secondly, the commentator on the Amara derives it thus:

cīyate pāṣāṇādinā caityaṃ.

This is supported by Mitākṣara where, in commenting on the term caitya in *Yājñavalkya*, II, 151, it is rendered *pāṣāṇādi bandhyaḥ*. This means that which is built of stone. Thirdly, *caitya* may be from *citi* or *cita*, where the terminations *ti* and *ta* are added to *ci*. These can be interpreted as funeral pile or Agni. In this case *cita* + *ya* makes it *cit* + *ya* which leads to the form citya. Sometimes the use of the term *cita* is extended to *śmaśānaṃ*. In commenting on the text of the *Rāmāyaṇa—citya mālyānulepa*,[8] the commentator Govindarāja observes thus:

citā śmaśānaṃ tatra bhavaṃ cityaṃ tādṛśaṃ mālyaṃ

The expression *caityasthāna* in the *Arthaśāstra* (Bk. V. 2) refers to the burial ground. In all these derivations it must be remembered

6 5. 1.8.4.
7 X. 2.8.
8 I. 58.12 (Kumbhakonam edition).

that every expression is ultimately derived from the root *ciñ cayane* meaning to collect, to pile up or to build. This furnishes the certain clue that the original term was *citya* as we saw it used in the Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas and by the time of the *Āśvalāyana Gṛ. Sū.*, the ancients have developed what is known as *caitya yajña*. Thus we see both the terms citya and caitya are correlated and connoted one and the same thing in the second half of the Vedic period. Thus the *Śabdakalpadruma* quotes an ancient text of Bharata to indicate that caitya is Yajñasthāna or Yajñāyatana. This is a sacred place set apart for the performance of Yajñas. It may possess citya or it may not possess one. Still it went by the name of caitya.[9]

In the Vedic literature we find two uses of cayana. One form is that it was a sacrifice in itself. There are several kinds of cayana sacrifice, and one of them too familiar to students of *Yajur-Veda* is the Garuḍacayana-yāga. In this yāga, special Iṣṭakas or bricks are made with given dimensions, and these are spread in the form of a Garuḍa as if lying down on the earth. On it different *homas* or oblations are performed.[10] The other was that it formed part of a great sacrifice like the Aśvamedha. Here it was not an independent yajña. The cayana ritual consisted in collecting the sacred ashes and the sacrificial utensils, towards the very end of the sacrifice, and piling them up in a certain place apparently fenced with walls of stone, brick or even mud. The idea underlying was that things used in a Vedic yajña ought not get defiled by the villager or stranger or by any animal or beast. It is pointed out in the text quoted above

9 यज्ञस्थानं केचित्तु मुखरहितं देवकुलसदृशं यज्ञायतनं सचित्यमचित्यमपीत्याहुः ।

10 Readers of this paper will learn with interest that this yajña was performed on Vedic lines within last thirty years by two eminent pandits of Tanjore District. The late Pandit Bālakrishna Sastriar of Tiruvāḍi did it at Tiruvāḍi, and after the yajña he got the whole place fenced with brick wall, so that the place may not get contaminated with any impurity. The other was my eldest brother Rāmaswami Dikshitar of Vishnampet who performed it on the banks of the Vīraśoḷa river at Tiruvaḍamarudūr, a village very near Kumbakonam.

that such yajñāyatana was devoid of mukha (*mukha-rahitam*). In other words there was no opening that led into it. It was a kind of enclosure all round. It resembled in shape and size a *devakula,* by which Hindu temples were meant in ancient India.

In this connection we must not fail to take note of the fact that not only in later Vedic literature but in the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa,* we find a combination so to say of caitya and yūpa. Yūpa, it is too well known, is the sacrificial post to which the animal to be sacrificed was generally tied. And no one can dispute that wherever yūpa is mentioned, there emerges the fact of Vedic yajña being performed. It is the unquestionable emblem of denoting that some yāga had been performed there. We shall examine this further.

Taking up the *Mahābhārata* we find the interesting statement *caitya-yūpaśatāṅkita*[11] in the Ādiparva, meaning the region made sacred by the caitya and yūpa. It needs no stretch of imagination to infer that caitya and yūpa under reference were found in one and the same place. Conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that caitya was intimately associated with the place where Vedic yajña had been performed. In another place the epic refers in glowing terms that the country is full of caityas and yūpas[12] implying again that caityas were places of sacred yajñas. If we turn next to the *Rāmāyaṇa,* we meet with the same description. When Rāma went through the Kośala *en route* to the Daṇḍaka forests, he found the whole country decked with caityas and yūpas.[13] Vālmīkī mentions in another

11 भीष्मेण धर्मतो राजन्सर्वतः परिरक्षिते ।
बभूव रमणीयश्च चैत्ययूपशताङ्कितः ॥ I. 118. 13.

12 आहृताः क्रमतो मुख्याः शतं भरतसत्तमम् ।
यत्र यूपा मणिमयाश्चैत्याश्चापि हिरण्मयाः ॥ II. 23.13

13 ततो धान्यधनोपेतान् दानशीलजनाश्रितान् ।
अकुतश्चिद्भयान्रम्यांश्चैत्ययूपसमावृतान् ॥ II. 50. 8

place[14] that the whole region was spotted with hundreds of caityas. In these places the reference is undoubtedly to yajñasthāna, and the particular combination of caitya with yūpa deserves to be particularly noted. Add to this the evidence of the *Mṛccha-kaṭika*.[15] In the tenth Act Cārudatta recalls to his mind how he and his ancestors have performed hundreds of yajñas when the Vedic chanting of Brāhmaṇas in the caityas of the yajñamaṇḍapa rent the air. The association of caitya with *brahmaghoṣa* is noteworthy.

Proceeding to examine the evidence of the *Āśvalāyana Gṛ. Sū.*, we find for the first time the mention of a caitya sacrifice. Whether the reference to the caitya by Āśvalāyana is a reference to the Vedic caitya, or yajñasthāna, or to something else, is the question. H. Oldenberg who has translated this and other Gṛhyasūtras,[16] agrees with Professor Stenzler who renders it "Denkmal" or any religious shrine. The caitya sacrifice is thus described.[17] Before the Sviṣṭakṛt offering, one should offer a *bali* to the caitya. If the caitya

14 कश्चिच्चित्याशतैर्जुष्टः मुनिविष्टजनाकुलः ।
देवस्थानैः प्रपाभिश्च तटाकैश्चोपशोभितः ॥ *Ib.* 100. 44.

The term citya (also caitya) is commented upon as follows:

अश्वमेधान्तमहायज्ञचयनप्रदेशसमूहैः ।

15 मखशतपरिपूतं गोत्रमुद्भासितं मे
सदसि निविडचैत्यब्रह्मघोषैः पुरस्तात् ।
मम मरणदशायां वर्तमानस्य पापै-
स्तदसदृशमनुष्यैर्घुष्यते घोषणायाम् ॥ Act X. 12.

16 *S.B.E.*, vols. 29 and 30

17 चैत्ययज्ञे प्राक् स्विष्टकृतश्चैत्याय बलिं हरेत् । Bk. I. 12. 1. यद्यु वे विदेशस्थं पलाशदूतेन यत्र वेत्थ वनस्पत इत्येतयर्चा द्वौ पिण्डौ कृत्वा वीवधे अश्याधाय दूताय प्रयच्छेदिमं तस्मै बलिं हरेति चैनं ब्रूयादयं तुभ्यमिति यो दूताय । 2. प्रतिभयं चेदन्तरा शस्त्रमपि किंचित् । 3. नाव्या चेन्नद्यन्तरा प्लवरूपमपि किंचिदनेन तरितव्यमिति । (Ānandāśrama ed.)

This text forms the tenth Khaṇḍa of the Trivandrum edition with the commentary of Haradattācārya, edited by Dr. T. Ganapati Sastri. There it is divided into 8 parts, unlike four in the Ānandāśrama edition.

is situated at a distant place, he should send the *bali* through a leaf messenger. This messenger takes it on a carrying pole. If the caitya were situated at a place which could be reached by fording a river or crossing a dangerous path, suitable means were arranged to get at the caitya. There are two views on this sacrifice. One is the view of the commentator Nārāyaṇa according to whom caitya is derived as *citte bhava*.[18] He explains that a man makes a vow to a certain deity that if his wish be granted he would offer a sacrifice, and this sacrifice, according to Nārāyaṇa, is the caitya sacrifice. The other view is that of Oldenberg who thinks whether or not the whole rite was not purely symbolical. One thing is certain that this sacrifice was not done at residential quarters. It was done in the place where the caitya was situated. The text is very clear about this. Another thing we note here is that the caitya was no more yajña-sthāna. For do we not hear of caitya yajña in the text of the Āśvalāyana? This yajña is an orthodox sacrifice performed by the followers of Vedic cult. From the time of Āśvalāyana onwards we find the use of the application of the term caitya extended. There is a transition from Agni-cityas to Anagni-cityas, or in other words from a fire cult to a fireless cult. We read in the epics and especially in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of caitya gṛhas,[19] caitya prāsādas,[20] and caitya vṛkṣas.[21] It is difficult to arrive at a correct explanation of these terms. Caitya gṛha is explained by some *caityasya samīpe gṛhaṃ,*

18 Cp. *Bhāg. Purāṇ*, III. 26. 70.

19 भूमीगृहांश्चैत्यगृहान्गृहातिगृहकानपि । V. 12. 14
चैत्यप्रासादमाप्लुत्य मेरुशृङ्गमिवोन्नतम् । V. 43. 3.

20 It is worth while to read the whoe chapter. It is said that Hanumān set fire among others to caityaprāsāda, when the guards of caitya attacked him in vain.

21 वृक्षाः पतन्ति चैत्याश्च ग्रामेषु नगरेषु च ।
नीललोहितपीतश्च भवत्यग्निर्हुतो द्विजैः ॥ *Mbh.* VI. 3. 40
See also Rāma. II. 6. 11

See again in this connection Siddhanta, *The Heroic Age of India*, pp. 205-9.

and by others *catuṣpatha maṇḍapa*.[22] We have the use of *catuścitya* also. It seems to be a primitive practice to have some apology for a shrine at the termini of four streets or four roads and offer worship at that shrine. Such temples are mentioned in the Śangam literature of the ancient Tamils also. Perhaps in this sense Vālmīkī uses it when Daśaratha is said to have distributed food to the poor from caityas[23] on the eve of Rāma's coronation as Yuvarāja. Vālmīkī describes caityaprāsāda as situated in Laṅkā, supported by a thousand columns and majestic in appearance. It is quite reasonable to assume that a temple is under reference. It was perhaps the biggest temple in the whole of Laṅkā and richly furnished by Rāvaṇa. It must be noted that the term *prāsāda* means ordinarily a shrine. Next caitya-vṛkṣas are alluded to in the epic. For example when Vālmīkī describes that Rāvaṇa was as fearful looking as *śmaśāna-caitya,* it only means the caitya or tree growing in the burial ground.[24] Some lexicons appropriately give among other meanings to the caitya, *devataru, uddeśavṛkṣa*. In the *Śabdakalpadruma* we read under caitya-vṛkṣa: *Caityastadākhyayā prasiddho vṛkṣaḥ*. It further enlightens by saying that it was Aśvattha tree. The worship of trees was an age-long practice in India, and latterly some trees became demarcated caityas, and worship was offered to them. In certain cases, as we see in the law-books of Manu and Yājñavalkya, they were trees generally in the burial ground which marked the boundary limits of the village. According to Manu, underneath

22 See for instance *Sabdārthacintāmaṇi*. We have Vedic authority to show that sacrifice was performed at catuṣpatha.

23 देवायतनचैत्येषु सान्नभक्ष्याः सदक्षिणाः ।
उपस्थापयितव्याः स्युर्माल्ययोग्याः पृथक् पृथक् ॥ II. 3. 18

For a combination of devāyatana caitya see later ch. 71. 41.

24 The *Arthaśāstra* refers to such trees—Bk. V. 2 and Bk. XIII. 2.

their shade Caṇḍāla and similar castes were to find their residence.[25] Yājñavalkya definitely places the caityas as serving the boundary limits of a grāma or janapada.[26] In some cases they were boundaries of gardens and fields.[27] In these cases it may be a tree or even a building. But the trees of the caitya or caitya trees are certainly alluded to in another place where the same law-giver forbids cutting of the branches of those trees under heavy penalty.[28]

Perhaps in this sense the great poet Kālidāsa uses the expression in his immortal Meghasandeśa.[29] The fact then that Daśaratha's queen and Rāma's mother, Kauśalyā, sent forth her prayer, on the eve of Rāma's departure to Daṇḍaka forests, to the caityas[30] and invoked their choice blessings to protect him from all dangers natural to a forest zone, shows that they were also regarded as fit places for worship. In more than one place Kauṭalya refers to caityas as houses of gods.[31] Kauṭalya refers to caitya-pūjā in peculiar circumstances.

25 चैत्यद्रुमश्मशानेषु शैलेषूपवनेषु च ।
वसेयुरेते विज्ञानावर्तयन्तः स्वकर्मभिः ॥ X. 50

26 नयेयुरेते सीमानं स्थलाङ्गारतुषद्रुमैः ।
सेतुवल्मीकनिम्नास्थिचैत्याद्यैरुपलक्षिताम् ॥ II. 151

27 See *Kauṭ. Artha.*, II. 4 and 35.

28 चैत्यश्मशानसीमासु पुण्यस्थाने सुरालये ।
जातद्रुमाणां द्विगुणो दमो वृत्ते च विश्रुते ॥ *Yājña.*, II. 228

The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* associates trees with caityas, (III. 12. 13). It prescribes in the preceeding chapter that a householder should avoid caityas [*Ib.*, 11. 122]. This prescription demonstrates that caityas are no more Vedic places of worship,—yet another stage in the history of caityas.

29 पाण्डुच्छायोपवनवृतयः केतकैः सूचिभिन्नो
नीडारम्भैर्गृहबलिभुजामाकुलग्रामचैत्याः
त्वय्यासन्ने परिणतफलश्यामजम्बूवनान्ताः
संपत्स्यन्ते कतिपयदिनस्थायिहंसा दशार्णाः ॥ 23.

30 येभ्यः प्रणमसे पुत्र चैत्येष्वायतनेषु च ।
ते च त्वामभिरक्षन्तु वने सह महर्षिभिः ॥ II. 25. 4

31 *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. I. 20; Bk. XII. 5.

In those days when people were much more superstitious, they believed in demons and the harm done to them by them. In order to avert the evil attacks of demons, the people offered *pūja* to the caityas.[32] The method and time of offering are prescribed. On full and new moon days the caitya was propitiated by offering at the altar an umbrella, a small flag and goat's flesh. Kauṭalya speaks of *caitya-devata*[33] and *daivata caityaṃ*.[34] Thus we see the prominence given to caitya worship in the *Arthaśāstra*. Hence these were known also as devakula or devāyatana, and devavāsa.[35] From that of the shrine the application of caitya was extended to a *bimba* or deity in the shrine. We hear of this more in the Buddhist and Jain[36] books.

The foregoing survey establishes beyond doubt that caityas are a pre-Buddhist institution. The Buddhists and Jains found that the masses of the land looked upon these as sacred altars and venerated them highly. They therefore thought, to venture a conjecture, better to give the old name to their sanctuaries instead of inventing a new one. Hence the caitya was adopted as the name of their sacred shrines, whether they contained the images of the Buddha or Jina or their relics. This is the last phase in the history of the word caitya. It is said that in Buddhist books the term is also applied to a tree as well as to a stūpa. The term in Pāli is as already seen *cetiya* and in Tamil also it is *cetiyaṃ* The worship of the Buddhists became so much identified with the caitya that we have an interesting precept

Caityaṃ vandeta, meaning that one is expected to offer his worship to the caitya or in the caitya. In the course of a learned disquisition on *svargakāmo yajeta,* the *Bhāmati* of Vācaspati on Śaṅkara's *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya* refers to this precept, as a side issue, as construing the relation of the imperative suffix to the unseen

32 Bk. IV. ch. 3. 33 Bk. I. ch. 20. 34 Bk. V. ch. 2.
35 See, for instance, the *Vācaspatyam.*
36 Pampa, *Ādi Purāṇam,* X. st. 241 vacana (Mysore Oriental Library).

potentiality, while in fact the Buddhist precept does not have the least implication of desire for heaven.[37] In a note to the above statement the editors remark as follows: "It would appear from the *Ṛjuprakāśika* that the statement is 'Caityaṃ vandeta,' not 'Caitye vandeta,' so that the obeisance is to the caitya, not in the caitya. Conformably to this, caitya would mean not a shrine, but the consecrated fig-tree which Buddhists offer worship."[38] But one has to point out that the statement 'caityaṃ vandeta' would itself admit of both interpretations, namely, obeisance to the caitya or in the caitya. It may also be pointed that the caitya need not necessarily be the consecrated fig-tree but any shrine sheltering a relic of the Buddha or even his image. Before we proceed further, attention may be drawn to the fact that the consecrated fig tree which the Buddhists worship is the sacred Aśvattha of Sanskrit literature. How the Aśvattha has been an object of veneration and adoration by the Hindus can be seen from a single soul-stirring stanza of the *Bhagavad Gītā*.[39] It means 'They say the inexhaustible Aśvattha has its roots above, its branches below: the chandas are its leaves. He who knows it knows the Vedas. Upwards and downwards extend its branches which are enlarged by the qualities and the sprouts which are sensuous objects.' Thus it is seen that even in the choice of their sacred tree, the Buddhists took to the tree traditionally venerated by their Hindu ancestors.

37 See p. 153 of the *Bhāmatī* ed. by S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri and Dr. C. Kunhan Raja (T.P.H., Adyar) 1933. See in this connection *Sammohavinodanī*, pp. 292, 348.

38 *Ibid.*, p. 303.

39 ऊर्ध्वमूलमधःशाखमश्वत्थं प्राहुरव्ययम् ।
छन्दांसि यस्य पर्णानि यस्तं वेद स वेदवित् ॥ XV. 1.

Even to-day circumambulating this tree daily or on certain fixed days is considered to be a meritorious deed by the Hindus. Not only it cannot be used for fuel but it is the only tree from which the fire for a Vedic Yajña can be got by churning, and its twigs used as oblations to the sacred fire.

Remark has already been made that the caityas had either the images of the Buddha or Jina installed in them or contained the relics *dhātu*—in the Buddhist parlance. The *dhātus* or relics are of three kinds. First there were corporeal relics or *śarīra-dhātus*. It is said that the neckbone of the Buddha was enshrined in a caitya in Ceylon.[40] Secondly, there were *paribhogika-dhātu*, or relics which were actually used by the person (*paribhoga*). These may be clothes, ornaments, alms-bowl etc. used by the Buddha.[41] Thirdly, there were the *uddeśika-dhātu*, which has been rendered indicative relics.[42] Under this category may come images etc. of the person worshipped. Thus the caityas of the Buddhists were mostly relic-shrines, though ordinary shrines also went by that name. The Budhidst legends attribute to king Aśoka the building of as many as 84000 caityas.[43] Though this may not be literally true, still it is reasonable to suppose that he, a tolerant monarch, would have encouraged building of some caityas in his time, whether Buddhist or Hindu. The story of the Buddha's great decease, the cremation of the corpse, the distribution of his corporeal relics and their enshrinement in caityas and stūpas are all elaborately narrated in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, an ancient Pāli work of perhaps the fourth century B.C.[44] Thus there is ample evidence which elucidates that Buddhist stūpas and caityas were shrines which sheltered the three kinds of relics referred to above. This does not mean that there were no caityas or stūpas before the Buddha. We have seen a number of references in the Vedic and epic literature of the existence of such institutions in ancient India, which evoked religious awe from the masses. It is not, therefore, surprising

40 *JRAS.*, 1907, pp. 343-44.

41 Cp. the reliefs on the rails of the Bārhut Stūpa.
See the preamble to the *Kaliṅga-bodhi Jātaka*.

42 *JRAS.*, 1916, p. 883.

43 See ch. 26 of the *Divyāvadāna*, a Sanskrit Buddhist work.

44 See for details Dr. Fleet's article in the *JRAS.*, 1906, p. 657.

to read in the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* that the Buddha spoke of the efficiency of erecting dhātu-caityas, and himself visited caityas[45] like Udena, Gotama, Sattambaka, etc., while the *Dīgha Nikāya* bears testimony to the fact that the Buddha lived at the Ānanda-cetiya in Bhojanagara.[46] As these and other references to the Caitya in the Buddhist literature have been elaborately examined by Dr. B. C. Law,[47] I do not propose to traverse the same ground. Suffice it to say that this is an additional proof to demonstrate that the caityas were pre-Buddhistic institutions and the Buddhists as well as Jains[48] gave the same name to their sanctuaries.

V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar

45 Chap. III, secs. 36-47 and especially 47.
'Idān' eva kho tāhaṃ Ānanda ajja Cāpāle cetiye āmantesiṃ:
"Ramaṇīyā Ānanda Ve ālī, ramaṇiyaṃ Udenaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇiyaṃ
Gotamakaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇīyaṃ Sattambaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇiyṃ
Bahuputtaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇiyam Sārandadam cetiyṃ, ramaṇīyaṃ
Cāpālam cetiyaṃ.
See also Dr. B. C. Law, *History of Pāli Literature*, p. 100.

46 II. p. 123.

47 See his *Geography of Early Buddhism*, appendix.

48 See Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 280.

Identification of the Siddharāja-Saras

In a work called the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa*,[1] devoted mainly to the description of holy places or *tīrthas* associated with the river Sarasvatī[2] in Gujarat falling into the gulf of Kutch, there is a good deal of description of a lake called सिद्धराजसरः .[3] This lake, the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* tells us, was formed from the river Sarasvatī itself:— *Folio 110a* (of Ms. No. 429 of Viś. I)—

"एवं **सरस्वती** ब्रह्मन् प्राचीभूत्वा सरिद्वरा ।
महता च जलौघेन मत्स्यकच्छपवाहिना ॥२३॥
हसमानेन फेनोघैरावर्त्तैर्नृत्यतीव सा ।
ताभ्यां सरिद्भ्यां सहिता पूरयामास तत्सरः ॥२४।

1 MSS. of the *Sarasvatipurāṇa* mentioned by Aufrecht are:—
Part I, p. 699—"Kh. 64. B. 2, 34; BL. 2; Gu. 3; Bhk. 14; Poona 429" (a Śāradāpurāṇa is frequently quoted by Hemādri). Out of these MSS. the MS. available to me is "Poona 429" which is the same as No. 429 of Viś I in the Govt. MSS. Library at the B.O.R. Institute, Poona.

2 See N. L. Dey's *Geographical Dictionary* (London, 1927) pp. 180-181 where various identifications of the river *Sarasvatī* are recorded. We are concerned here with the river Sarasvatī which is an affluent of the river *Kuvarkā* falling into the gulf of Kutch.

3 Hemacandra, a contemporary of Siddharāja refers to this lake as follows in verse 114 of canto XV of the *Dvyāśrayakāvya.*

"अतीत्य मैथिलं युद्धं राघवो नु कृतक्रतुः ।
प्रापातेतरतिथ्यां स पूर्तं चक्रे **महासरः** ॥११४॥"

Abhayatilakagaṇi who wrote his Commentary on the *Dvyāśrayakāvya* in Saṁ. 1312 =A.D. 1256 comments on the above verse as follows:—

"स राजा **सहस्रलिङ्गाख्यं महासरः** पूर्तं चक्रे कारयत्"

(Vide analysis of this *Kāvya* in *IA.*, IV, p. 269) cf. also verse 117 of canto XV of the *Dvyāśrayakāvya*:—

"**शंभोः सहस्रमष्टौ** च आयतनानि **सरस्तटे** ॥"

तुष्ट्यर्थं सिद्धराजस्य तीर्थं पूतेन वारिणा ।
संपूर्णं तत्सरश्चक्रे समंतादक्षयेण सा ॥२१॥
सा तत्सरसमासाद्य पुण्यं पुण्या महानदी ।
सरस्वती स्थिता देवी लोकानां पापनाशनी ॥२६॥"

This lake, thereafter, became the abode of all heavenly beings as Siddharāja established one thousand *liṅgas* of god Śiva all round it :—

"तथा नागा सुपर्णाश्च सिद्धाश्चक्रधराश्च ये ।
सरितः सागराः सर्वे यक्षविद्याधरास्तथा ॥३१॥
सहस्रं यत्र लिङ्गानां सिद्धेशेन प्रतिष्ठितम् ।
निवासं रोचयामासुः तस्मिन्नमृतसागरे ॥३२॥"

The place in course of time attained great celebrity as a centre of religious purification :—

"एकस्मिन् शिवकुण्डेऽपि...मुक्तिदं नृणाम् ।
किं पुनर्यत्सहस्रस्य लिङ्गानां पुरतः स्थितम् ॥३८॥
... ...
त्रिषु लोकेषु विख्यातं सिद्धराजसरोवरः ॥४०॥"

It became pre-eminent among the holy places owing to the presence of 1000 *Śiva liṅgas* :—

"सर्वेषामेव तीर्थानामिदमेवाधिकं सरः ।
सहस्रं यत्र लिङ्गानां स्थितं देवगणैः सह ॥४६॥"

Even god Keśava made this place his abode to please king Siddharāja :—

"प्रीत्यर्थं सिद्धराजस्य पुण्येत्वमृतसागरे ।
जलशायी जगद्योनिः तस्मिन्स्वपिति केशवः ॥३८॥"
यत्र शेते स भगवान्[4] योगनिद्रां समाश्रितः ।
तत्स्थानं मुक्तिदं ब्रह्मन् श्वेतद्वीपाद्विशिष्यते ॥४९॥
स्नात्वा तीर्थवरे यत्र पश्यंतिं जलशायिनम् ।
सर्वपापविनिर्मुक्ता वैकुण्ठं प्राप्नुवन्ति ते ॥५०॥

4 About the temple in the centre of the Sahasraliṅg Talav Burgess observes :— "In the centre was an island on which stood the temple of Rudreśvara destroyed of course by the Muslims, who raised a large octagonal Rauzah on its ruins; but of this only the dilapidated remains now exist." It appears from verses 48, 49, 50 of the Sarasvatipurāṇa quoted above that the central temple was of Keśava or Viṣṇu

In front of god Keśava is situated the दशावतारक तीर्थ in the Siddharāja lake: —

"तस्य देवस्य पुरतः तस्मिन् सरसि संस्थितम् ।
दशावतारकं नाम.....पप्रणाशनम् ॥५८॥"

The *ten* images of the *ten* incarnations of god were established at the दशावतार तीर्थ by Siddharāja himself. These ten images are of the ten *avatāras* viz: —

(१) मत्स्य (२) कूर्म (३) वराह (४) नरसिंह (५) वामन (६) भार्गवो रामः (७) दाशरथिराम (८) कृष्ण (९) बुद्ध and (१०) कल्कि (verses 61 and 62).

Another *tīrtha* called the दशाश्वमेधिक तीर्थ is situated in front of the image of वामनावतारः—

"वामनस्याग्रतस्तत्र कुरुक्षेत्रं सदास्थितम् ।
.....ख्याः सहाया तं कथितं ते महानघ ॥७९॥
दशाश्वमेधिकं तीर्थं तस्यैव पुरतः स्थितम् ।
.....नामश्वमेधानां यत्र ख्यातः फलं लभेत् ॥८०॥"

Sumati now asks Mārkaṇḍeya to explain to him the genesis of the 1000 Śiva liṅgas which is then explained in a mythical style as follows:

"बाणेन यानि लिङ्गानि विमुक्तानि नदीजले ।
तेषां सहस्रमुद्धृत्य सिद्धराजः समानयत् ॥८३॥
स्थापितं सिद्धराजेन तस्मिन् पुण्यसरोवरे ।
सहस्रं बाणलिङ्गानां युगपद्भुक्तिमुक्तिदम् ॥८४॥

The purificatory powers of a single *Śiva liṅga* have been mentioned by god Śiva himself, in the शिवशास्त्र. What can be the power of 1000 *Śiva liṅgas*? : —

"एतत्तु शिवशास्त्रेषु शिवेन कथितं स्वयम् ।
सहस्रं दृश्यते यत्र किं वर्ण्यते मया । ८९॥"

Siddharāja practised penance on a mountain called the अमरकंटक and then took his bath in the waters of the river

and not of Rudreśvara and this fact is consistent with the दशावतारक तीर्थ in front of the god Keśava in the same lake containing the images of the 10 incarnations of god Viṣṇu as described in detail by the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* (verses 61-62 of chap. xvi).

Narmadā (v. 90). God *Oṁkār* was pleased at this and granted Siddharāja a boon, promising that he would thenceforward reside permanently on the embankment of the Sahasraliṅga Lake:—

"त्वया सहस्रलिङ्गानां स्थापितं तत्सरस्तटे ।
तत्र वत्स्याम्यहं नित्यं भक्त्या ते प्रीतिमानसः ॥९२॥"

Then follows a long फलश्रुति dealing with the effects of religious rites performed at the Sahasraliṅga tīrtha, followed by the following praśasti of king Siddharāja and his Lake:—

"न सिद्धेशसमो राजा न सरस्तादृशं क्वचित् ।
समं सहस्रलिङ्गेन तीर्थमन्यत् (न) दृश्यते ॥१२०॥
तत्रागाराणि तेनैव स्थापितानि सरस्तटे ।
ब्राह्मणानां यतीनां च तृप्त्यर्थं च तपस्विनां ॥१२१॥
सर्वकामसमृद्धानि शोभन्ते तानि सुव्रतः ।
ब्रह्मविष्ण्वीश देवानां लोके स्त्रिय इव स्थितः ॥१२२॥
उन्मता चैव निम्ना च कीर्तिस्तेन प्रकाशिता ।
सिद्धराजेन तत्रैव स्थिता सा व्याप्य रोदसी ॥१२३॥
सिद्धराजसमो राजा न भूतो न भविष्यति ।
सहस्रं येन लिङ्गानां युगपत्स्थापितं स्वयं ॥१३४॥"

Chapter XVI from which the above information has been extracted is designated सिद्धराजमाहात्म्यवर्णन and it ends with the following verses:—

Folio 121b "इदं तु यः सिद्धनृपस्य जन्म
शृणोति भक्त्या पुरुषोत्तमस्य ।
प्राप्नोति कामान्सकलानिहैव
प्रयाति विष्णोः परमं पदं सः ॥२६८॥
ये सिद्धराजस्य चरित्रमेतत्
पठन्ति शृण्वन्ति च सुस्तवन्ति ।
ते सिद्धकामाः सुखिनो मनुष्याः
प्रभुकृपायाश्च सदा भवन्ति ॥२६९॥"

I shall now record the description[5] of the *Sahasraliṅga Talāv* the construction of which has been ascribed to king Jayasiṁha Siddha-

5 Burgess and Cousens: 'Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat' (*Arch. Survey of Western India*, vol. IX), London, 1903, pp. 38-39.

rāja[6] of Gujarat (A.D. 1093-1143). Various artificial lakes or reservoirs in Gujarat are ascribed to Siddharāja. "One of the largest of these was the Sahasraliṅga talāv, or tank of the thousand Śaiva shrines at *Pattan* the remains of which are still pointed out to the north-west of the town. It must have been a reservoir of immense size, and derived its name from the numerous little temples containing *liṅgas,* placed on the steps around it. In the centre was an island on which stood the temple of Rudreśvara destroyed of course by the Muslims, who raised a large octagonal Rauzah on its ruins; but of this only the dilapidated remains now exist." "The basin of the lake is now converted into little fields. The great embankment surrounding it appears to be composed throughout of solid brick-work and this was once faced with solid masonry forming flights of steps to the water's edge. On and above these steps stood the thousand shrines of which fragmentary remains are still found buried in the debris of the embankment." "This tank is said to have been begun by Jayasiṁha Siddharāja shortly before he set out against Yaśovarman, the sovereign of Mālava and is the theme of legend and song."

A historical incident associated with this tank is the stabbing of Bairām Khān, the famous minister of Humayun, when alighting from a boat after a sail on the tank on *Friday the 31st January 1561.* Bairām Khān rebelled against Akbar and was sent to Makka. He came to Patan and was hospitably received by Musā Khān Fûladi the

6 Vide pp. 973-977 of *Dynastic History of Northern India* by Dr. Hem Chandra Ray, vol. II (1936)—Jayasiṁha was a great builder. Besides the Sahasraliṅga Talāv the temple of Rudramahākala at Siddhapur is also ascribed to him. (The *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* contains a description of this temple and some genealogy of Siddharaja but I shall deal with this material in a separate paper). Jayasiṁha appears to have been a devotee of the Śaiva faith. The era known as the Siṁha era was already in use in Jayasiṁha's reign (Vide *Atru* Stone Inscription dated in the year 14 of this era as also Mangrol inscription of Kumārapāla dated in the 32 year of this era). One sorrow viz. the want of a son gnawed at his heart. Dr. Ray (p. 975) gives a table showing the relationship of Kumārapāla with his predecessor Jayasiṁha.

Governor, but was stabbed by Mubarik as described above. Burgess further remarks that during the 14th century all the rich shrines of the Hindus (Brahmanical or Jain) were desecrated, plundered and demolished at the will or caprice of the Moguls. If this statement is applicable to the Sahasraliṅga Talāv we may presume that the shrines on the embankment of this talāv may have been destroyed in the 14th century. I am of opinion that the Sarasvatīpurāṇa was composed at a time when the tīrthas associated with the river Sarasvatī had attained so sacrosanct a character as to necessitate the creation of a special purāṇa like the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa*.[7] It would also be reasonable to suppose that when this purāṇa was composed all the tīrthas on the banks of the river Sarasvatī were quite in a flourishing condition, free from the ravaging hands of the Moguls.

The *Bombay Gazetteer*[8] records the following information about the Sahasraliṅga Talāv:—

"The Sehesling or Sahasraling Talāv, the tank with the thousand shrines, was dedicated to Shiv by Sidh Raj just before he set out on his expedition against Yaśovarman, king of Málava. A merchant left nine lakhs of Balotras with a certain banker and died. The heirs of the latter knew nothing of the sum and refused to take it. Jai Sing Sidh Raj decided that the money should be spent in building a reservoir, and it was done, "the finest in the world, hitherto unsurpassed by all that the cleverest and wisest have executed or imagined, and it remains to this day (A.D. 1200-1230)."

I believe the foregoing description of the *Sahasraliṅga* tank if compared with that given in the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* leaves no doubt that the *Siddharāja Saras* described in the latter work is exactly identical

7 Hemacandra, a contemporary of Siddharāja Jayasiṁha informs us (in chapter xv, verse 118 of the *Dvyāśraya Mahākāvya*) that *Siddharāja* Jayasiṁha caused to be made the Sahasraliṅga tank and established also schools for learning *Jyotiṣa-śāstras, Nyāya-śāstras,* and the *Purāṇas*. Perhaps the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* may have been the outcome of the study of Purāṇas instituted by Jayasiṁha.

8 *Bombay Gaz.* vol. VII (Baroda) p. 600.

with that now known to history and archaeology. It appears, however, that though the tank was called a *Sahasraliṅga-saras* the actual number of Śaiva shrines on the bank of this lake was *one thousand and eight* as stated by Hemacandra शंभोःसहस्रमष्टौचायतनानि सरस्तटे ।[9]

The testimony of Hemcandra being contemporary must be taken as conclusive on the question of the exact number of the Śaiva shrines on the bank of the Siddharāja lake.[10]

P. K. Gode

9 Vide *B.S.S.*, LXIX (*Dvyāśraya Kāvya*), canto XV, v. 117.

10 I take this opportunity of thanking Mr. Ambalal B. Jani (Assistant Secretary, Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay) at whose request I began my study of the historical material in the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* in April 1937. Mr. Jani was also kind enough to keep the contents of this paper in May 1937 at the disposal of the scholar entrusted with the work of editing the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa*. I am not aware to what extent the contents have been useful to the above editor in the preparation of his proposed edition of the work. I await with eagerness this edition of the *Sarasvatīpurāṇa* for which I have supplied to the Forbes Gujarati Sabha a copy of the B.O.R. Institute MS. No. 429 of Viś. I (from the Vishrambag Collection of the Peshwas in the Govt. MSS. Library).

Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela

(Revised Edition)

[The Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, as is well-known, is the main old Brāhmī inscription in an open cave on the Udayagiri hill which is situated three miles due west of the Bhubaneswar temple. The record which was first noticed by Sterling is engraved "on the overhanging brow of a natural cavern, very little improved and enlarged by art." It is, as observed by Indraji, "in seventeen lines occupying a space about eighty-four feet square." "The face of the rock does not appear to have been well smooth for the work, but the letters are large and deeply carved. Time and weather have wrought ravages. The first six lines are well preserved. The last four, partly so. The greater part of the intervening space has been much spoilt, portions of it being entirely weather-beaten, while in other portions single letter or groups of letters can still be made out. The left corner of the inscription, in especial, has been greatly injured, and the initial letters of eight lines in that direction are entirely lost."

K. P. Jayaswal, who together with R. D. Banerji made the decipherment and interpretation of this historical record his life-work and greatly succeeded in achieving it, remarked to the same end, as early as 1917: "The rock was roughly dressed on the right-hand side. The chisel marks of the dressing are misleading; they tend to produce misreadings. These long and irregular marks left by the original dressing, are not the only pitfalls. Rain-water which trickles down the roof of the cave has cut into the letters and produced a few letter-like marks. Natural decay produced by time has given misleading turns to numerous letters.....even hornets like to take the liberty with the record of the emperor Khāravela with perfect impunity and have added a few irregular marks on it.

.....The inscription is weather-beaten. The first four lines have about 13 syllables obliterated by natural decay. Half of the record of the 6th year (l. 6) and the entire record of the 7th year (l. 7) have disappeared. From the 8th up to the 15th lines, every line has got large gaps wrought by decay. The 16th and 17th lines are comparatively well preserved except for the loss of about 12 initial syllables. There are visible signs of a progressive decay."

Its chief value as an historical record lies in the fact that up till now there is no other record which can vie with it in antiquity as an epigraph in the ancient kingdom of Kaliṅga set up by its own independent king. Even in respect of antiquity, it stands next to none but the two sets of rock inscriptions left by Aśoka who conquered Kaliṅga in the third century B.C. and annexed it to his empire as an eastern province ruled by a viceroy. The forms of its letters suggest a stage of development of the Brāhmī alphabet, which is almost on a par with that represented by the Nānāghāṭ cave inscription of Nayanikā, widow of the Andhra king Śātakarṇi I (R. D. Banerji's *Mem. ASB.*, vol. XI, No. 3, on "The palaeography of the Hāthigumphā and the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions"). But in the opinion of Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, from the palaeographic point of view, the Hāthigumphā inscription deserves to be placed not only after the Besnagar Garuḍa inscription of the year XII after the installation of Mahārāja Bhāgavata, and the Nānāghāṭ cave inscription of Nayanikā, but after the Bharhut gateway inscription of Dhanabhūti; it deserves at the same time to be placed before the Sañcī gateway inscriptions. Even the Bodhgayā railing inscriptions of Kuraṅgi and Nāgadevī appear to have been somewhat earlier as regards their alphabet than the Hāthigumphā inscription. So far as its language goes, the Hāthigumphā inscription is the only Indian inscription, the diction of which is not only Pāli but the sonorous and rhythmical Pāli of the Milindapañha, an extra-canonical Buddhist work which cannot be dated earlier than the 1st century

A.D. The importance of the epigraph lies also in the fact that as a rāja-praśasti in Prakrit, it is, perhaps, posterior to no other inscription than the Nānāghāṭ cave inscription of Nayanikā. As for the bibliography, the reader may be referred to my *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves*, published by the Calcutta University, 1929, pp. 4-5. Here I am to refer only to two subsequent publications, viz., R. D. Banerji's Monograph—'The Palaeography of the Hāthigumphā and the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions,' *Mem., ASB.*, vol. XII, No. 3, and a finally revised edition of the Hāthigumphā inscription by K. P. Jayaswal, *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XX.]

TEXT

[*The asterisk prefixed to a footnote indicates that the correctness of the reading suggested may be tested here by the facsimiles reproduced in the accompanying plates.*]

[|||] Namo araha(ṃ)tānaṃ [,] Namo savasidhānaṁ [|||][1]

1. Airena mahārājena Māhāmeghavāhanena[2] Ceti-rājava [ṃ] sa[3] -vadhanena[4] pasatha -subhalakha-ṇena[5] caturaṃta-luṭhana[6] -guṇa-upetena[7] Kaliṃ-

1 Cf. Jaina formula of *ṇamokkāra* or *ṇokāra:*

Ṇamo arihaṃtāṇaṃ, ṇamo sidhāṇaṃ||
Ṇamo āyariyāṇaṃ, ṇamo uvajhāyāṇaṃ||
Ṇamo lo-e savva sāhūṇaṃ||

Buddhist formula of *vandanā* in the Peṭakopadesa:

Namo sammāsambuddhānaṃ paramatthadassinaṃ
sīlâdiguṇa-pâramippattānaṃ||

*2 Cf. Inscription of Kūdepa. *IHQ.*, vol. XIV, p. 160.

*3 The choice lies between *Ceti°* and *Ceta°*.

4 Cf. Pāli *Sakyānaṃ nandi-vaḍḍhano* as a word of praise for the Buddha, *Nandi-vaḍḍhano* being the same in meaning as *harṣa-varddhanaḥ*.

5 *pasatha*=Pāli *pasattha*, cf. *aṭṭha-satā pasatthā* Khuddakapāṭha, Ratana-sutta; Jayaswal, *°lakhanena*.

*6 Jayaswal, *luṭhita*. But the *i*-stroke over the letter *ṭh* is absent, and the third letter, as made out by Prinsep, Cunningham, and also by Jayaswal before is *na*.

*7 Jayaswal, *guṇopahitena*. I must accept Chanda's *guṇa-upetena* for the reason

gâdhi-patinā siri-Khāravelena[8] [l.1] paṃdarasa[9] -vasāni siri-kaḍāra[10] -sarīravatā kīḍitā kumāra-kīḍikā [.] Tato lekha-rūpa-gaṇanā-vavahāra[11] -vidhi-visāradena savavijâvadātena nava-vasāni yovaraja(ṃ) va sāsitaṃ[12] [.] Sa(ṃ)puṇa-catuvīsati-vaso tadāni[13] vadha(māna)-(sesa)yovanâbhivijayo[14] tatiye [l.2] Kaliṃga-rājavaṃse purisa-yuge[15] mahārājâbhisecanaṃ[16] pāpunāti [.][17]

that the second letter is distinctly *na*, and not *ṇo*. For the whole phrase, cf. Pāli *Caturanta-vijitāvi*.

8 The name of Khāravela was correctly made out for the first time by Indraji.

9 The typical Oṛiyā word for fifteen is *pandara*.

10 Pāli *kaḷāra*, cf. *Kaḷāra-Janaka, Kaḷāra-maṭṭuka;* Skt. *Kaḍāra-Jaimini*. Cf. also Prakrit *Siri-kaṭāra*.

11 Pāli-*vohāra*.

*12 Jayaswal, *pasāsitaṃ*, which, too, may stand as a correct reading.

13 I now accept Jayaswal's *tadāni* in preference to my *so dāni*.

*14 Jayaswal, *vadhamānasesayo Venâbhijayo*. According to this reading, *vadhamāna-sesayo=vardḍhamānaḥ āśaiśavaḥ*, and *Venâbhivijayo* means a conqueror like Veṇa, a Vedic personality. In accepting this reading, my first objection is due to the uncertainty of the *ā*-stroke over the fourth letter *n*. Secondly, nowhere in the language of the *Hāthigumphā* inscription *y* is substituted for *v;* and thirdly, the letter after *yo* may not only be read as *ve* but also as *vo*. The reading *vadhamāna-sesayovanâbhiyayo* must be preferred as referring to Khāravela's career after his 24th year; while, according to Jayaswal's reading, Khāravela proved to be a conqueror like the Vedic mythical hero Veṇa from his very boyhood, which he did not.

15 For *purisa-yuga*, cf. *Majjhima-nikāya*, II, p. 75, *Samanta-pāsādika*, vol. I, p. 190; *Mahāvastu*, ed. Senart, I, p. 1.

16 Jayaswal, māhā°.

17 For the whole statement, cf. *Makhādeva-Jātaka*, (Fausböll, No. 9): *Atīte Videha-raṭṭhe Mithilāyaṃ Makhādevo nāma rājā ahosi dhammiko dhammarājā. So caturasīti-vassa-sahassāni kumāra-kīḷaṃ tathā oparajjaṃ tathā mahārajjaṃ katvā.* Cf. also *Majjhima-nikāya*, II, p. 76.

Also verses quoted by Höernle from the Jaina Vikramaprabandha, *IA.*, vol. XXI, p. 67:

Sattari cadusata-jutto tiṇa-kāle Vikkamo havai jammo|
aṭha-varasa vāla-līlā soḍasa-vase hi bhammie dese||
Rasapaṇa-vasa rajjaṃ kuṇanti micchāvādena saṃjutto|

2. Abhisitamato ca padhame vase vāta-vihata-gopurapākāra-nivesanaṃ paṭisaṃkhārayati Kaliṃga-nagari -Khi(b)īra(ṃ)[18] [,] sitala[19]-taḍāga-pāḍiyo ca baṃdhāpayati [,] savûyāna-paṭisaṃṭhapanaṃ ca [l.3] kārayati panatīsāhi sata-sahasehi[20] [,] pakatiyo ca raṃjayati [.]

3. Dutiye ca vase acitayitā Sātakaṇiṃ[21] pachima-disaṃ haya-gaja-nara-radha-bahulaṃ daṃḍaṃ pathāpayati[22] [,] Kanhabeṃnaṃgatāya[23] ca senāya vitāsiti[24] Asika-nagaraṃ[25] [.]

4. Tatiye puna vase [l.4] Gaṃdhava-veda-budho dapa-nata-gīta-vādita-saṃdasanāhi[26] usava-samāja-kārāpanāhi kīḍāpayati nagari(ṃ) [.]

*18 I regret my previous reading *gabhira*, for the first letter is definitely *khi*, the *u*-stroke in *pu* of *saṃpuṇa* in l. 2 and the *i*-stroke in *khi* of *khibīra* in l.3 being joined together by rain-water trickling down. The second letter may also be read as *bhi*. Jayaswal reads *Khibhira*, taking it to be the name of a *ṛṣi* after whom the tank was called *Khibīra-isitāla-taḍāga*. I cannot but think that *Khibīra* represents the name of the then capital of Kaliṅga. The scribe allows a space between *Khibīra.* and *sitala*, as he has systematically done in l. 3 for separating two distinct words or expressions. One may be tempted also to read *Khipira*.

*19 Jayaswal, *isitāla*, which must be discarded for a twofold reason: (1) that the letter *i* at the beginning of the word is highly doubtful, and (2) that the fancied *ā*-stroke over the letter *ta* is uncertain.

20 I have fully stated my reasons for connecting this expression with the preceding statement, and not with *pakatiyo ca raṇjayati*. See my *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, p. 41, f.n. 6.

21 Jayaswal, °*kaṃṇiṃ*.

22 This has determined the usual Oṛiyā phrase, *daṃḍa paṭhāyochi*, "I have caused the army to march."

*23 Jayaswal, *Kañhabeṃnāgatāya*.

24 Jayaswal, *vitāsitaṃ*.

*25 Jayaswal, *Musika*. It will be seen that the right vertical stroke and the intervening space between the two arms fulfil all the requirements of the letter *a*. But *Asika* may be just a variant of the name *Musika*. Cf. Pāli *Aḷaka* as a variant of *Muḷaka*, *Suttanipāta*, Bk. V, *Aḷakassa samasame*.

26 Jayaswal, *saṃḍaṃsanāhi*.

5. Tathā cavuthe vase Vijādharâdhivāsaṃ ahata-puvaṃ[27] Kaliṃga-puvarājan(ivesitaṃ)[28] vitadha-makuṭe[29] ????? te[30] nikhita-chata -[l.5] bhiṃgāre hita-ratana-sāpateye sava-Raṭhika-Bhojake pāde vaṃdāpayati [.]
6. Paṃcame cêdāni[31] vase Naṃdarāja-ti-vasa-sata-oghāṭitaṃ Tanasuliya-vāṭā panāḍi[ṃ] nagaraṃ pavesa(yati) so.....[32] [.]
7. Abhisito[33] ?.....[34] rājaseyaṃ[35] saṃdaṃ-sayaṃto[36] sava-kara-vaṇa-[37] [l.6] anugaha-anekāni sata-sahasāni visajati pora-jānapadaṃ[38] [.]
8. Satame ca vase (a)sasata[39] -vajiraghara[40] -khatiya-[41]

*27 I have to abandon the reading *āhata-puvaṃ*.

28 Indraji, *-namaṃsitaṃ;* Jayaswal, *-nivesitaṃ*.

*29 Jayaswal, *vitadha-makuṭa,* correcting his previous reading *vitadha-makuṭe*.

*30 Jayaswal. (*sa*) *bilaṃḍhite,* which is highly problematic. The first letter looks indeed like a *sa*. One may be tempted to read the second letter as *bi,* but none may be certain about it. The third letter, as made out by Indraji, is *pu;* or, it may even be *pra,* but certainly not *la*. The last three letters should better be read as either *vajite* or *vaḍhite,* but not as *ṃḍhite*. Is the intended word *sabipravajite,* which is=Skt. *sadvi!pravarjitān*.

31 Jayaswal, *ca dāni*.

*32 Jayaswal would take the record of the 6th year to begin with so.....; I think, here is an expression denoting the amount which had to be spent on the work mentioned in the record of the 5th year.

33 Jayaswal makes out the beginning of the 6th year record to be: *So..... bhisito*.

34 The gap may, perhaps, be supplied by the expression *ca chaṭhe vase*.

*35 I accept Indraji's reading, rejecting Jayaswal's *rajasuyaṃ,* the former being precisely what is intended by the scribe.

36 Indraji, *saṃdaṃsanato,* Cunningham, *saṃdasaṃto*.

37 Jayaswal, °*uaṇaṃ*. 38 Jayaswal *poraṃ jānapadaṃ*.

*39 Prinsep and others, *pasāsato,* which is neither unlikely nor inappropriate. Jayaswal, *satamaṃ ca vasaṃ pasāsato*.

*40 I accept Jayaswal's reading in the absence of anything better I myself can suggest.

*41 See foot-note 42.

Pl. I.

l. 1; f.n.2

l. 1; f.n. 3

l. 1; f.n. 6, 7

l. 2; f.n. 12

l. 2; f.n. 14

l. 3; f.n. 18

l. 3; f.n. 19

From IBORS., 1927 and *Mem. ASB.*, Vol. XII, No. 3.

l. 4; f.n. 23

l. 4; f.n. 25

l. 5; f.n. 27

l. 5; f.n. 29, 30

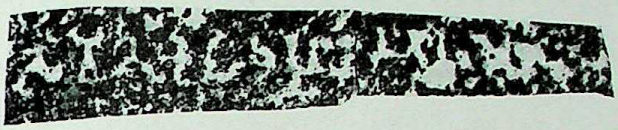
l. 6; f.n. 32

l. 6; f.n. 35

l. 7; f.n. 39-42

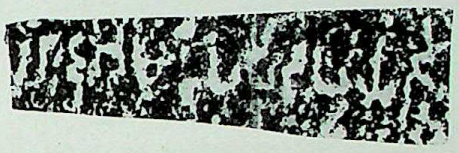
From JBORS., 1927

Pl. III.



l. 7; f.n. 43-45

l. 7; f.n. 47

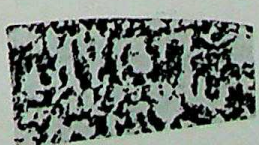


l. 8; f.n. 48

l. 8; f.n. 50-52

l. 8; f.n. 55

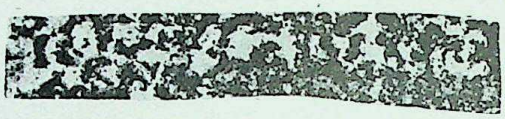
l. 8; f.n. 57



l. 8, 8a; f.n. 58, 59

From JBORS., 1927

l. 9; f.n. 62



l. 9; f.n. 62

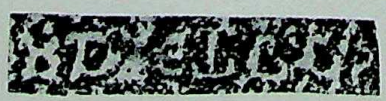
l. 9; f.n. 63

l. 9; f.n. 65

l. 9; f.n. 66

l. 9; f.n. 67

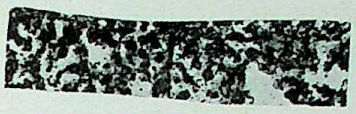
l. 10; f.n. 68-70



l. 10; f.n. 71

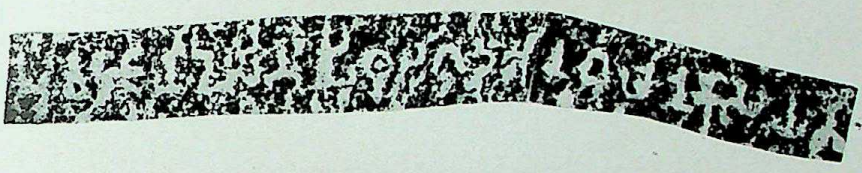
From JBORS., 1927

Pl. V.



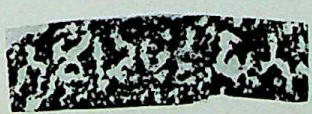
l. 10; f.n. 72

l. 10; f.n. 73



l. 11; f.n. 81, 82

l. 11; f.n. 84



l. 11; f.n. 85

l. 11; f.n. 86-88

l. 12; f.n. 90

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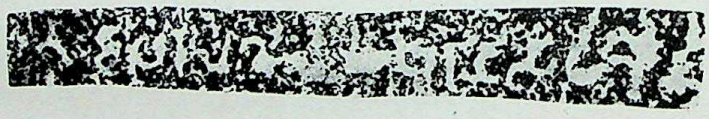
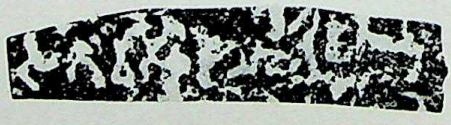
l. 12; f.n. 90a

l. 12; f.n. 91, 92

l. 12; f.n. 93, 94



l. 13; f.n. 96-98



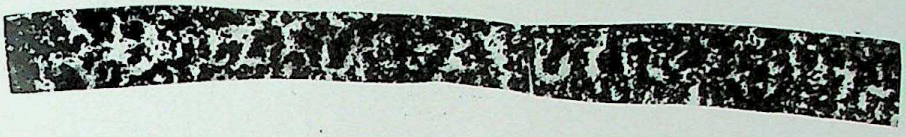
l. 12; f.n. 99

l. 12; f.n. 100

l. 13; f.n. 101

From JBORS., 1927

Pl. VII.



l. 13; f.n. 102, 103

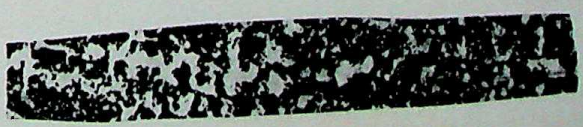
l. 14; f.n. 108, 109

l. 14; f.n. 110

l. 14; f.n. 111-113

l. 14; f.n. 114

l. 14; f.n. 115-117



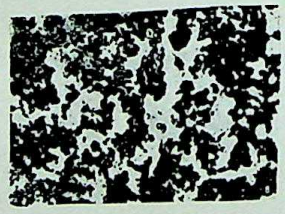
l. 15; f.n. 122-125

From JBORS., 1927

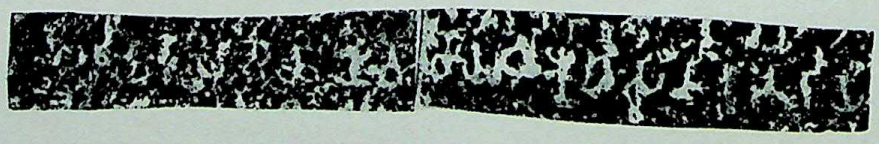
l. 15; f.n. 127-128

l. 15; f.n. 129, 130

l. 16; f.n. 132



l. 16; f.n. 136



l. 16; f.n. 136-141

l. 17; f.n. 149

From JBORS., 1927 and *Mem. ASB.*, Vol. XII, No. 3.

-sata-ghaṭani[42] Samataka[43] -padaṣaṃna[44] saṃti-pada[45] ??.....[.][46]

9. Aṭhaṃe ca vase mahatā senāya (apati)hata- (bh)-iti[47] -Goradhagiriṃ [l.7] ghātāpayitā Rāja-gaha(ṃ) upapīḍapayati[48] [,] etinaṃ[49] ca kaṃma-padāna-panādena[50] pabaṃta[51] -senavāhane[52] vipa-mucituṃ[53] Madhuraṃ apayāto[54] Yavana-rājā ?mi??sa?[55] (ā)mo, dati[56] ???.....Sava(ra-rā)jāna[57] ca.....ga(cha)ti[58] [l.8] palavabhāra-[59]

*42 Jayaswal, *-vati-gsusita-gharini,* which is far from correct. I think, my reading *sata-ghaṭani* is free from doubt.

*43 Jayaswal, *samatuka.*

*44 Jayaswal, *padapuṃna.* °*daṣaṃna,* obviously scribe's mistake for *dasaṃna.*

*45 Jayaswal, ...(*ku*)*ma.* Prinsep and Cunningham, *savata-kahadapana narapa.* One might be tempted even to read: *savitaka-padajhāna-sammtipada* (?)

46 Both the reading and purpose of the record of the 7th year are problematical. The above text may just make some sense out of a nonsense.

*47 Jayaswal, *mahata-bhiti.* The first letter rather looks like *a.*

*48 Prinsep, *Rājagabhaṃ upapīḍapayati;* Cunningham, *Rājagaṃbhu upapīḍa-payatī;* Indraji, *Rājagaha-napaṃ pīḍāpayatī;* Sten Konow has no objection to the the reading *napa.*

49 Jayaswal, *etinā,* which, too, is a likely reading.

*50 Jayaswal, *saṃnādena.*

*51 Jayaswal *saṃbita.* Prinsep reads *paṃbāta.*

*52 Jayaswal *senavāhano,* which will deprive the transitive verb *vipamucitum* of its object. He finally reads *vāhane.*

53 Jayaswal, *vipamuṃcitu.*

54 Cf. Nasik Cave inscription, No. 10 (*El.*, vol. VIII):

Bhaṭāraka aṃñatiyā ca gatosmiṃ varṣa-ratuṃ
Mālayehi rudhaṃ Utamabhādraṃ
mocayituṃ ca Mālayā pranāden'eva apayātā.

*55 Tentatively read *Ḍimita* by Dr. Sten Konow. To read *Ḍimita* or *Dimita* with Jayaswal will be to go too far. But the reading *Yavana-rājā* is certain.

56 The reading is pretty certain.

*57 The reading suggested is doubtful.

*58 Jayaswal, *yacati.*

*59 Jayaswal, *palava.....*

[l.8a] Kaparukha[60] -haya-gaja-radha-saha yaṃt [i][61] [,] sava-ghararâvāsa-pa ????ya[62] savagaha-naṃ ca kārayituṃ[63] bramhaṇānaṃ[64] ja(y)a-[65] parihāra[ṃ] dadāti , Arahata-.....[66] [.]

10. .....vasuvijaya-[67] [l.9] te ubhaya[68]-Praci-taṭe[69] (rāja-) nivāsaṃ[70] Mahāvijaya[71]-pāsādaṃ kārayati aṭhatisāya sata-sahasehi [.]

11. Dasame ca vase daḍa-ni?dhīta (bhisa)mayo[72] Bharadhavasa-pa?naṃ[73] ? hi--?yanaṃ[74] .....[75] kārāpayati .....[76] [.]

60 Jayaswal, *kaparukhe,*

61 Jayaswal, *sahayaṃte;* Indraji, *saha-yata.*

*62 Prinsep, *gharavasapa;* Cunningham *gharavasaya-anatikagavaya;* Indraji, *gharavasadham;* Jayaswal, *gaharâvāsa-parivesane aginaṭhiyā.* Nothing can be definitely made out.

*63 Correctly read by Jayaswal.

*64 Correctly read by Indraji. Jayaswal, *baṃhaṇānaṃ.* The first letter is not only *ba* but *bra.*

*65 Prinsep, *jata;* Jayaswal, *jātiṃ parihāraṃ.* The first letter is indeed a *ja;* the second letter is uncertain. *Jāta-parihāraṃ* or *jāti-parihāraṃ* conveys a definite sense, cf. Pāli *gabbha-parihāraṃ.* But I would like to read *jaya-parihāraṃ.* Cf. *Papañca-sūdanī,* pt. III, *so 'pi yo pubba-rājūhi brāhmaṇānaṃ dinna-parihāro taṃ ahāpetvā pakati-niyāmen'eva akāsi, tathā gahapatikānaṃ.*

*66 Jayaswal, *Arahata (va?).....*

*67 The beginning of the record of the 9th year cannot be traced. The last four letters of l. 9 may be read as *suvijaya.* Jayaswal reads ..... *(gi)ya(to).*

*68 The first letter appears to be *te;* the second letter, *u;* the third, *bha;* and the fourth *ya, ha,* or *gha.* May they not be read as *te ubhaya?* Jayaswal finally reads *k.i. mānāti.*

*69 The choice lies between *Praci-taṭe* and *Puti-taṭe,* or between *Puti-taṭe* and *Puri-taṭe.*

*70 Jayaswal, *-saṃnivāsaṃ.*

*71 Jayaswal, *Mahāvijayaṃ.*

*72 Cunningham, *datibhisara.....;* Jayaswal, *daṃḍa-saṃdhīsāmamayo,* correcting his previous readings *daṃḍasa-nadasa, mahadhīta'bhisamayo.*

*73 Cunningham, *pa.....na;* Indraji, *paṭhānaṃ;* Jayaswal, *paṭhānaṃ.*

74 Cunningham, *mahayana;* Jayaswal, *mahī-jayanaṃ.*

75 Nothing can be definitely made out.

76 The concluding words of the record of the 10th year cannot be traced.

12. .....[77] ?????? tānaṃ[78] mani-ratanāni-saha yāti[79] [l.10] —??[80] puvarāja[81]-nivesitaṃ Pithuḍagadabha Nagale nekāsayati[82] [,] janapada-bhāvanaṃ[83] ca terasa-vasa-sata-kataṃ bhidati[84] tamiradaha[85] -saṃghātaṃ [.]

13. Bārasame ca vase ?S(i)?kā(naṃ)[86] sa(ha)-sehi[87] vitāsayaṃto[88] Utarāpadha-rājāno [l.11] ——Māgadhānaṃ[89] ca vipula(ṃ) bhayaṃ janeto hathasaṃ Gaṃgāya[90] pāyayati [,] Mā(gadhaṃ) ca rājānaṃ Baha(sa)timita(ṃ)[90a] pāde va(ṃ)dāpa(ya)-

77 The beginning of the record of the 11th year cannot be traced.

78 Jayaswal, *niritiya-uyātānaṃ,* the propriety of which is not intelligible to me. He finally reads.....*p(ā)yātānaṃ.*

79 Jayaswal, °*upalabhate.* 80 Jayaswal, *maṃdaṃ ca.*

*81 Jayaswal, *Avarāja,* which must be discarded for the reason that the first letter is by no means *a;* it is *pu.*

*82 Jayaswal, *Pithuṃḍaṃ gadabha-naṃgalena kāsayati.* But it will be seen that the letter is not *na* but *ne,* and that the scribe connects it with *kāsayati.* The propriety of Jayaswal's reading depends upon the correctness of his reading *Avarāja.* If one fails, the other fails. There is no reason why *Khāravela* should plough *Pithuḍa* with an ass-plough, if it was founded by a former king of Kaliṅga.

83 Jayaswal, *janasa dabhāvanaṃ,* but he suggests that the intended reading is *janapada-bhāvanaṃ.*

*84 Sten Konow, *terasa-vasasata-kata bh(i)dati;* Jayaswal, *terasa-vasasatikaṃ ābhiṃdati,* which is rather fantastic.

*85 Indraji, *tamara-dehasaṃghātaṃ,* Jayaswal, *Tramira-deśa-saṃghātaṃ.* The choice really lies between *-daha-* and *-deha-.*

*86 Jayaswal, *-hasa-ke.* The intended word appears to be *Sivakānaṃ.*

*87 Jayaswal, *sahasehi* *88 Or, *vitāsayato.* 89 Jayaswal, *Magadhānaṃ.*

*90 Jayaswal, *hathi Sugaṃgiya(ṃ),* abandoning his previous reading *hathisu Gaṃgāya, hathisu Gaṃgiya.* The Maurya palace is called *Sugāṅga* in the *Mudrā-rākṣasa,* a Sanskrit drama of the 4th or of 6th century A.D. Jayaswal has evidently tended to suggest a reading which will bear out the name of the palace as given by Viśākhadatta. Had the name of the palace been intended, the word would have been either *Sugange* or *Sugaṅgapāsāde,* and not *Gaṃgāya[ṃ],* the locative sing. form of the feminine stem, *Gaṃgā.* Moreover, the *i*-stroke is absent, the word is *hathasaṃ,* a Sandhi of *hathi* and *asa.* It is important to note that Prinsep read *hathasaṃ gaṃgasa,* and Cunningham, *hathasaṃ Gaṃgāya.*

*90a Correctly read by Jayaswal.

ti [,] Nadarāja-jita[91] -Kaliṃga-jana-saṃ(n)i(ve)-saṃ[92].....?(sasa)ti [,] kitava-naya-nipu(n)ehi[93] Aga-Magadha-vasuṃ nayati[94] .....[l.12] ———tu[ṃ][95] ja(ṭha)ra-lakhila-[96] [go]purāni[97] siharāni[98] nivesayati [,] sata-visikāna[ṃ][99] parihārena[100] abhutaṃachariya(ṃ) ca hathi-nāva-(taṃ)[101] pariharati [,] tinha[102] -haya-hathi-ratana-māniko[103] Paṃḍa-rājā (ābharaṇāni)[104] mutā-maṇi-ratanāni āharāpayati idha sata-sa..... ...[105] [l.13] ———sino vasī karoti [.]

14. Terasame ca vase supavata-vijaya-cake[106] Kumārī-pavate arahate[107] pakhiṇa-saṃsitehi[108] kayya-[109] -nisīdīyāya yāpujavakehi[110] rāja-bhitini[111] cina-vatāni[112] vasâsitāni[113] pūjāya-rata[114] -uvāsa(ga)-

*91 Jayaswal, *Naṃdarājanītaṃ.*

*92 Jayaswal, *-jinaṃ saṃnivesa.* The *i*-stroke over *ja* is apparitional, it having no organic connection with it.

*93 Jayaswal, *gaha-ratanānaṃ parihārehi; Indraji, gaha-ratana-parihārehi.*

*94 Jayaswal, *neyāti.* 95 Jayaswal, *kātuṃ.* *96 Jayaswal, *-likhila.*

*97 Jayaswal, (*jaṭhara-likhila*) *-barāni,* which is meaningless.

*98 Jayaswal, *siharāni.* *99 Correctly read by Jayaswal.

*100 Jayaswal, *parihārehi.*

*101 Prinsep, *hathi-navuna;* Cunningham, *hathi-navena;* Jayaswal, *hathi-nivāsa,* correcting his previous reading *hathī-nāvana.*

*102 Jayaswal, *denha.* * 103 Correctly read by Jayaswal.

104 *Jayaswal, cedāni anekāni.*

105 The intended word seems to be *sahasāni.* 106 Jayaswal, °*caka-*.

107 Read *arahatehi.*

*108 Correctly read by Jayaswal.

*109 Or *kaya.* Generally read *kāya. kayya* or *kaya* is=*kalya,* or Pāli *kalla.*

*110 The choice lies here between *yāpujavakehi* and *yāpuravakehi.*

Prinsep, *yāpuhavakehi;* Cunningham, *yāpujakehi;* Jayaswal, *yāpa-ñāvakehi,* correcting his previous reading *yāpujavakehi.*

*111 Obviously a mistake for *rāja-bhītinaṃ.*

*112 Obviously a mistake for *cita-vatānaṃ,* Pāli, *ciṇṇa-vatānaṃ.*

*113 Obviously a mistake for *vasâsītānaṃ.* Jayaswal reads *vāsā-sitaṃ.*

*114 Jayaswal, *pujânurata-*

(Khāra)vela-sirinā jīvadeha[115] -??kā[116] .....tā[117] [.][118] [l.14]

15. ———[119]? sakata[120] -samaṇa-suvihitānaṃ ca sata[121] -disānaṃ ñā?naṃ[122] (sama)pasi(naṃ)[123] (bhi)??[124] -saṃgh(i)yana(ṃ)[125] arahata-nisīdiya samīpe pabhāre[126] varâkara-samuthāpitāhī an(e)-ka-yojanâhitāhi pakva-sisehi[127] sata-(sahasā)hi[128] silāhi sipaja[129] -thabha-(ni)vadha-sayanâ(sa)-nāni[130] va———[131] paṭālake[132] catare[133] ca veḍu-riya-gabhe thabhe[134] patiṭhāpayati panatariya-[135] -(sata-sahasehi) [,] (ma) khiya[136]-kala[137]-vochine[138]

*115 Prinsep, *ji...deta*; Cunningham *jivimaka*.

*116 Jayaswal, *-sirikā*. I am for *sayikā*.

*117 Prinsep and Cunningham *rikhita;* Jayaswal, *parikhita*, abandoning his previous reading *rakhita*. Is it *panikhātā*?

118 The record of the 13th appears to have been closed here.

119 The beginning piece of l.16 is missing.

120 Jayaswal reads *sukatā*. 121 Definitely *sata*, and not *sava*.

*122 The choice lies between *ñāninaṃ* and *ñātānaṃ*, both of which are suggested by Jayaswal.

*123 Cunningham rightly noticed four letters after *ñā?naṃ*, which he reads as *simpusa*, while I propose to read *samapasi*. At first sight, they seem to yield the reading *tapasa*. Jayaswal makes out *tapasi-isinaṃ*.

*124 Left hitherto unnoticed. *125 Jayaswal, *saṃghayanaṃ*.

126 Jayaswal, *pābhāre*. *127 Or, *panatasisehi*.

*128 The reading seems to be certain.

*129 Prinsep, *sapapa;* Cunningham, *bhagapa;* Jayaswal, *siṃhapa°*.

*130 Prinsep, (*sapapatha*) *-dhara sī dhasaya;* Jayaswal, (*Siṃhapatha*) *-rañi Siṃdhuḷāya*, which is quite fantastic.

131 The beginning piece of l.16 is lost.

*132 Prinsep, *paṭalake;* Cunningham and Indraji, *paṭālake;* Jayaswal, *paṭalako*.

133 Jayaswal, *caturo*. 134 Jayaswal, *thaṃbhe*. 135 Jayaswal, *pānatariya*.

*136 Prinsep *...riya;* Cunningham, *.....ya;* Indraji and Sten Konow, *Muriya*. It is after a prolonged examination of the first two letters in stone and in the facsimile that I came to detect that they are *ma* and *khi*, and not *mu* and *ri*.

*137 The word must be read as *kala*, and not as *kāla*. To read *kale* with Indraji and Fleet is to go far away from *kala*, correctly read by Cunningham.

*138 Jayaswal, *vochinaṃ*.

ca coyaṭha-aṃge[139] satikaṃ[140] turiyaṃ[141] upāda-(yati) [.]

16. Khema-rājā sa [,] vadha[142] -rājā sa [,] bhikhu-rājā sa [,] dhama-rājā pasaṃto sunaṃto anu-bhavaṃto kalāṇāni [l.16]—[143] guṇa-visesa-kusalo sava-pāsaṃḍa-pūjako[144] sava-devâyatana-sa(ṃ)kāra[145] -kārako apatihata-caka -vāhana[146]--balo caka-dharo[147] guta-cako pavata-cako rājisi-vaṃsa-kula[148] -vini(śr)ito[149] mahāvijayo rājā Khāravela-siri [.]

2. TRANSLATION

Obeisance to Arhats, the Exalted Ones, obeisance to all Siddhas, the Perfect Saints.

By His Graceful Majesty Khāravela,[150] the great Aira[151] king, the Sovereign lord of Kaliṅga,[152] the scion of the Mahāmegha

*139 Prinsep, *ca coyatha agi;* Cunningham, *ca ceyaṭha age;* Indraji, *ca coyatha age;* Jayaswal, *ca coyaṭhi Aṃga-*. The stone does not show any *i*-stroke over *ṭha*.

*140 Prinsep and Cunningham, *satika;* Indraji, *satiku;* Sten Konow, *satikaṃ*.

*141 I cannot but accept Jayaswal's *turiyaṃ* as correct reading.

142 Jayaswal, *vaḍha*.

143 The beginning piece of l.17 is lost.

144 Cunningham, *pujako*.

145 Jayaswal, *saṃkhāra*.

146 Jayaswal, *caki-vāhini-*.

147 Jayaswal, *caka-dhara-*,

148 Jayaswal, *rājasi- Vasū-kula-*.

*149 Cunningham, *vinigato*. R. D. Banerji confirms the correctness of Jayaswal's reading.

150 Cf. Pāli *Kālavela* as the name of a Yakkha in the *Mahāvaṃsa*, IX. 23; as the name of a place in Fausböll's *Jātaka*, vol. VI, p. 30. Cf. also Sanskrit *Karbela* as a personal name, Monier Williams, *Sanskrit English Dict., sub voce Karbela*.

151 Jayaswal treats it as a patronymic derived from *Ila*. But the usual patronymic from *Ila* is not *Aila;* it is *Aileya*. I am still inclined to think that it is the same word as the Pāli *ayira*, which is explained in the sense of *sāmi*. Cf. Fausböll, *Jātaka*, vol. VI, p. 300: *ayiro hi dāsassa janinda issaro. ayiro'ti sāmiko*. Jayaswal's first note on *aira* (*JBORS*., vol. III, pt. IV, p. 434) seems more to the point: "This word occurs in a Sātavāhana inscription and has been translated by M. Senart by 'noble' ".

152 In the inscription of his chief queen, Khāravela has been represented as *Kaliṅga-cakavati*, "the overlord of Kaliṅga.".

family,[153] the increaser of the Ceti Royal House,[154] who is possessed

153 *Māhāmeghavāhana* is a patronymic derived from *Mahāmeghavāhana*, a dynastic name similar to *Sātavāhana*. The Mahāmeghavāhana kings of Kaliṅga including Khāravela were the contemporaries and powerful rivals of the Śātakarṇis of Andhra. The inscription itself refers to a Śātakarṇi who had his kingdom to the west of Kaliṅga. According to the *Purāṇas*, amongst the local dynasties which arose during the Andhra period, there was the dynasty of Kośala (*i.e.*, South Kośala) who were commonly known as the Meghas (obviously a shortening from Meghavāhana), who were very powerful and intelligent, and who were nine in number:

Kośalāyāṃ tu rājāno bhaviṣyanti mahābalāḥ,
Meghā' iti samākhyātā buddhimanto navaiva tu.

—Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 51.

154 Whether one reads *Cetirāja* or *Cetarāja*, the meaning is the same. *Ceti*=*Cedi*, and *Ceta*=*Cetiya*, Skt. *Caidya*. In the Pāli *Vessantara-Jātaka* (Fausböll, No. 547), Cetiyaraṭṭha denotes the same kingdom as Ceta-raṭṭha. Ṛṣi Brahmātithi of the family of Kāṇva sings the praises of king Kaśu, the Caidya, in a Vedic hymn addressed to the Aśvins (*RV*. VIII. 5). Here the Cedi-king Kaśu is represented as a powerful monarch who was capable of making a gift of *rājās* as slaves. His soldiers were dressed in cuirasses of leather. In the *Mahābhārata*, Ādiparva, the Kuru prince Vasu Uparicara is said to have conquered the beautiful and excellent kingdom of the Cedis on the advice of the god Indra whose staunch worshipper he was. His son Matsya by an *apsarā*, named Adrikā, founded the kingdom of Matsya. His other sons, Bṛhadratha, Pratyagraha, and the rest also founded kingdoms. The *Vāyu-Purāṇa* repeats the tradition of the conquest of the Cedi kingdom by Vasu, the Paurava. According to another account, the Kuru prince Vasu conquered Cedi, originally a Yādava kingdom, and established himself there, whence he came to be known as Caidya—Uparicara. His capital was Śuktimatī (Sotthivatī, according to the Pāli *Cetiya-Jātaka*, Fausböll, vol. III, pp. 454-61) on the river Śuktimatī. His five sons were established in the five kingdoms of Magadha, Cedi, Kauśāmbī, Karūṣa, and Matsya. According to the *Cetiya-Jātaka*, however, among his five sons, one who went to the east, founded Hatthipura (i.e., Hastināpura or Indraprastha); one who went to the south, founded Assapura (i.e., Aśvaka or Aśmaka on the Godāvarī); one who went to the west, founded Sīhapura; one who went to the north, founded Uttara-Pañcāla; and one who went to the north-west, founded Daddarapura. The *Mahābhārata* introduces us also to the most powerful but wreckless Cedi king Śiśupāla, son of Damaghoṣa, who made an alliance with the great Jarāsandha of Magadha and made a common cause against the Yādavas and Pāṇḍavas. After killing Śiśupāla, Kṛṣṇa installed his (Śiśupāla's) son Dhṛṣṭaketu in the sovereignty of the Cedis. Dhṛṣṭaketu fought on the side of the Pāṇḍavas in the great battle of Kurukṣetra. According to the *Agni-Purāṇa* (IV. 14), Śiśupāla was the son of Damaghoṣa by Śrutaśravā, sister of Vasudeva,—a Sātvata or Yādava princess. In the *Mahābhārata*, Udyogaparva (ch. 74), Sahaja of the Cedi dynasty is mentioned among the 18 kings who by their great strength, ruined their friends and relations. In the Aśvamedhaparva of the same epic (chs. 83-84), we have mention of Sarabha

of the noble and auspicious marks,[155] who is gifted with[156] the attri-

as a son of Śiśupāla, who was defeated and subdued by Arjuna. The same epic groups the Cedis, in one context, with the Pañcālas and the Kaikeyas; in another, with the Kāśis and the Karūṣas; in a third, with the Matsyas and the Karūṣas; in a fourth, with the Karūṣas and the Kośalas; and in a fifth, with the Pañcālas, the Karūṣas and the Matsyas. The Bhīsmaparva (ch. 6) describes the Śuktimatī as one of the rivers in Bhāratavarṣa.

In the Pāli *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (IV, pp. 252, 256, 260) and the Jaina *Bhagavatī-sūtra,* Ceti, the land where the Cetis founded their kingdom and settled, is mentioned as one of the sixteen *mahājanapadas.* In the Pāli list, the Cetis as a people are grouped with the Vaṃsas or Vatsas. The Ceti kingdom with Sahajāti (modern Bhita) as its principal town is located to the east of Vatsa, the land of the Vatsas. According to Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, the Ceta or Cetiya raṭṭha corresponds roughly to modern Bundelkhand. In the opinion of Rapson, Cedi occupied in the post-Vedic period the northern portion of the Central Provinces. With Pargiter Cedi lay along the south of Jumna. Rhys Davids inclines to think (*Buddhist India,* p. 26) that the Cetis, had two distinct settlements, one, properly the older, was in the mountains, in what is now called Nepal; the other probably a later colony, was near Kauśāmbī to the east.

The inscriptions of the Kalacuri or Haihaya dynasty of Cedi go to prove that the rulers of this dynasty assumed the title of "Lords of Kālañjarapura and of Tri-Kaliṅga, Kālañjara being the well-known hill-fort in Bundelkhand. For these and other details regarding the Cedis, their kingdom and kings, see B. C. Law's *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes,* ch. V; H. C. Raychaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India;* Rhys Davids in the *Cambridge History of India,* vol. I, p. 84.

In the Hāthigumphā inscription itself, Khāravela is connected with the Ceti royal house, which may indicate that the Ceti kings had, in course of time, established their suzerainty also in Kaliṅga. In it, he is represented as a scion of a line and family of royal sages (*rājisi-vaṃsakula-viniśrita*) in spite of the fact that the Cedi kings do not figure as *rājarṣis* in their tradition preserved elsewhere. In the Pāli *Vessantara-Jātaka* Kaliṅga, Śivi and Cedi are described as three contiguous kingdoms, the Śivis being matrimonially allied with the Cedis. It goes to show that the way to the Himalayas, both from Kaliṅga and the Śivi kingdom lay through the kingdom of the Cedis. The distance between the Śivi kingdom and the Cedi is said to be 30 *yojanas* (about 240 miles). Mt. Suvaṇṇagiritāla, the river Kontimārā, Mt. Añjanagiri, and the Brahmin village called Dunnaviṭṭhanālidaṇḍa are interposed between Jettuttara, the capital city of the Śivis and the kingdom of the Cedis. The *Cetiya-Jātaka,* on the other hand, describes the journey of a person from Benares to the Cedi kingdom along a route through the hills, which was risky owing to the mischievous activity of the *pesanaka-coras.*

155 *I.e., mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇas* according to the *lakṣaṇa-pāṭhakas* or readers of signs or marks. Cf. *Majjhima-nikāya,* II, p. 134.

156 Whether one reads *guṇa-upetena* or *gunôpahitena,* the meaning is the same.

butes (of one capable) of subduing the earth extending as far as the four seas,[157] were played for fifteen years the sports befitting the young age of the prince with a handsome body of 'fair brown complexion.'[158] Thereafter, for nine years, just the office of a Crown Prince was administered by (His Royal Highness) who was well-versed in (matters relating to) writing, coinage, accounting, procedure, and approved principle of action, whose self was purified by proficiency in all (Indian) 'polite learning.'[159] Having then completed twenty-four years, he who, as he waxed great, passed the rest of his manhood in making notable conquests,[160] gained the high state implied by the coronation of a great king in the third royal dynasty of Kaliṅga,[161] in regular linear succession.[162]

157 The adoption of Jayaswal's reading *luṭhita* makes no difference to the sense.

158 Sten Konow is led to think that "*Siri-kaḍāra* is the lover of Śrī, *i.e.*, Kṛṣṇa", and that "Khāravela's boyish games are compared with Kṛṣṇa's pranks and sports in Vṛndāvana". This would seem too far-fetched to be acceptable. Here *siri-kaḍāra* is used as an adjective qualifying Khāravela's *sarīra*, and not his sports.

159 See for notes on *lekha, rūpa*, etc., Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, pp. 240 f.; Jayaswal, *EI.*, vol. XX, pp. 81-82.

160 The word *abhivijaya* is used in this very sense in the *Majjhima-nikāya*.

Adopting Jayaswal's reading *vadhamāna-sesayo Venâbhivijayo*, one must translate the text: "(he who had been prosperous since his infancy (?) and who (was destined) to have wide conquests as those of Veṇa."

161 Jayaswal aptly observes: "In the third line the details about Khāravela's ancestry are made clear. He was born in the royal line of Ceti and was the overlord of Kaliṅga, but the dynasty to which he belonged was the 3rd dynasty of the kings of Kaliṅga".

162 Jayaswal would have us understand by the word *purisa-yuge* 'at the proper age of the man'. He says in so many words: "Evidently the throne had been vacant and Khāravela ascended it after completing his 24th year. According to the *Bṛhaspati Sūtra*, for a prince playing and learning were enjoined up to the 24th year and after that, politics". I differ, for the inscription clearly tells us that he acted as *yuvarāja* for nine years, from which it is difficult to surmise that the throne had remained vacant. As for *purisa-yuga*, it is precisely in the sense of regular or unbroken linear succession that the word has been used in the *Majjhima-nikāya*, II, p. 75: *Yasmiṃ purisa-yuge vattamāne evarūpassa kalyāṇassa raṭṭhassa samucchedo hoti, so tesaṃ antima-puriso hoti*. In this context, Buddhaghoṣa ex-

2. And as soon as he was anointed, in the very first year, (His Majesty) caused the Kalinga-city Khibīra[163] in which the gates, walls and residential houses were damaged by stormy wind, to be repaired, and caused the embankments of the cool tanks to be made, and (also) caused the work of restoration of all the gardens to be done at the cost of thirty-five hundred thousand (pieces of the standard coin), and (thereby) pleased the subjects.[164]

plains the word *purisa-yuge* as signifying—*vaṃsa-sambhave purise,* "in the time of the person (who comes to reign) by linear succession.

The statement in the inscription admits of another rendering, namely "during the third period of reign of the royal dynasty of Kaliṅga", which, too, may be supported by usages and explanations in Buddhist literature. First, the *Lalita-vistara* mentions the following characteristics of an ideal royal family:

Puruṣayuga-sampannaṃ tatkulaṃ bhavati.
Pūrvapuruṣayuga-sampannaṃ ca tatkulaṃ bhavati.
Abhijāta-puruṣayuga-sampannaṃ ca tatkulaṃ bhavati.
Abhilakṣita-puruṣayuga-sampannaṃ ca tatkulaṃ bhavati.
Maheśākhya-puruṣayuga-sampannaṃ ca tatkulaṃ bhavati.

"Such a family is remarkable for having a continuous succession of generations of men. It has the contemporaneity of two previous generations. It has the contemporaneity of two living generations. It has the contemporaneity of two coming generations. It has a continuous succession of mighty persons."

Cf. *Mahāvastu,* I, p. 1.

Here the implication is that two generations living at the same time constitute a period. In this very sense, Buddhaghoṣa explains the word *purisa-yuga* in the *Samanta-pāsādikā* (I, p. 190). According to the Pāli scholiast, the life-time of a Buddha which also covers the career of his immediate disciples constitutes one *purisa-yuga* or period, and the career of his immediate disciples and later followers since his demise constitutes the second *purisa-yuga* or period. Similarly, the expression *satta-pitāmaha-yugā* means the seven grandfathers, each grandfather standing for a distinct period, the grandfather's life-time including that of the father.

163 R. C. Panda takes the word to mean 'springs' (*The Mayurbhanj Gazette,* 1938, p. 16). Reading the text as *Kaliṅga-nagari-Khibīra-isitāla-taḍāga-pāḍiyo baṃdhāpayati,* Jayaswal translates it: "in the city of Kaliṅga (he) causes the erection of the embankments of the lake (called after) Khibīra Ṛṣi, (and) of (other) tanks and cisterns". Note that according to grammatical construction, the adjectival compound *vāta-vihata-gopura-pākāra-nivesanaṃ* requires a noun, such as *Kaliṃga-nagari-Khibīraṃ,* after it. Cf. *haya-gaja-nara-radha-bahulaṃ* qualifying *daṃḍaṃ.*

164 Jayaswal translates "and (he) gratifies the People".

3. And in the second year, not (at all) bringing Śātakarṇi[165] into (his) thought, (His Majesty) caused a multitudinous army (consisting of) horses, elephants, foot-men and chariots to march in a western direction, and with the aid of the army that reached (the bank of) the Kṛṣṇaveṇā (river),[166] struck terror into the city of Asika (Musika?).

4. Again, in the third year, (His Majesty), who was a master of the science of music—the Gandharva lore, caused the capital to be entertained by the display of combats,[167] dancing, singing, and instrumental music, and (no less) by the arrangement made for festivities and convivial gatherings.

5. Likewise, in the fourth year, (His Majesty caused to be done his duty to) the home of the Vidyādharas,[168] founded by the former kings of Kaliṅga, which was not invaded before, compelled

165 According to Jayaswal, Śātakarṇi referred to in this inscription is "evidently Śrī Śātakarṇi, the third king of the Sātavāhana dynasty, the husband of queen Nayanikā of the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions in the Junnār Tāluk of the Poona district." For the palæographic similarity between the inscription of Khāravela and those of Nayaṇikā, queen of Śrī Śātakarṇi, see R. D. Banerjee's monograph—Palæography of the Hāthigumphā and Nānāghāṭ Inscriptions, *Memoir, ASB.*, vol. X. All that the inscription itself clearly proves is that one king Śātakarṇi was "the only powerful rival on the western border of Kaliṅga," and that his kingdom included the city of Asika (Skt. Ṛṣika or Āṛṣika) on the river Kṛṣṇaveṇā. The Nāsik cave inscription of queen Gautamī expressly mentions Asika as one of the places included in the dominions of the Śātakarṇis. See *E.I.*, vol. VIII, p. 60. Asika heads the list of places.

166 According to the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa;* LXVII, 26-27, the Kṛṣṇaveṇā, like the Godāvarī, the Bhīmaratha, and a few other rivers, took its rise from the Vindhya range:

Godāvari-Bhīmaratha-Kṛṣṇaveṇyā tathâparā
Vindhyapādā viniṣkrāntā ityetā sariduttamā.

It is identified with the modern Wain-gaṅgā which has for its main tributary the Kanhan, the two streams uniting in the district of Bhaṇḍārā.

167 *dapa* is either the *darpa-krīḍā* mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*, III. 3. 58, or the *davakamma* or 'comics' mentioned in the Pāli *Mahāniddesa*, p. 379.

168 The home of the Vidyādharas appears to have been situated somewhere in the Central Provinces. The inscription seems to indicate that it was invaded or encroached upon at the time by the two neighbouring ruling tribes, viz., the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas, and accordingly their chiefs were punished by Khāravela.

all the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas[169] who were deprived of their wealth and jewels, whose royal insignia consisting of umbrellas and vases had been cast away, who were abandoned by good brahmins (?), and whose crowns were rendered meaningless, to bow down at (his) feet.

6. And then, in the fifth year, (His Majesty) caused the canal opened out by King Nanda[170] three hundred (or 103) years back to be brought into the capital from the Tanasuliya road.[171] .....

169 Jayaswal's note on the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas is worth quoting here: "*Raṭhika-Bhojake* stand for the Mahāraṭhis and Mahābhojas of Sātavāhana inscriptions of the same period at Kanheri and Beḍsa. The Raṭhikas are mentioned as *Ristikas* in the Girnar, *Raṭhikas* in the Shahbazgarhī and *Raṭhakas* in the Mansehra version of the edict of Aśoka. ..... In the 13th edict we find the Bhojakas mentioned with the *Pitinikas* ....." For the use of the word *Raṭhika* in the general sense of local chiefs or subordinate potentates, see the Yerraguḍi copy of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict, *Aṅguttara-nikāya,* III, pp. 76, 78, 300, and Barua's *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions,* p. 211.

170 Jayaswal points out: "King Nanda is mentioned in two places in this inscription, once in l.6 and again in l.12. The date in this line apparently refers to an era founded by king Nanda. His mention in connection with Magadha fixes his identity with the Magadhan Nanda dynasty." There is no evidence as yet to prove that any king of the Maurya or of the Nanda dynasty who may be called a predecessor of Aśoka's had either conquered or held sway over any part of Kaliṅga. The clear evidence of the 13th Rock Edict of Aśoka belies that theory or surmise. Kaliṅga had remained unconquered (*avijita*) till the 7th year of Aśoka's reign. We need not attach any importance to the name Nanda because it finds mention in this inscription which is but a royal panegyric composed to flatter Khāravela. Mr. R. C. Panda seems to have misconstrued the account of Megasthenes about the connection of *Sandrakottos* (Candragupta Maurya), or, *a priori,* that of his Nanda predecessor, with *Prasii* and *Gangaridæ.* In the *Indika,* Candragupta Maurya is described as the king of *Prasii* or *Prācya,* which excluded *Gangaridæ* (McCrindle's *Ancient India,* Frag. I, art. 37). It is evident from Aśoka's edicts that the Province of Kaliṅga in his time had two main political divisions, the southern with its head-quarters at Samāpā in Ganjam district, and the north-eastern with its head-quarters at Tosali, the seat of the Maurya Viceroy.

171 This statement in the Hāthigumphā inscription is not without its significance. The location of the capital of Khāravela's Kaliṅga kingdom is to be determined not only with reference to the river Prācī on which he had built the Great-victory Palace in his 9th regnal year but with reference as well to the Tanasuliya Road from which

7. And in the sixth year, (His Majesty) while displaying his royal prosperity,[172] bestowed (unprecedented) favours on the inhabitants of towns and districts[173] by remitting all taxes and duties amounting to many hundred thousand (pieces of the standard coin).

8. And in the seventh year, (His Majesty caused) compact groups of hundreds of horses,[174] (portable) 'diamond chambers' and warriors (to proceed to) the tranquil spot adjoining the foot of the Samataka (hill).[175] (?) .....[176]

9. And in the eighth year, having stormed with a mighty army (the fortress of) Gorathagiri[177] of invulnerable wall, (His Majesty) brought a pressure to bear upon Rājagṛha, and the Yavana king ?mi????[178] retreated to Mathurā[179] in order to release the

the canal opened out by king Nanda was extended up to the capital of Kaliṅga. I still think that the Tanasuliya Road was no other than a road connecting the Tosali of Aśoka with the Kaliṅganagara of Khāravela.

172 The word which definitely occurs in the inscription is *rājaseyaṃ* (Skt. *rāja-śrīyām*), and not *rājasūyam* to justify Jayaswal's interpretation.

173 None should so stretch with Jayaswal the sense of the two words, *Pora* and *Jānapada,* as to obtain from it the idea of a 'City-corporation' and a 'Realm-corporation'.

174 According to Jayaswal's reading—*Satamaṃ ca vasaṃ pasāsato,* the translation shall be: "And while he was reigning for the seventh year", or simply, "In the seventh year", or simply, "In the seventh year of his reign."

175 I am just imagining here that, perhaps, in his seventh regnal year, Khāravela organized a pompous religious procession for visiting the holy spot on Mt. Samataka or Sameta (modern Pareshnāth hill), which may not at all be correct.

176 Both the text and translation offered are hypothetical. Nothing can or should be construed definitely from either. Jayaswal would make out a text yielding such a fact as that in the seventh year of Khāravela's reign, his famous wife of Vajiraghara 'obtained the dignity of auspicious motherhood', which, on the face of it, is too fantastic to deserve credence.

177 The same as what is called *Khalatika-pavata* in the Barābar Hill cave inscriptions of Aśoka, and *Pravaragiri* in some of the mediaeval Sanskrit inscriptions. Modern, Barābar hills.

178 The name of the Yavana king cannot be definitely made out. Even it is uncertain whether it consists of three or six syllables.

179 Mathurā was till then under the sway of the Greek kings.

troops and vehicles restlessly moving [180] on account of the uproar[181] of reprisal on His (Majesty's) part[182].....returned (to Kaliṅga), marched back with Kalpavṛkṣa, the Wishing Tree, burdened with foliage, and (the troops) of horses, elephants and chariots, (did something for) all householders, and to captivate all (he) offered the gift of victory to the Brahmins, (offered something to) the Ārhata (recluses).....

10. And in the ninth year, (His Majesty) caused the royal residence Mahāvijaya-prāsāda, the "Great-Victory-Palace", to be built on both the banks of the Prācī[183] at the cost of thirty-eight hundred thousand (pieces of the standard coin).

11. And in the tenth year, well-read and experienced in the principles of polity, (His Majesty) proceeded on a campaign for the conquest of countries in Bhāratavarṣa[184].....(?)[185]

12. And in the eleventh year, (His Majesty)..... went in procession with jewels and gems.....caused the grassy overgrowth of Pṛthudaka,[186] founded by a former

180 Adopting the reading *saṃbita*, Jayaswal translates it—'demoralised'.

181 Whether one reads *panādena* or *saṃnādena*, the meaning is the same.

182 Whether the reading is *etinaṃ* or *etinā*, the sense remains the same.

183 It is still an open question whether the Great-victory-Palace was built in the then capital of Kaliṅga or elsewhere. The record of the 9th year shows that it was built on both the banks of the Prācī, an ancient river, the nearest distance of which from Bhubaneswar is 12 to 13 miles. This river, as pointed out by Mr. R. C. Panda, traverses a course of 30 miles before it empties itself into the Bay of Bengal. Both the banks of the Prācī abound in old ruins of temples, wells and tanks, and in mounds that await excavation. I am not, however, quite sure of the reading of the name of Prācī. The intended name may as well be Puti or Purī.

184 Here as Jayaswal aptly points out, the name Bhāratavarṣa is not used to denote the whole of India but a certain portion of it. It excludes, for instance, the region called Uttarāpatha.

185 Nothing can be definitely made out from this record of the 10th year.

186 According to Jayaswal's reading, the name of the place is Pithuṃḍa which is no other than what is called Pihuṇḍa in the *Uttarâdhyayana-sūtra*. Pithuṃḍa is probably the city 'mentioned by Ptolemy as Pitundra.' According to Ptolemy, Pitundra was a city in the upper part of the Coromandel coast.'

king[187] to be let out into the Lāṅgala (river)[188] and destroyed the accumulation of dark swamps[189] that grew up in thirteen-and-hundred years (and) became a cause of anxiety to the country.

13. And in the twelfth year,.....with the aid of thousands of the Śivis (?), (His Majesty) produced consternation among the rulers of Uttarāpatha,[190] while generating an immense fear among the people of Magadha, caused the elephants and horses to drink in the Ganges,[191] and compelled Bṛhaspatimitra,[192] the king of of the Magadha people, to bow down at his feet, (did something in

187 Jayaswal forcibly reads *Avarāja* and explains it as meaning the king of the Avas or Andhras.

188 The sharp difference between the two readings offered by Jayaswal and myself lies in the fact that according to one, Khāravela caused Pithuṃḍa, founded by an Ava or Andhra king, to be ploughed with an ass-plough (*i.e.*, to be utterly destroyed), and according to the other, he caused Pṛthudaka, founded by a former king of Kaliṅga, to be reclaimed. According to my reading, for which credit must go rather to Sylvan Lévi, the Nagala, Naṃgala or Lāngala was the name of a river, the river Nāgāvali bearing also the name of Langulia. See for details, Barua's *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, pp. 196 ff.

189 According to Jayaswal's reading *Tramira-deśa-saṃghātaṃ*, the rendering is: "the confederacy of the Tramira (Dramira) countries."

190 According to the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, p. 93, *Pṛthudakāt parataḥ Uttarāpathaḥ*. "Uttarāpatha is (the north-western region) which lay beyond Pṛthudaka (near Thāneswar)". Dhammapāla in his commentary on the *Petavatthu*, locates Mathurā in Uttarāpatha (*Uttara-Madhura-Uttarāpathe*). According to the *Mahābhārata*, XII. 207. 43, the Yavanas, Kambojas, Gandhāras, Kirātas, and Barbaras were all peoples of Uttarāpatha.

191 Neither the reading nor the grammatical form of the word *Gaṃgāya* justifies Jayaswal's or Dr. Sten Konow's suggestion that here is a reference to the palace of Candragupta Maurya which Viśākhadatta, the author of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, knew to be *Sugānga*. The reference is obviously to Pāṭaliputra, the last capital of Magadha which was on the Ganges. See McCrindle's *Ancient India*, Frags. XXV-XXVI.

192 All the arguments hitherto put forward by Jayaswal for the identification of Bṛhaspatimitra, the contemporary king of Magadha, with Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga-Mitra dynasty are plausible but unconvincing. He may certainly be identified with Bṛhaspatimitra, nephew of king Āṣāḍhasena of Ahicchatra, during whose reign the Pabhosā caves were excavated and donated.

connection with) the settlements of the Kaliṅga people subjugated by king Nanda,.....carried the wealth of Aṅga and Magadha with the aid of persons skilled in clever tactics,.....caused to be erected towering temples and gates with figures of the goddess of Luck in their niches, procured at the cost of a hundred *viśās*[193] (of gold) the rare and wonderful trappings[194] of elephants, the king of Pāṇḍya, rich in mettled horses, elephants and jewels and gems, supplied here hundreds and thousands of apparel (?), pearls, gems and jewels, ...subdued (soṃe people).

14. And in the thirteenth year, on the Kumārī hill[195] in the well-founded realm of victory,[196] were excavated[197] the *jīvadehaśra-yikas*[198] by His Graceful Majesty Khāravela, devoted to the worship of those who depended on royal patronage,[199] those who had fulfilled their (religious) vows,[200] (and) those sought shelter during the rains[201] for use as comfortable resting places[202] by the Ārhata (recluses), the cause of whose future gliding in the course of transmigration had

193 The *viśā* is a measure, of which two varieties, viz. Kaṭaki and Bālāsoree, are prevalent in Orissa up till now.

194 The word *nāvata* or *navata* means trappings of elephants. Jayaswal reads *nivāsa* and equates it with *nirvāsa,* which, as he points out, is used in the *Śukranīti* in the sense of an enclosure for entrapping elephants. The correctness of this interpretation depends upon his reading of the next word as *parisara,* which is evidently *pariharati,* a verb having also *haya, hathi,* and *ratana-māṇika* for its objects.

195 Modern, Udayagiri, the Khaṇḍagiri hill being referred to in the inscription of Udyotakeśarī as *Kumāra-parvata.*

196 *supavata-vijaya-cake=supravartta-vijaya-cakre.*

197 I assume the word to be *panikhātā.*

198 *i.e.,* the caves serving as shelters for living selves.

199 *rājabhitini=rāja-bhṛtinām.*

200 *cina-vatani*=Pāli *cinnavatānaṃ,* Jayaswal interprets it in the sense of 'China clothes' (*Cina-vastra*), which is far from correct.

201 *vasâsitāni=varṣâśritānām.*

202 *kayya=kāya* or *kalya,* Pāli *kalla=tuṭṭha. kayyanisīdī*—seems to be just another word for Aśoka's *tuṭhâyatanāni.*

been greatly extenuated[203] (and) who were (there) for fulfilling the yāpa (Rainy season vow).[204]

15. For the honoured recluses of well-established reputation[205] and the Jñātṛkas (?)[206] viewing all things alike (and) the monks (?) belonging to (different) orders (and) coming from a hundred directions, with hundreds and thousands of stones quarried out of excellent quarries (and) collected from (an area extending over) many *yojanas* by expert heads,[207] (His Majesty caused) indeed (to be made) sleeping-and-sitting-accomodations[208] fitted with artistic pillars (?) on a slope near the Ārhata resting place,[209] and caused the columns to be set up in a beryl-set hall with an ornamental courtyard[210] at the cost of seventy-five hunderd thousand (pieces of the standard coin), and in sixty-four panels,[211] intersected with sculptures,[212] caused to be produced (the scenes of) peaceful music.[213]

203 *pakhiṇasaṃsitehi=prakṣiṇa-saṃsṛtaiḥ*. 204 *yāpujavakehi=yāpa-udyāpakaiḥ*. Jina Vijaya Suri inclines to think that the Jaina recluses referred to in the inscription belonged, in all likelihood, to the Yāpana-saṃgha.

205 Reading the word as *sukata-samaṇa-suvihitānaṃ*, Jayaswal translates it: "The monks of good deeds and who have fully followed (the injunctions)." According to my reading, *sakata*=Pāli *sakkata*. For *suvihitānaṃ*, cf. Aśoka's RE. VII: *yesaṃ vā pi saṃvihitānaṃ*.

206 The reading is either *ñātānaṃ* or *ñāninaṃ*. Accordingly the rendering must be either the *jñātṛkas* or the wise.

207 Or, men with bent heads, (*panata-sisehi*). Jayaswal reads *tāpasa-isinaṃ saṃghayanaṃ*, and translates it: "a Council of the wise ascetics and sages" etc. I think the statement is not intended to say that Khāravela brought together the *śramaṇas* and wise ascetics in a Council convened for the purpose.

208 Pāli *senâsanāni*. See *Pāli-English Dict.*, for the technical meaning of the word. Jayaswal reads *nisayāni* ("*shelters*").

209 According to Jayaswal, "near the Relic Depository of the Arhat." I do not think the reference is to the Rāni Nūr on the Udayagiri hill but to some other edifice not far from it.

210 Jayaswal reads *paṭalako caturo* ("four columns"), in which case the reading would have been *paṭalakā caturo*.

211 According to Jayaswal, "of sixty-four (letters)."

212 The word *makhiya* is to be derived from *makha* or *mankha*, which signifies, according to the Jaina *Bhagavatī sūtra*, a picture in a frame

213 *turiya*=Skt. *tūrya*.

16. The king of security[214] was he, the king of prosperity,[215] the king of renunciation,[216] the righteous king,[217] (capable of) perceiving, hearing and experiencing things that are conducive to welfare[218] was His Graceful Majesty[219] Khāravela, the mighty conqueror, the upholder of the realm of royal command, the protector of the realm of royal command, the repairer of all abodes of the gods,[220] the worshipper of all sects,[221] accomplished by virtue of the possession of certain special qualities.[222]

3. OLD ORIYĀ MANUSCRIPT

The *ślokas* cited from an Oṛiyā Manuscript by Jayaswal in *JBORS.*, 1917, p. 482, and reproduced by Dr. Sten Konow in *Acta Orientalia,* vol. I, and also by me in my *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions,* p. 183, have misled the world of scholars. No credence is to be placed on it on the authority of Jayaswal's statement that the MS. is lying unedited in the archives of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The MS. is no other than that of the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa*. It was the property of Pandit Chintamani Misra of Bhubaneswar who was both a Sanskrit composer and an expert caligraphist. The relevant

214 According to Jayaswal, "the king of peace."

215 *Vadharāja* or *vaḍharāja* may also be rendered: "the king of experience."

216 Literally, "the king of the *bhikṣus*."

217 See the *Rājavagga, Aṅguttara-nikāya,* for the description of duties of a righteous king.

218 The five *mahākalyāṇas,* according to the Jainas, consist of the Descent, Birth, Initiation, Attainment and Final Deliverance in the life-history of a Jina. But the *kalyāṇas* in this inscription may be taken to represent such good principles of human action as those mentioned by Aśoka in his Pillar edicts.

219 Jayaswal translates simply by "the prosperous."

220 The epithet *sava-devâyatana-saṃkāra-kāraka* is important as indicating that various temples of popular Hindu deities had then existed in Kaliṅga. As a Jaina king, Khāravela had not taken the initiative in erecting but helped others only in repairing them.

221 Here he followed in the footsteps of Aśoka. See Rock Edict XII.

222 Jayaswal appropriately renders it: "accomplished in extraordinary virtues."

portions of the MS. were kindly read out to me by his son, the present owner of it. In it, Khāravela figures as the national hero of Kaliṅga. He is credited with the erection of the Bhubanewar temple, the excavation of Bindu Sarovar, and the conquest of Nepāl and many other places in India, northern and southern, eastern and western. All that I can or should say at present regarding this MS. is that before it is subjected to a careful scrutiny and passed by a body of experts as ancient and authentic, its evidence must not be brought in to bear upon the historical interpretation of the Hāthigumphā inscription or any part thereof.

4. RESULTS

The nett results of this revised reading and interpretation of the Hāthigumphā inscription are substantially the same as those obtained before. The changes in reading in several instances are not such as to yield or suggest a different sense. Khāravela's personal history, too, remains much the same as outlined in my *Old Brāhmi Inscriptions*. Among the new points to be noted in this edition, the first is the name of the capital of Kaliṅga. The inscription may be taken to mention Khibīra as the name of the capital, or more accurately, that of the city of Kaliṅga. Unfortunately, this name is not met with either in literature or in any of the inscriptions. The location of the capital will remain a matter of dispute up till the discovery of a definite evidence setting the question at rest. But one will look in vain for the site of the capital of Khāravela's kingdom in the south, whether in Kaliṅgapatam or near Chicacole. The inscription itself furnishes us with two data, only one of which is definite, while the other is tentative. It records the extension of the canal opened out by king Nanda into the city of Kaliṅga from the Tanasuliya Road. Here, too, our difficulty is that we do not know the specification of the road in question. Apparently *Tanasuli* is the same name as *Tosali*, though

both in the earlier inscriptions of Aśoka and in the later inscriptions of the Ikkhākus at Nāgārjuṇi-koṇḍa the spelling of the name is Tosali. Khāravela had built a new royal palace on both the banks of the river Prācī, the nearest distance of which from Bhubaneswar is 10 to 12 miles. But there is nothing to show definitely that the palace was built in the city of Kaliṅga itself. The statement can at the most support a presumption in favour of the location of the capital of Kaliṅga in Khāravela's time somewhere on the banks of the Prācī, and not far from Bhubaneswar and the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri caves.

Bṛhaspatimitra was certainly the contemporary king of Magadha, presumably also of Aṅga. A Yavana king was powerful in the region of Mathurā, whose name was doubtfully suggested by Dr. Sten Konow to be Ḍimita and definitely read by Jayaswal as Dimita and equated with Demetrius. The name of the Greek king is still to be ascertained. It does not seem to be any of the earlier Greek kings of Mathurā.

The reading Muriya-kāla must be ruled out of order, as the letters clearly yield the reading *makhiya-kala* instead. It is only by a confusion between the Pāli *Saṅgāyana* and the inscriptional word *Sanghiyana* or *Sanghayana* that Jayaswal was led to believe that Khāravela convened a council of the Jainas. It is also by a misinterpretation of the meaning of the statement *coyaṭha-aṃge satikaṃ turiyaṃ upādayati* that he came to suggest that Khāravela "compiled expeditiously the text of the sevenfold Aṃgas of the sixty-four (letters)." The statement intends mentioning certain scenes of music produced among the decorative sculptures in an edifice which was erected at the cost of seventy-five hundred thousand coins.

The record of the twelfth year has been misread by Jayaswal so as to show that it actually mentions the name of the Maurya Palace which is described in the *Mudrārākṣasa* by the name of

Sugānga. Similarly, the misreading of *Kaliṅgajana-saṃnivesa* for *Kaliṅga-jina-saṃnivesa* led Jayaswal to think that king Nanda took away "the image of the Jina of Kaliṅga" which is far from the historical truth.

In l. 16 (may be, in the record of the 14th regnal year), Khāravela speaks of a certain edifice which he had built on a slope in the neighbourhood of the resting place of the Ārhatas with hundreds and thousands of stones collected from the best of quarries from an area extending over many *yojanas*. Jayaswal has taken it to be a reference to the Rāni Nūr excavated on a slope of the Udayagiri hill. But this would seem rather wide of the mark, inasmuch as the Rāni Nūr is just a highly ornamented cave excavated in a single piece of rock or boulder, and not an edifice with hundreds and thousands of separate pieces of stone. The reference must, therefore, have been to some other edifice in the vicinity of the Udayagiri hill. It is not unlikely that some such edifice was built by him at Bhubaneswar. It may even some day be proclaimed that Khāravela was the builder of the first great temple at Bhubaneswar. Anyhow, his statement concerning the edifice on a slope near the Udayagiri hill awaits a careful elucidation.

B. M. Barua

Chinese-Indian Contacts

[PRIOR TO THE LATTER HALF OF THE FIRST CENTURY]

To the present time, so far as the writer is aware, the subject whose title appears above has not been dealt with, for its own sake alone. Most of the general works on Chinese and Indian history have been satisfied to refer to such a work as the *Milindapañha*, or to the *Memoirs of Chang Ch'ien* and thereby leave the impression that there was a considerable amount of intercourse between the two countries too detailed to be further outlined. A few of these works have resorted to linguistics to further illustrate their point. In addition to such general works, there have been numerous studies conducted on the relations of China with Rome on the one hand, and the relations of India with Greece and Rome on the other. Such studies make greater use of the Indian-Chinese implications than the general histories, yet one cannot but feel that such references are wholly secondary to the point involved in these works and so, in many cases are rather carelessly investigated. Only one important contribution of a comprehensive nature has been made to this subject to date, namely Konow's introduction to his volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*.[1]

Roughly speaking, the first hand sources at our disposal can be divided into three chief groups, namely, Indian, Classical (Greek and Roman), and Chinese. Of these, the Indian sources possess little practical value because of the chronological uncertainty involved

1 The present writer does not propose to bring forward new material of recent discovery in this short paper, but to correlate the widely scattered material which has previously been brought to light, chiefly through purely linguistic research. There will, therefore, be no attempt to do more than compare linguistic evidence where conclusions have been disputed.

in all of them.[2] The Classical evidence,[3] may be divided into two categories as follows: (1) Accounts of historians, geographers, and traders; (2) Literary allusions. As is the case with the Indian sources, the entire value of these Classical texts hangs upon the correct interpretation of certain words. Chief among these are the words *Seres* and *Serica, This, Thinae Tzinitza,* and *Sinae* are others occurring less frequently.

The words *Seres* and *Serica* are used most often and, more important, they are used by sources dating earlier than the Christian era. The word *Serica* is commonly accepted as the Greek and Latin equivalent for China, while *Seres* refers to the inhabitants of *Serica,* or the Chinese. Therefore *Serica,* derived from *Ser* (silk), would mean originally silk-cloth country. No one has seriously attacked this etymology and it has been repeated in substantially the same formula as now quoted from Coedès.[4]

"Le Chinois *See,* le Coréen *Sir,* le Mongol *Sirkek,* et le Mandchou *Sirghè* sont les noms de la soie."[5]

But on the other hand, while the above etymology has not been attacked, there have been strong exceptions taken to certain specific passages in which the word *Seres* is employed,[6] questioning, for instance, the usage of *Seres* when applied by Pliny to "some *Seres* of unusual height, who had red hair, blue eyes, and harsh voices," and who lived, "beyond the Emodi mountains."

2 I am speaking of those sources which carry the words *cīna, cīnapaṭṭa, kauśeya* and its Pāli equivalent *kosseyam* etc. The chief literary works in question are the *Mahābhārata,* Kauṭilya's *Ārthaśāstra,* the *Milindapañha,* and the *Digha Nikāya.* Other works in which *cīna* etc. appear are unquestionably of later date than the 1st. century A.D.

3 Classical sources are chiefly contained in George Coedès, *Textes d'Auteurs Grecs et Latins relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient,* Paris, 1910.

4 *Ibid.,* Introduction, x, n. 1.

5 See also J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias Description of Greece,* IV, 110.

6 J. Kennedy, *Seres or Cheras (JRAS.,* Apl. 1904), 359-362.

Further illustration of the unsatisfactory character of the implications of the Classical references which depends solely upon the words *Seres* and *Serica* may be illustrated from the following statement of Alfred Herrmann.[7]

"Folgende Autoren identifizieren *Serica* vorviegend mit dem *Tarimbecken* (Chines. Tartarei, Ost Turkestan): J. Hager, *Numismatique chinoise,* 137; Sylvain de Sacy, *Magasin encyclopédique,* III, Juin 1805, C. Ritter, *Erdkunde* VII, 559; A. Cunningham, *JASB.,* XVI, 1847, 989; Ch. Lassen, *Indische Altertumskunde,* 2. 1847, 540; F. V. Richtofen, *China,* I, 479; VhGesE, 1877, 118; J. L. Dutreuil de Rhins et F. Grenard, a.a.O. II, 1898, 27ff.

Für Nordchina, erklären sich ausser L. J. Deguignes (s.S. 20, Anm, 3); J. T. Reinaud, 'Relations politique et commerciales de l'empire Romain avec l'Asie Orientale'; *JA.,* VI, serie I, 186, 335: H. Kiepert, *Atlas Antiquus,* Tab, II (Maasstab 1: 40 Mill.), 1894.

Mehr an Westchina denkt; P. Vidal de la Blache, *Les voies de commerce dans la géographie de Ptolémée;* MemAcInscr. 1896, 480.

Andere Bearbeiter rechnen zu *Serica* nicht allein China, sondern auch grosse Teile der Mongolei bis nach Sibirien: K. Mannert, *Geogr. der Greichen und Römer,* IV, 500; Th. W. Kingsmill, 'The Sêrica of Ptolemy and its ancient Inhabitants'. N. China Branch *RAS.* XIX, 2. 44-60; ders. *Ancient Tibet and its Frontages,* ebda XXXVIII, 1906, 21-54. E. Gerini,, 'Early Geography of Indo-China,' *JRAS.,* 1897, 557 ff.; E. F. Berlioux, 'Les premiers voyages des Européens dans l'Asie Centrale et au pays des Seres,' *Bull. de la Société de geographie de Lyon,* XV, 1898, 5-80."

This disagreement among nineteenth century scholars has in no wise been narrowed down in the twentieth. Herrmann himself, writing in 1910, refused to commit himself beyond saying that western knowledge of the East prior to Ptolemy was so imperfect as to make impossible any geographical location of *Serica.* Perhaps the only safe conclusion that one can make on this subject is that since the Græco-Roman world got foreign silk from the East and named the Eastern people from this commodity, the people they called *Seres* were either all or one of the people who used such a name (i.e. Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Koreans) for silk. The only exception taken to this view, if one omits Kennedy's *Cheras,* is that the

7 Herrmann, *Die alten Seidenstrassen zwischen China und Syrien,* 20, n. 4.

country of Kāśmir is meant, as was held by Gosslin in 1813 and by Vivien de St. Martin in 1860.[8]

The second group of Greek words, This, Thinae,[9] Tzinitza,[10] and Sinae,[11] have not led to as many differences of opinion as *Seres* and *Serica,* though even here there is some dispute. *Tzinitza* and *Sinae* are used by writers too late to have a bearing on our period and besides have been identified variously as Burma, North China, and Yunnan.[12]

The *Periplus Erythraei Mari,* in which the words *This* and *Thinae* occur, is usually dated in the last quarter of the first century A.D. and so may be regarded as a primary source relating directly to our period. Schoff identifies *This* with the north-west Chinese state of Ch'in, and *Thinae* with its capital Hsien-yang, later Ch'ang-an and Si-ngan-fu. This identification has not been seriously challenged and the contents of the original text bear it out.

The various authors and works mentioning the *Seres* and *Serica* have already been enumerated by Coedès.

The third division, the Chinese source material, again hinges upon linguistic interpretation of certain words and names. These names are *Chi-pin* (Ki-pin), T'ien-chu, and Shên-tu.[13] *Chi-pin,* which name occurs most frequently has been variously identified with Kāśmir,[14] Kābulistan,[15] and with a less defined region somewhere north-west of India.[16] Internal evidence of the Ch'ien Han

8 Herrmann, *Die alten Seidenstrassen Zwischen China und Syrien,* 20-21.

9 Found only in the *Periplus Erythraei Mari.*

10 Ptolemy's *Geography.*

11 *Cosmas Indikopleustes.*

12 Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea,* 273 ff.

13 I am indebted for my Romanizations of Chinese characters to the aid of my friend and colleague Dr. Knight Biggerstaff.

14 Edouard Chavannes, *Les Pays d'Occident d'après le Heou Han Chou,* (*T'oung Pao,* Série II, viii, 1907, 175).

15 A. Wylie. *Notes of the Western Regions,* trans. from the *Tseen Han Shoo,* Book 96, pt. 1, (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,* x, 1881, 33-35.)

16 Sten Konow. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* II, pt. 1, xxiii-xxiv.

Shu, which contains the earliest mention of Chi-pin, suggests the third region as the safest identification, because the Chinese of this period hardly seem to have been sufficiently intimate in their knowledge of trans-Pamir countries to have used a term like Chi-pin for any region of well marked political boundaries, particularly of such contracted boundaries as either Kāśmir or Kābulistan.

The names *T'ien-chu* and *Shên-tu* are by common consent identified with each other and both with India. No further proof of this assertion need be sought than an examination of the annals themselves which say,

"Le royaume de T'ien-tchou (Inde) s'appelle aussi Chen-tou (Shên-tu); il est à plusieurs milliers de *li* au Sud-Est des Hiong-nu."

The identification with India has been attested by Chavannes,[17] Burgess, etc. The most recent equivalent given is the Sanskrit *sindhu* which, as may be seen, is almost perfectly duplicated by the Chinese word. Shên-tu, ordinarily pronounced *Shên-du,* could scarcely be more accurately borrowed by Chinese, who, it would seem, only learnt of the word by hearsay.

The Chinese works in which this name appears in reference to our period are the *Ch'ien Han Shu,* covering the period from 206 B.C. to 25 A.D.; the *Hou Han Shu* from 25-220 A.D.; the *Shih Chi* of Ssu-ma Ch'ien, and the great history of Ma Tuan-lin which was not written till after the first millenium A.D. Of these the most important for the present investigation is the *Shih Chi,* containing the first account of the *Memoirs of Chang Ch'ien,* who, perhaps, was the first Chinese, at least the first historical Chinese to hear the name India. Other Chinese works of less repute have been cited by a number of Western scholars, who have attempted to build upon the exaggeration, found therein a framework of fact with which,

17 Chavannes, *op. cit.,* 192-3.

in some cases, there is an attempt to prove a number of rather fantastic sequences.[18]

Books 61, the *Memoirs of Chang Ch'ien,* and 96, *Notes of Western Regions,* are the only sections of importance to this subject in the *Ch'ien Han Shu.* The former duplicates Ssu-ma Ch'ien's account of what seems clearly to have been the first historical journey of a Chinese to the region of the Pamirs. The original Memoir is found in the last chapters of the *Shih Chi.* The above are the sources at our disposal in entering into a discussion of the actual knowledge possessed by India and China of one another prior to a date approximating 65 A.D. The Chinese historical tradition seems too firmly rooted to make their annals subject to much scepticism in essentials, though in some particulars they have been subjected to the usual historical criticism. The section on *Chang Ch'ien,* for instance, which enumerates an almost impossible number of plants, animals, and other commodities brought back by him from the West, seems to smack of the eponymous culture hero rather than of actual fact. These passages, like the Psalms of David, and compass of Huang Ti must be taken as later accretions by which the first man who went to the West must be given credit for all things Western regardless of when they were actually introduced.

By way of introduction to the first centuary B.C., brief reference ought to be made to the works of numerous scholars who have asserted that contact existed between China and India prior to the first century B.C. Detailed criticism of these assertions, however, seems out of place in the present discussion since it would really amount to little more than a rehearshing of outworn arguments dealing with points of very doubtful authenticity.[19]

18 Of the works so affected, that of Terrien de LaCouperie, entitled, *The Western Origin of Chinese Civilization from 2,300 B.C. to 200 A.D.* is perhaps the most fantastic.

19 A summary list here will indicate the titles of some of the works in which such references are to be found. Suffice it to say that the writer has satisfied himself

The actual beginning of a widening of the Chinese geographical horizon took place, it would seem, from the commencement of the reign of Wu Ti (140-87 B.C.) of the former Han dynasty. At the beginning of his reign this energetic monarch busied himself with the affairs of the Hsiung-nu, who, like others of their stock in later days, were constantly making raids on China's western frontier.

"At that time (140-134 B.C.) the Son of Heaven made inquiries among those Hiung-nu who had surrendered (as prisoners) and they all reported that the Hiung-nu had overcome the king of the Yüe-chi and made a drinking vessel out of his skull. The Yüe-chi had decamped and were hiding somewhere, all the time scheming how to take revenge on the Hiung-nu, but had no ally to join them in striking a blow. The Chinese wishing to declare war on and wipe out the Tartars, upon hearing this report, desired to communicate with the Yüe-chi; but, the road having to pass through the territory of the Hiung-nu, the emperor sought out men whom he could send.[20]

That the above is a story told by actual Hsiung-nu prisoners seems difficult to doubt in view of the fact that they might naturally expect a tribe whose chief had been so badly treated to seek revenge. That such a consideration was far from Yüeh-chih intentions is seen from the story told by them at a later date to the envoy selected by Wu Ti.

Chang Ch'ien, the envoy, began his journey in 138 B.C., accompanied by a small detachment of troops. Almost immediately

that none of the assertions alluded to below present sufficient evidence to prove connection between the two countries prior to the first century A.D.

a. Terrien de LaCouperie. *The Western Origin of the Early Chinese Cvilization..., passim.*
b. Rawlinson. *Intercourse between India and the Western World,* pp. 9, 43.
c. T. W. Rhys-Davids, *Buddhist India,* 90.
d. *The Cambridge History of India,* I, 213.
e. George Rawlinson. *Bactria, a Forgotten Empire,* 74, 77, 125.
f. Radhakumud Mookerji. *Indian Shipping,* 53-4, 163, 114.
g. J. Kennedy. *The Early Commerce of Babylon with India,* 700-300 *B.C.* (*JRAS.,* 1898, 241-288.
h. Srinivasa Iyengar. *Trade of India,* (*IHQ.,* I, II, 1925-26, II, 43-44, 291).

20 Hirth, Friedrich. *The Story of Chang Ch'ien,...* (*JAOS.,* XXXVII, pt. 2, 93). I have preserved the spellings and identifications of the authors quoted.

he suffered the misfortune of falling into the hands of the very Hsiung-nu against whom he was commissioned to find an ally. His almost marvellous steadfastness in duty over a period of ten years' detention among the Hsiung-nu, during which time he married a wife and reared a family, almost borders on the miraculous; but it is hard to doubt the historicity of his tale, appearing as it does among documents of the greatest reliability. At the end of the ten years Chang Ch'ien escaped to the Yüeh-chih, who were then living west of the Pamirs and north of the Syr Darya (Jaxartes river).

No success obtained in the attempt to persuade the Yüeh-chih to return, but Chang Ch'ien gained a geographical knowledge of considerable proportions which he communicated to Wu Ti after his return, which took place in a year's time, after a second captivity. Chang Ch'ien must have returned, therefore, about the year 126 B.C. to give his official report.

"The following countries were visited by Chang K'ien in person: Ta-yüan (Ferghana), Ta-yüe-chi (Indoscythia[21]), Ta-hia (Bactria), and K'ang-kü (Soghdiana); there were besides, five or six other large adjacent countries concerning which he gained information and on which he reported in the following terms.[22]

To the southwest of it (Bactria) is a country called *Shön-tu* (*India*). Chang Ch'ien says (in his report to the Emperor): "When I was in Ta-hia I saw there a stick of bamboo of Kiung (Kiung-chou in Ssï-ch'uan) and some cloth of Shu (Ssï-ch'uan). When I asked the inhabitants of Ta-hia how they had obtained possession of these, they replied: 'The inhabitants of our country buy them in Shön-tu (India).' Shön-tu may be several thousand *li* to the south-east of Ta-hia. The people there have fixed abodes, and their customs are very much like those of Ta-hia; but the country is low, damp, and hot. The people ride on elephants to fight in battle. The country is close to a great river. According to my calculations, Ta-hia (Bactria) must be 12,000 *li* distant from China and to the southwest of the latter. Now the country of Shön-tu being several thousand *li* to the south-east of Ta-hia, and the produce of Shu (Ssï-ch'uan) being found there, that country cannot be far from Shu. Suppose we send ambassadors to Ta-hia through the country of the K'iang (Tangutans), there is the danger that the K'iang will object; if we send

21 The term Indoscythia, as well as other identifications, are Hirth's. It probably refers to the Kuṣāṇas, one of the five tribes of the Great Yüeh-chih.

22 Hirth, *op. cit.*, 95. No clearer statement of Chinese ignorance of these countries prior to Chang Ch'ien could possibly be given.

them but slightly farther north, they will be captured by the Hiung-nu; but by going by way of Shu (Ssï-ch'uan) they may proceed direct and will be unmolested by robbers."[23]

This account, the first in Chinese annals, evidently refers to the India of the Panjab and possibly Sind. Some have taken it as the Ganges country, though it would seem to be a less certain identification. It is clear that Chang Ch'ien got his information of India wholly by hearsay and his conjectures show him, at least, to have been entirely ignorant of India prior to his arrival in Bactria in 128 B.C. Chinese annals[24] do not support any hypothesis for earlier knowledge of the West and particularly of India.

A number of hypotheses have been made about the *Sze-ch'uanese* goods which came through India, and from the description of the bamboo, experts have identified the sample found by Chang Ch'ien with the *Sze-ch'uanese* species.[25] This fact has been taken as proof of the trade route referred to throughout La Couperie's work, which ran through *Sze-ch'uan,* Yunnan, Upper Burma, Assam, and on to India. While such a route may well have existed by which a few Chinese goods were sent to India and even beyond into Bactria, the geography and population of the country, which not only turned back several expeditions of the Emperor Wu Ti, but also certain fully equipped British expeditions of more recent date, forbids any assumption of a 'through route' hypothesis.

Beyond the mere mention of the name India (Shên-tu) it may be assumed that Chinese were still unacquainted with India even after Chang Ch'ien reported in the year 126 B.C. It is also of interest that the above quotation is apparently the sole authority for all

23 Hirth, *op. cit.*, 98.

24 At least according to present translations.

25 I have been unable to find documentary evidence of this statement but have it on the oral testimony of the late Berthold Laufer as quoted by Dr. Walter E. Clark.

later Chinese descriptions of India till the time of the Later Han Annals. The Ch'ien Han Shu (206 B.C.—25 A.D.) repeats the above information with very slight modification.

That the India discovery (i.e. the hearsay of India) loomed important in Chinese official eyes may be seen in the sequel to Chang Ch'ien's report, but one will likewise observe that India becomes important wholly as a possible highway to Bactria and in no sense because it was itself known to be a region rich in all sorts of valuable produce. This makes even more evident the obvious conclusion that India and Indian goods alike were unknown to China prior to the first century B.C.

"The Son of heaven on hearing all this, reasoned thus: Ta-Yüan and the possessions of Ta-hia and An-si are large countries full of rare things, with a population living in fixed abodes and given to occupations somewhat identical with those of the Chinese people, but with weak armies; and placing great value on the rich produce of China; in the north the possessions of the Ta Yüe-chi and K'ang-kü, being of military strength, might be made subservient to the interests of the Court by bribes and thus gained over by mere force of persuasion. In this way a territory of 10,000 *li* in extent would be available for the spread among the four seas of Chinese superior civilization by communicating through many interpreters with the nations holding widely different customs.' As a result the Son of Heaven was pleased to approve Chang K'ien's proposal. He thereupon gave orders that, in accordance with Chang K'ien's suggestions, exploring expeditions be sent out from Kién-weï of the Shu kingdom (the present Sü-chóu-fu on the Upper Yang-tse) by four different routes at the same time; one to start by way of Mang; one by way of Jan (both names referring to barbarous hill tribes on the southwestern frontiers; (cf. *Shï-ki,* chap. 116, p. 2); one by way of *Ssï* (or Si); and one by way of Kiung (Kiung-chóu) in Ssï-ch'uan and P'o (the present Ya-chóu). These several missions had each travelled but one or two thousand *li* when those in the north were prevented from proceeding farther by the Ti and Tsö tribes, and those in the south by the Sui and K'un-ming tribes (placed by the commentators in the southwest of Sü-chóu-fu) who had no chiefs and, being given to robbery, would have killed or captured the Chinese envoys. The result was that the expedition could not proceed further. They heard, however, that about a thousand *li* or more to the west there was the "elephant riding country" called Tién-Yüé (possibly meaning the Tién, of Yunnan, part of Yüé or South China), whither the traders of Shu (Ssï-ch'uan) were wont to proceed, exporting produce surreptitiously. Thus it was that by trying to find the road to Ta-hia (Bactria) the Chinese obtained their first knowledge of the Tién country. (Yünnan)."[26]

Clearly this passage indicates, not only Chinese ignorance of India to the south-west, but also of Yunnan itself. That Chinese produce in great quantity could have passed through the maze of jungled mountains separating Sze-ch'uan and India seems incredible. The four expeditions were completely stopped in both the northern and southern sectors. This illustrates likewise the futility of trying to prove a Tibetan route as early as the time of Chang Ch'ien as indicated vaguely in certain of the secondary works listed above.[27] Had such a route been known, it is hardly possible that it would not have been resorted to by the northern expeditions.

But Chang Ch'ien's interest in this project was not dampened by these failures. After a temporary degradation in office due to an error in the field of battle against the Hsiung-nu, he was again commanded to lead an expedition to the West, this time to persuade the Wu-sun to return to a region nearer China so that the combined peoples might offer a better resistance to the Hsiung-nu assaults. Being unable to persuade the Wu-sun, any more than he had previously persuaded the Yüeh-chih, Chang Ch'ien prepared to return again to China. Before undertaking this journey he sent ambassadors out to all known regions as indicated in the following excerpt.

"The population of Wu-sun was thus divided into three parts, and notwithstanding that the majority were under his (the old ruler's) authority, the K'un-mo (King of Wu-sun) did not dare take it upon himself to conclude that treaty with Chang K'ien. Chang K'ien therefore sent ambassadors in several directions to the countries of Ta-Yüan (Ferghana,), K'ang-kü (Soghdiana), Ta-Yüe-chï, Ta-hia (Bactria), An-si (Parthia), *Shön-tu* (*India*), Yü-tién (Khotan), Ham-mi and the adjacent countries. Wu-sun furnished guides and interpreters to accompany Chang K'ien on his return, and the latter, travelling with several dozen natives and as many horses sent by the people of Wu-sun in acknowledgement (of the Emperor's gifts), and thereby afforded them the opportunity to see China with their own eyes and thus to realize the extent of her greatness."[28]

Did the ambassadors reach India (Shên-tu) and if so, which part? These questions prevent any positive conclusions on the score of the

26 Hirth, *op. cit.*, 99-100. 27 *Supra*, 6, note. 28 Hirth, *op. cit.*, 102.

testimony just quoted. India provides no answer, and Chang Ch'ien makes no further remark about this particular ambassador's return to China. The Ta-hia (Bactrian) ambassadors returned after a year, accompanied by a native of the region, but nothing beyond the sending is recorded of the ambassador to India. The difficulties of the journey may have overcome any ambassador despatched to so distant a region, or perhaps, having arrived in some one of the small kingdoms south of Bactria, the envoy may have concluded that this was a sufficient representation of India. It is possible that Chi-pin[29] was reached, because in subsequent notices from the Ch'ien Han Shu, that region receives sufficient notice to be reckoned as more important than India itself, if one can judge by the space devoted to each. Of course it is possible that the Shên-tu envoy actually did penetrate into India, but such a thesis cannot be proved.

This expedition was Chang Ch'ien's last. He died soon after in the year 115 B.C. His importance as one of the world's earliest explorers can hardly be overestimated as it created the Chinese knowledge of the West, which, in turn, led to the acquisition of Chinese Turkestan in the Han regime and even of Bactria and Soghdiana in T'ang days.[30] The reduction of these regions to stable and peaceful conditions were primary factors in the great cultural and commercial intercourse which subsequently took place between India, Persia, and the Roman Empire on the one hand and China on the other.

Without dwelling on the phases of this Central Asian conquest with which both the *Ch'ien Han Shu* and *Hou Han Shu* are concerned in certain chapters, an examination may be made of both of these works and the epilogue of Chang Ch'ien's *Memoirs* for notices of India.

Shortly after Chang Ch'ien's death, a further group of ambassadors (*ca.* 112-106 B.C.) were sent to all Western countries including

29 *Supra*, 4.

30 Edouard Chavannes. *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*, 276 ff.

Shên-tu, but again no report of the journey or experiences of those despatched to India is forthcoming.[31] The fact that no further description of India, as if given by an eyewitness exists in any subsequent account in the *Ch'ien Han Shu* convinces one that none of the Chinese sent abroad reached India proper, but the careful geographical data provided in the *Ch'ien Han Shu* on *Chi-pin* may indicate that our 'Indian' embassies arrived in this extreme north-western portion. Confirmation of this in India is not to be expected in view of the fact that even Alexander the Great was passed over in silence, but the detailed information given in the Chinese records on Chi-pin is practically conclusive evidence. As the description of this country is too long to quote in full[32] the following digest will supply the chief essence of the information. Chi-pin is described as being 12,000 *li* from Ch'ang-an, the Chinese capital. It is reckoned as a first-rate kingdom of considerable extent and population and is not ruled by the Chinese 'Governor General.' It joins the Ta -Yüeh-chih on the north-east. This indicates a southward movement of the Yüeh-chih into Bactria, which, if Chi-pin is Kābul and its environs, would fit fairly accurately. "The country of Chi-pin is flat, and the climate is mild and agreeable." Perhaps Chavannes' location of *Chi-pin* in Kāśmir is better fitted to this description than Kābul. *Chi-pin* produces sandal-wood (known only along the Malabar coast in India), bamboo, the varnish tree, the five grains, grapes, and other fruits. On the low ground rice is cultivated and raw vegetables are eaten in the winter.

Of primary importance is the notice taken of the skill in "ornamenting, engraving, and inlaying building palaces and mansions, net weaving, ornamental perforation, and embroidery." These references suggest either the continued existence of Greeks in the region of *Chi-pin* or else the Greek art and coinage which were

31 Hirth, *op. cit.*, 104.

32 Wylie, *op. cit.*, 33-38.

taken over by Śakas and Parthians after Greek rule had disappeared. The fact that Gandhāra sculpture, so far unearthed, does not antedate the Kuṣāṇas is no proof that such art did not exist earlier. As a matter of fact the general opinion is that it was begun by the Bactrian-Greeks themselves. The above chance excerpt, dated certainly prior to 25 A.D. and probably several years earlier than the Christian era, can safely be interpreted as proof of pre-Kuṣāṇa art in *Chi-pin,* whether that place is Kāśmir, Kapiśa, or Kābul.

That the first information of Chi-pin came not long after Chang Ch'ien's death in 115 B.C. is seen in the following short passage. "From the time that Wu Ti opened up communications with *Chi-pin,* the rulers of that kingdom, in view of the extreme distance, had considered themselves safe from the intrusion of a Chinese army."[33] This certainly cannot have been later than 87 B.C., the date of Wu Ti's death. No further description of *Chi-pin* as a country is vouchsafed to us in the lengthy section devoted to its affairs; but a detailed discussion of the perfidy of its ruler, which extended to the execution of several Chinese ambassadors, reveals the fact that China far from being able to reach India proper was wholly unable to trust her emissaries to the wholly irresponsible *chi-pinese,* and what was worse, no redress for such grievances was possible, even as late as the reign of Ching-te (32-7 B.C.) who made a speech to the ambassadors from *Chi-pin* on the subject of why China must withdraw recognition of *Chi-pin* because of past outrages.

References to *Shên-tu* (India) are scattered throughout the 96th book of the *Ch'ien Han Shu* as geographical location notices only. As a typical example, the location of 'Pi-shan' may be cited. "The country joins *Shên-tu* on the south, and is distant from Koo-mik on north 1,450 *li.* The road to *Chi-pin* and *Wu-yih-shan-li* lies to the south-west."[34] Such notices are of little value except to show that India, though not yet reached by Chinese, had not been forgotten.

33 Wylie, *op. cit.,* 36-38.

34 Wylie, *op. cit.,* 30-31

The above observations exhaust the reliable sources which relate to evidence of Chinese-Indian contacts in first century B.C. Of the spread of Buddhism we have as yet learned nothing, though de LaCouperie's works and others who follow him, contain sufficient material drawn from various spurious sources to maintain a theory of the introduction of Buddhism into China prior to the reign of Ch'in Shih Huang-ti. Certain it is that Chang Ch'ien or the Chinese annalists had taken no notice of such a religion even in the West.

Turning to the beginning of the first century A.D. our sources are the *Hou Han Shu, Ma Tuan-lin,* and various references contained in post-Christian Classical sources. Ma Tuan-lin's work, being really only a condensed version of the contents of the earlier material, contains nothing new. The value of Pliny's contribution concerning "fair-haired, blue-eyed *Seres* north of the Emodi" has been commented upon above, but a further reference made by him to *Seric* iron[35] is of some interest.

"But of all the different kinds of iron, the palm of excellence is awarded to that which is made by the *Seres,* who send it to us with their tissues and skins; next to which, in quality, is the Parthian iron."

No other reference to Chinese iron is found anywhere in western sources, nor are the Chinese themselves in the habit of mentioning its supreme excellence. What Pliny refers to, therefore, is wholly a matter for conjecture.

The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* provides the definite information that Chinese silk could be bought at the three ports of Barbaricum[36] near the mouth of the Indus, Barygaza (Broach) where "ancient drachmae are current," and Barkare which is within the Pāṇḍya kingdom in southern India. Obviously the silk which arrived at the two west coast ports came through the Kābul valley or over one of the Pamir passes and then down the Indus, but the origin of the silk in Barkare is less certain. The text explains. "Besides

35 Pliny, xxxiv, 41.

36 Schoff, *op. cit.,* 38. Periplus, 39.

this there are exported great quantities of fine pearls, ivory, *silk cloth,* spikenard from the Ganges, malabathrum from the plains in the interior etc." The common interpretation has been that silk arrived at Barkare from the Ganges region, having reached that port either by way of the same north-west passes or else by the Yunnan-Burmese route. The latter, as has been shown, was extremely precarious as a means of transporting a commodity to a steady market, the former is more plausible. The important question relative to these silk ports is the time of their establishment as such. Is it not possible, if China got Indian goods in *Chi-pin,* that Chinese goods might have been exchanged for them and thus have reached Indian ports even a century prior to the Periplus' certification of it? While this is possible it can only remain a conjecture till fresh evidence is forthcoming.

Most important in the Periplus for our purposes is the kingdom of *This*[37] (China?) described as the last known land.

"After this region (the East coast of India to the Ganges delta) under the very north, the sea outside ending in a land called *This,* there is a very great inland city called *Thinae* (Chang-an), from which raw silk and silk yarn and silk cloth are brought on foot through *Bactria* to Barygaza, and are also exported to Damirica by way of the river Ganges. But the land of *This* is not easy of access; few men come from there, and seldom. The country lies under the Lesser Bear, and is said to border on the farthest parts of Pontus and the Caspian Sea, next to which lies Lake Maeotis, all of which empty into the ocean."

This passage clarifies the previous reference to silk from the Ganges and also makes it evident that the only recognized route of silk, even in the first century A.D. was that from Chang-an (if that is Thinae) westward through Chinese Turkestan and (for India) south through the passes of the north-west and down the Indus or Ganges to the various ports from which silk could be shipped to the Roman market. It is probable that much was also consumed by an Indian market, though no evidence for such a conclusion exists except in references to *Cina* etc. referred to above as being present

37 Scoff, *op. cit.*, 48-49. Periplus, 64-65.

in sources of such doubtful date as the *Mahābhārata, Milindapañha,* and the rest.

This additional knowledge of China attained in the West by the end of the first century is sufficient to introduce the following passage from the *Hou Han Shu* which will serve both as an illustration of the tremendous advance in geographical knowledge gained by the Chinese during the first two hundred and twenty years of the Christian era and as a fitting termination of a paper rather barren in positive testimony.

"Le royaume de T'ien-tchou (Inde) s'appelle aussi Chen-tou; il est à plusieurs milliers de *li* au Sud-Est des Hiongnu. Ses meours sont semblables à celles des Hiong-nu,[38] mais le pays est bas, humide, et chaud. Ce royaume est sur les bords d'un grand fleuve. Ses habitants montent sur des éléphants pour combattre; ils sont plus faibles que les Yue-tche; ils pratiquent *le religion du Buddha;* aussi est devenu chez eux une habitude de ne pas tuer et de ne pas batailler.

Quand on part du royaume de Kao-fou (Kaboul) qui appartient aux Yue-tche et qu'on se dirige verse le Sud-Ouest on arrive à la mer occidentale; à l'Est, on parvient au royaume de P'an-k'i; tous ces pays sont partie de Chen-tou. Le Chen-tou a plusieurs centaines de villes autres (que la capitale); dans chaque ville on a mis un gouverneur; il a plusieurs dizaines de royaumes autres (que le royaume principal) dans chaque royaume il y a un roi. Quoiqu'on remarque dans chaque de ces royaumes quelques petites différences, tous cependant se nomment le Chen-tou. A cette époque,[39] ils dépendaient tous des Yue-tche; les Yue-tche avaient tué le roi et avaient installé un chef pour gouverner cette population.

Ce pays produit des éléphants, des rhinocéros, de l'écaille de tortue, de l'or, de l'argent, du cuivre, du fer, du plomb, de l'étain. Du côté de l'Ouest, il est en communication avec le Ta Ts'in; aussi y trouve-t'on les objects précieux de Ta Ts'in. On y trouve aussi des toiles fines, des tapis de laine de bonne qualité, des parfums de toutes sortes, du sucre candi, du poivre, du gengembre, du sel noire."

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38 This statement would hardly indicate more than hearsay knowledge of India even by 200 A.D., were it not qualified below.

39 About 125 A.D. Chavannes, *op. cit.*, note, 192.

Glimpses into the Ancient History of Cochin

The history of the Perumpaṭappu Svarūpam,[1] the present royal family of Cochin, during the pre-Portuguese period is shrouded in darkness. On the basis of certain literary references, an attempt was made by the present writer to reconstruct the choronology of the Cochin kings for the period 1342-1500 A.D.[2] Some information is available from literary sources regarding two of her sovereigns of the middle of the 14th century who were responsible for shifting the family headquarters from Mahodayapuram to Cochin, and this is the theme of the present paper.

The transfer of the traditional headquarters of the royal family is an event of great significance in the history of any royal family and it was particularly so in this tradition-ridden corner of India. This step certainly demands more than ordinary grit and calibre in the kings who effected it; and this event has been commemorated by the founding of an era,[3] called the Cochin Era.[4] It is only after this event that the *Perumpaṭappu Mūppil* has come to be called the King of Cochin.[5] The kings who made this transfer are held to be two Rāma Varmās, the Maharaja and the heir-apparent, who are

1 This is the traditional name by which the royal family of Cochin was known in ancient days; and this name persists even to-day in orthodox communications.

2 Vide the writer's paper on 'Some Glimpses of Cochin History', published in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, vol. V, pp. 142-151.

3 Vide the writer's paper on the 'Three Kerala Eras', published in the journal mentioned above, vol. I, no. 2.

4 Another name for this era is the *Puṭuvaippu* Era; and it is under this name that the era is mentioned in the Dutch treaty of 1663. This name is more popular and refers to another important effect of the great floods, namely the land accretion along the coast.

5 Some hold that this name was given by the Portuguese: this is wrong, for we find that the name is mentioned by Bālakavi of the latter half of the 15th century, almost fifty years before the advent of the Portuguese.

described in the following verse, occuring in the *Tenkailanāthodaya* of Nīlakaṇṭha:[6]

मनुकुलमणिदीपौ तत्र पुर्यामभूतां महितगुणनिधानौ रामवर्माभिधानौ ।
प्रतिभटमदकुम्भिप्रौढसंहारसिंहौ सलिलनिधिगभीरौ द्वौ महीपालवीरौ ॥१॥

This citation shows that the Rāma Varmās possessed those virtues to a remarkable extent—an aspect that will be made clearer in the citations following. One interesting feature that may be noticed here is the fact that the Rāma Varmās are mentioned together, and it may be taken as indication that they were together responsible for the transfer of the capital.

Two Rāma Varṃās again figure prominently in the Sanskrit *Kāvya,* called the *Śivavilāsa,*[9] written by one Dāmodara Cākyar,[10] a protége of king Kerala Varṃa of Kāyankulam. This chief had a daughter, named Uṇṇiyaṭi, born of his wife Guptā,—born late in life as a result of praying to god Śiva enshrined in the family temple of Kaṇḍiyūr. The girl was given an education worthy of her birth.[11]

6 Vide the paper mentioned in note 2 ante. The conclusions, set forth in that paper have been questioned by Mahākavi Ullur S. P. Iyer: vide his Introduction to the edition of the *Bhāṣānaiṣadhacampu;* vide also the *Bulletin of the Sir Rama Varma Research Institute,* Trichur. These views are controverted in the paper 'The Date of Nīlakaṇṭha's Chronology' contributed by the writer to the *Quarterly Journal of the Keralasāhityaparisad.*

7 Vide page 3 verse 6 in the Malayalam Improvement Committee's edition of the text of the *Tenkailanāthodaya.*

8 Here are given the particular features of the kings mentioned: they are both endowed with noble virtues, are bold and enterprising, have destroyed their enemies and are deep and dignified like the ocean.

9 Vide the *Journal of the Samastakerala-sāhityaparisad,* vol. III, no. I, pp. 23-39.

10 Compare, e.g.,

अलघुशिवविलासं नाम काव्यं बबन्धे सुरभि भरतगोत्रीयेन दामोदरेण ॥

11 Compare, e.g., the following verses:

पञ्चाब्दान्तात् सपदि पुरतः क्लिप्तचौलक्रियाथो ।
वर्णे पद्ये पदसमुदये प्राप वाक्येपि शिक्षाम् ॥
नासौ नानाभरणनिवहैर्मण्डिता कुण्डलेनाप्यासीद् ।
भूयोध्यगमदखिलाश्चापि गान्धर्वविद्याः ॥

Even when the girl was but twelve, she became fully grown up[12] and so her father, being anxious to get her married to one worthy of her, decided upon holding a *Svayaṃvara,* possibly the only instance of the kind in all-Kerala, which literature has so far preserved for us. Elaborate preparations were made for the function, and all the eligibles of the land were informed. Many were the aspiring candidates who attended the function, and among them was the twenty-five year old[13] heir-apparent Rāma Varmā of the *Perumpaṭappu Svarūpam,* who came accompanied by his uncle Rāma Varmā, the Perumpaṭappu Müppil. One after another the candidates were presented and they were rejected till the bride reached Yuvarāja Rāma Varmā. This prince was introduced and the bride chose him. We quote below the extract which describes the Rāma Varmās of Cochin:

स्तम्भस्य हैमस्थतड़ित्प्रभस्य मूले मृगेन्द्रासनसन्निविष्टम् ।
तं राजहंसं यदुराजपुत्र्यै धात्री ततः सादरमा चचक्षे ॥२॥

आकर्णयोच्चैः प्रवितृत्य कर्णौ भूपं भुवोमण्डनभूतमेनम् ।
आदित्यधाम्नोपघनस्य लीना विश्वे गुणा नैव दृशैव दृश्याः ॥३॥

अध्यासते केरलभूभृतो यां यस्या यथार्थैव महोदयाख्या ।
रामावनौ मुख्यतमा पुरी या तामावसत्येष दिवं वृषेव ॥४॥

मन्ये स रामोप्ययमेव रामवर्माह्वयः क्षत्रमहोनिधानम् ।
आज्ञाकृतामप्यमितत्विषोस्य भ्रुक्षेपवश्यैव पुरन्दरश्रीः ॥५॥

शब्दे शिक्षातिशयबलतश् शब्दमीमांसकानां ।
वाक्यार्थेति प्रसरगतिभिः पूर्वमीमांसकानाम् ॥
अताथैंपटुमतितया तत्र चप्युत्तरेषां विस्मेरत्वं ।
व्यधित सततं सा विशेषेक्षकानाम् ॥

It is interesting to notice the attainments of the daughter of the king of Kayankulam, the heroine of the poem. Her education comprised the subjects of dancing and music, literature and literary criticism, grammar and philosophy, particularly *Vedānta* and *Mimāṃsā.*

12 Vide the following:

सुता मम द्वादश वत्सरा ; परं तदाप्यसौ भाति समग्रयौवना ।

13 Vide citation 14 following.

निःसीममाहोदयसद्मनोस्य दक्षोत्तरोद्देशविसारि तेजः ।
नान्योल्ल हेतुस्तत एतदीयः ख्यातो वहुव्याप्तितयान्ववायः ॥६॥

शस्त्रास्त्रशास्त्रातिशयादशेषक्षत्रश्रियः क्षेत्रवदीक्षितस्य ।
यस्योचितैः सृष्टिमुखैस्त्रपेरन् व्यस्तक्रिया ब्रह्ममुखा जनेषु ॥७॥

उत्साहतश् शश्वदुदस्तशस्त्रोस्त्यागाधिकत्वाच्च समस्तपाले ।
विश्वोत्तरं यं कथयन्ति वीरो दाराख्ययाराध्यमतिं कवीन्द्राः ॥८॥

न्यक्षेण संलक्षितलक्षणौघलक्ष्यः क्षमी रक्षितसंश्रितश्रीः ।
लक्ष्म्याः सुतः पश्य स रामवर्मा लक्ष्मीवतोमुष्य तु भागिनेयः ॥९॥

* * * * *

आधावतानेन धृतासिचर्मभीमोरुवाहायुगलार्गलेन ।
शूरा निकृत्ता भुवि शत्रुवीरनाशेप्यशीर्षा द्विगुणीभवन्ति ॥१०॥

* * * * *

शक्तिः क्षमा शौर्यवती निसर्गा ज्ञानञ्च वाग्मित्वदयानुविद्धम् ।
अश्लाघितास्तिक्ययुतञ्च दानं त्रैगुण्यभेकैकगुणे ततोन्य ॥११॥

* * * * *

अज्ञानवृक्षाशनिसन्निपातः प्रख्यातिवल्लीमणिकल्पशाखी ।
कस्यैष पश्यादरभूर्न लोके शस्त्रोपजीवी व्रजचक्रवर्ती ॥१२॥

* * * * *

यादृक् स्त्रियो रूपमिदं तवास्य तादृक् च पश्यामि नृपस्य पुंसः ।
ज्योत्स्नी यदि त्वं विधुरेष नूनं भास्वानथो चेद्भवती दिनश्रीः ॥१३॥

नायम्महात्मा कृतवान् विवाहमालोहिताक्षः सुमुखः सुवक्षाः ।
त्वं कन्यका सर्वगुणप्रकाशा श्रीमानसौ पञ्चकपञ्चकायुः ॥१४॥

आयुष्यतोप्यस्य तवापि वत्से दूरस्थितिर्नाभिमतो ममेयम् ।
हैमस्य वा चारुविभूषणस्य माणिक्यमुख्यस्य च कः समोन्यः ॥१५॥

* * * * *

We get from the description certain interesting historical details. In the first place the Perumpṭappu Mūppil was then holding court at Mahodayapuram,[16] modern Cranganore, and he was

14 This expression is a literal Sanskrit rendering of the Malayalam expression Perumpaṭappu, which means *extending wide.*

15 Mr. U. S. P. Iyer understands that Yuvarāja Rāma Varmā was the son of Lakṣmi Rāṇi. This is wrong.

16 Vide citation ४ given above.

then having some sort of all-Kerala supremacy,[17] though the extent of it is not clear. Secondly, the name of the then reigning monarch was Rāma Varmā,[18] the son of *Rāṇi Lakṣmī*[19] and that he had a nephew Rāma Varmā who was the *Yuvarāja*.[20] Further, we also know that these kings were contemporaries of Kerala Varmā of Kayankulam.

We shall now try to see if it be possible to fix up the dates of these Rāma Varmās with some degree of approximation at least. It is said that three ladies of Kaṇḍiyūr are mentioned in the *Uṇṇinīlisandeśa*,[21] one of the greatest *Sandeśakāvyas* of Malayalam literature and possibly the best of the type; and one among them is a Uṇṇiyaṭi. This work is said to have been written about 1374 A.D. when the king of Kayankulam was a Ravi Varmā who is described as an aged king.[22] There is nothing improbable in identifying the Uṇṇiyaṭi of the *Kāvya* with the *Uṇṇiyaṭi* of the *Sandeśa*. We also know from the *Kārāymakkaraṇa* of the *Ūrālars* of the Iriñjalakkuda temple[23] that the king of Kāyankulam in 1341-42 was a Ravi Varmā,

17 Mr. Iyer concedes this point in his article on the subject. He says that the Perumpaṭappu Mūppil holding court at Mahodayapuram was the Emperor of Kerala, thereby suggesting that he had some sort of all-Kerala overlordship: vide pp. 38 & 39; and further substantiates his position with reference to Vīrarāghavacakravartī. This view is perfectly in keeping with the view we have already elaborated in our paper 'Kings of Cochin versus Emperor of Kerala, published in the *Maharaja's College Magazine*, vol. IX, no. I, pp. 11-13.

18 Vide citations ५ & ६ given above.

19 Vide citation ६ given above..

20 Vide citation ६ above.

21 Vide the Journal quoted in note 9 *ante:* page 24.

22 *Ibid.*

23 Vide the *Bulletin of the Sir Rama Varma Research Institute*, Trichur: No. II: Temple Studies: Iriñjalakuda Temple. We give below a literal rendering of the *Kārāymakkaraṇa:*—

"The *Kārāyma* deed written in the month of Thulam 517 M.E. The agreement entered into between the people of the nine families who own Kārāyma rights in the Iriñjalakuda-Kṣetra and who took the Māṇikka gem on *Kārāyma* and Ravi Varmā who is the lord of Oṇaṭṭu-Kara and who gave the Māṇikkaratna as *Kārāyma*.

who may be identified with the Ravi Varmā of the *Sandeśakāvya*. If these identifications are correct, then the father of Uṇṇiyaṭi, the consort of Yuvarāja Rāma Varmā of the Perumpaṭappu Svairūpam must be the immediate predecessor of Ravi Varmā who was the king of Kayankulam in 1342 A.D. In which case the two Rāma Varmās, the Perumpaṭappu Mūppil and his nephew, must be contemporaries of both Kerala Varmā and Ravi Varmā of Kayankulam; and that means they are the Rāma Varmās who are mentioned as being the first kings of Cochin in the *Tenkailanāthodaya*.

This conclusion finds some support in the circumstances leading to the execution of the *Kārāymakkaraṇa* of the Māṇikkakṣetra of Iriñjalakkuda. The Perumpaṭappu Mūppil had already been granted by the year 1336 large powers in the temple[24] and yet no reference is found made in the temple chronicles to this suzerain lord either in the matter of loaning the gem, or in the execution of the *Kārāymakkaraṇa*, by which two very important rights were granted to the king of Kayankulam, namely the right of appointing the

Referring to the Māṇikka-ratna received on Kārāyma, the people of the nine families gave in writing to accompaniment of *Nīrudaka* as *Kārāyma* right in their *Māṇikka-kṣetra* the *Kārāyma-melāyma-sthānam* and the *Śrī-kovilpaṇi-taccuṭa-kammal-avarodha-sthānam* to be conducted without deviating from the customary usages obtaining in the *Saṅketa* to keep the *Bhāṇḍāra* and render accounts to the Sabhāyogam in the *Vātalmāḍham* of the temple. Similarly, giving to the nine families the *Māṇikka-ratnam* as *Kārāyma*, Ravi Varma received in writing to the accompaniment of *Nīrudaka* as *Kārāyma* right the *Samudāya-melāyma-sthānam* and the *Śri-kovil-paṇi-taccuṭa-kammal-avarodha-sthānam* in the *Māṇikka-kṣetra*, belonging to the people of the nine families who received as Kārāyma the *Māṇikka-ratna* in return. In this wise receiving the *Māṇikka-ratna* as *Kārāyma* gift and giving back in writing to the accompaniment of *Nīrudaka* the *Samudāya-melāyma-sthānam* and receiving this in writing by Ravi Varma from the nine families, attesting witnesses Taraṇanallūr Nampūtiri, Akor Nampūtiri, Matiyatt Tānni and Pāmbum Mekkaṭṭ. Written with their knowledge and in the hand-writing of Turuttikaṭṭ Kutal."

This is no doubt a very interesting document for more reasons than one, and particularly to the students of language and of history, particularly of the temple at Iriñjalakuda.

24 Vide article mentioned in note 23 *ante*.

the Samudāya Melayma and the temple architect. According to our interpretation of the references in the Śiva-vilāsa, this lack of reference is easily explainable: it must have been at the instance and with the cognisance of the Perumpaṭappu Mūppil that the loan was made and the document executed. We, therefore, hold that the Rāma Varmās mentioned in the *Kāvya* must have been living in 1342 A.D.

From what has been said it will be clear that these two Rāma Varmās can with a fair degree of accuracy be ascribed to the middle of the 14th century A.D. and that means they can be identified with the Rāma Varmās mentioned in the *Tenkailanāthodaya,* who are described as the first kings of Cochin.[25]

Viṭanidrābhāṇam,[26] of an unknown author, mentions a Rāma Varmā, at whose instance was the work written: compare the following extracts:

अहो चूर्णिसरित्कल्लोलहस्तालिङ्गितप्राकारमेखलायाः केरलकुलराजधान्याः श्रीरामवर्म-परिपालितायाः महोदयपुर्याः इत्यादि

Also compare:

यावत् खण्डेन्दुमौलिः श्रयति गिरिसुता यावदास्ते मुरारे ।
वक्षःस्यक्षीणहारद्युमणिशबलिते देवतामङ्गलानाम् ॥
यावद्वक्त्रेषु मैत्रीमुपनयति गिरामीश्वरी पद्मयोनेः ।
तावद् लक्ष्मीप्रसूतिः स्वयमवतु भुवम् रामवर्मा नरेन्द्रः ॥

Here again the Rāma Varmā is described as holding court at Mahodayapuram and as the son of Lakṣmī Rāṇi. The latter of these two facts is a clue which justifies our identification of this Rāma Varmā with the Perumpaṭappu Mūppil who figures in the *Kāvya,*

25 Mr. U. S. P. Iyer's dating of these kings is evidently wrong. Vide note 6 ante.

26 Vide *Vijñānadīpikā,* part IV, p. 207; also *History of Sanskrit Literature in Kerala.* The former writer forgets that the poet has mentioned this Rāma Varmā as holding court at Mahodayapuram and therefore has tried to connect this king with the king who reigned between 1565 and 1600. This, it needs scarcely be said, is totally wrong.

and the elder Rāma Varṃā who is mentioned as the founder of the city of Cochin.

We may here sum up the characteristic features of the hero panegyried in the works mentioned above. The Perumpaṭappu Mūppil described in the *Śivavilāsakāvya* is the king of all-Kerala who held his court at Mahodayapuram, which was then the premier city in all-Kerala; he was a brave king and heroic warrior, graced with all regal qualities. The Yuvarāja Rāma Varmā was equally great as a warrior—adorned with physical strength and valour which are toned down by patience and forgiveness, with knowledge which is enhanced by kindness and sweetness of disposition, and with charity which is characterised by selflessness and religiosity. He is described as the flash of lightning which roots out the darkness of ignorance and the divine tree which supports the creeper of fame. Even when due allowance is made for the imagination and exaggeration of the poet, enough yet remains in the poem which would show that these two Rāma Varmās were very eminent kings, an aspect which is also borne out by the description given by Nīlakaṇṭha. They were both great warriors and statesmen, well versed in the arts, both of peace and of war.

K. Rama Pisharoti

Army and War in Mediaeval Ceylon

1. *Mercenaries* and *militia* were the two constituent parts of the Sinhalese army in the mediaeval period (Cf. H. W. Codrington, *Short Hist. of Ceylon*, pp. 64-70; G. C. Mendis, *Early Hist. of Ceylon*, pp. 83-85). Terms for, soldier 'are *yodha, bhaṭa*, and if their bravery is to be emphasised by the poet: *sūra* hero.' A peculiar term for 'mercenary' is *āyudhīya* (*Mhvs.*, 61. 69) or *āyudha-jīvin* (66. 67), one who is living by bearing arms or by military service.

The *mercenaries* got payment from the king. They were *Sīhalas* or more frequently people who came over to Ceylon from Southern India: *Damiḷas, Keraḷas* and *Kaṇṇāṭas* (*deśāntaranivāsino yodhā* soldiers domiciled in a foreign country, 69. 18). In the old Mahāvaṃsa neither Keraḷas nor Kaṇṇāṭas are named at all, and the Damiḷas were but the hated enemies of the Sinhalese people. For the first time at the end of the 3rd cent. A.D. Damiḷas occur as soldiers in the service of a Sinhalese ruler (36. 49). Abhayanāga, the younger brother of Vohārikatissa was forced to take flight to main India owing to a crime he had committed at court. He returned afterwards to Ceylon at the head of a Damiḷa army, defeated and killed his brother and ascended the throne.

In the 7th cent. King Aggabodhi III was supported in his war with Jeṭṭhatissa by Damiḷa troops he had hired in India, and Jeṭṭhatissa's dignitary Dāṭhāsiva also had Damiḷa soldiers in his service when he himself took the crown from Aggabodhi (44. 105, 125). It seems that at that time the mercenary system was already established or at least not unknown in Ceylon. The kings could not dispense with it though it sometimes caused serious troubles.

We are told in 55. 1 *sq.* that King Mahinda V, 981-1017, was unable to satisfy his troops by giving them their pay. Therefore a mutiny broke out, and when the king had taken refuge in Rohaṇa in the remaining parts of the country the brutal soldiery of Sīhalas, Keraḷas and Kaṇṇāṭas carried on the government as they pleased. On hearing this the Coḷa king sent an army to Ceylon and made it a province of the Coḷa empire (H. W. Codrington, l.l., p. 40; G. C. Mendis, *Early Hist. of Ceylon,* p. 55). A public calamity befell the Keraḷa mercenaries during the reign of the usurper Māgha, 1214-35. They oppressed and harassed the people in a terrible manner, plundered their houses and took away their possessions, and Māgha himself, whose power was depending on this soldiery, had delivered up to the Keraḷas whatever else belonged to the Sīhalas (80. 61-77).

2. Later on the Velakkāra mercenaries played an important rôle in the king's army. They were, no doubt, a warlike tribe or clan or a military community of Dravidian origin and may be compared with similar communities within the Coḷa army as the Maravaras (76. 130, 246) or the Kallaras, the Goḷihaḷas and the Kuṇṭavaras (76. 246, 259) who are mentioned in the description of King Parakkamabāhu's campaign against the Coḷa king Kulaśekhara.

We learn from South Indian inscriptions that they for the first time came to Ceylon with king Rājendra I by whom the conquest of Ceylon mentioned above was completed in the first half of the 11th century (Wickremasinghe, *Epigr. Zeyl.,* II. 247). Since that time they had great influence in the Island serving as mercenaries to the king. But they appear to have been a rather tumultuous element within the army. Already about the year 1089 we hear that they rebelled against king Vijayabāhu I. The revolt was put down and the leaders were punished with bloody cruelty (60. 35-44). Half a century later they, suborned by Kittisirimegha and Sirivallabha, deserted king Gajabāhu, and, supported by their

defection, the two brothers attacked Rājaraṭṭha. But the king defended his dominion successfully. We may assume that in this case also a severe punishment of the mutinous mercenaries took place (63. 24 *sq.*).

Even during the reign of Parakkamabāhu we hear of a Velakkāra revolt. When the king began his campaign against Rohaṇa the Velakkāras banded themselves together with the Sīhala and Kerala mercenaries and revolted in order to profit by this opportunity and to take possession of Rājaraṭṭha. However the mutiny was suppressed by the king, the leaders were killed and the landed property formerly granted to the mercenaries as payment was withdrawn from them (74. 44 *sq.*).

There is in Polonnaruva a fine slab erected by the Velakkāras with a Tamil inscription which, as I believe, must be dated immediately before the revolt that took place at the beginning of King Gajabāhu's reign in the year 1137. The Velakkāras at that time, as the self-confident and proud tone of the inscription shows, were on the summit of their wealth and power, having regained their former influence after the first rebellion against Vijayabāhu in the year 1089. In the inscription they declare their agreement to protect the temple of the Tooth Relic, though they were themselves adherents of a Śaiva sect. But on undertaking the control of that sacred shrine they were so bold as to call it the property of the Velakkāras and regarded it as their own charitable institution under their entire support. So they assigned to it lands, guards, etc., for its maintenance. (W i c k r e m a s i n g h e, *Ep. Zeyl.*, II, p. 247).

In the later chapters of the *Mahāvaṃsa* we do not hear any more of the Velakkāras, but in the 13th century *Āriyas*, i.e. Rājputs were serving as mercenaries of the Sinhalese king side by side with Sīhalas. Their leader bore the interesting name Thakuraka which corresponds to the modern family name Tagore (Y u l e and B u r n e l l, Hobson-Jobson s.v. Thakoor). He is said to have

killed the usurper Mitta with his own hand, and after this resolute deed the mercenaries banded themselves together and reinstated the legitimate king Bhuvanekabāhu in the royal dignity (90. 12 *sq.*).

3. The *militia* is called 'the army dwelling in the country' (raṭṭhavāsikā senā *Mhvs.* 70-89, 75. 102) and were agriculturists who were tilling and watering their fields and waiting for the harvest in perpetual fear of demons who might annihilate the whole work; the Sinhalese were never warlike people. The militia was, therefore, of no great military value. Cordiner, in his description of Ceylon, as it was shortly after its occupation by the Englishmen, says: 'An attempt was made some years ago to train a body of them (i.e. of the Sinhalese) as soldiers, but, after great perseverance, it completely failed of success. A life of military discipline proved, in the highest degree, irksome and uncongenial to their habits. They deserted in great numbers, and examples intended to terrify only stimulated those who remained to abandon the service' (*Ceylon*, I, pp. 92-3). In mediaeval times the Sinhalese were hardly better soldiers. We often read in the chronicle that the soldiers are running away on all sides as soon as they see themselves exposed to an unexpected danger (*Mhvs.*, 66. 89-90, 104; 67. 48). Such passages are met with chiefly in that part of the chronicle the favourite hero of which is Parakkamabāhu, and it may sometimes have been the unsophisticated chronicler's intention to exalt the king's heroism in comparison with his suite. But we also hear that a general of king Gajabāhu owing to an inauspicious dream fell from his bed and ran away into the forest where he was wandering about during the whole night, until at daybreak he reached his village. His men too, when they heard of the general's flight, left their weapons behind and followed their lord in bewilderment (66. 47 *sq.*). So much seems to be certain that such scenes were by no means strange or unusual, much less contemptible in the chronicler's eyes.

General Gokaṇṇa's army which was made ready by him in all

haste for warding off Parakkamabāhu's general Māyāgeha consisted of the troops sent to him by king Gajabāhu, of his own former army and of the army dwelling in the country, that is, of regular troops and militia. Apparently the militia was the last hope. The minor Mānābharaṇa is said to have armed the able-bodied inhabitants of his two provinces, the two portions of Rohaṇa Aṭṭhasahassaka and Dvādasasahassaka (*balaṃ raṭṭhadvayanivāsinaṃ* 70. 187; cf. 70. 260) in order to be ready for war, if Parakkamabāhu should succeed in conquering Pulatthinagara and then menace Rohaṇa. In the ensuing war two generals of Parakkamabāhu, Deva and Kitti, who had too far penetrated into the province of Rohaṇa, were encircled by the hostile army together with the militia-men (*sakalârāti-vāhinī sa-raṭṭhavāsikā* 72. 127). In the later war when general Rakkha attacked the Rohaṇa troops in the flank near Sīmātālatthali his unexpected appearance caused surprise and terror among the rebels and they called upon the militia for assistance in this dangerous situation (75-102).

As militia men the *Vyādhas* took a particular position in Parakkamabāhu's army (69. 20; cf. below). The word is here, no doubt, the Pali equivalent of the modern Väddā, the name of the wild tribe of huntsmen who are believed to be the remnant of the aboriginal population of Ceylon. It is obvious that these people who were intimately acquainted with the wilderness, could be of good service to a commander of troops as scouts or guides. In a similar connection the word *kirāta* occurs in 72. 208. It is said here that the Kirātas were skilled in wandering by night in the wilderness of forest and mountain and slew many people by night and day. In Sanskrit and Pali *kirāta* denotes a wild jungle-man of dwarfish stature. Can it be that the *Mhvs.* 72. 208 preserves the memory of a race of pygmies formerly living in some districts of S.E. Ceylon? Traditions concerning such a race are mentioned in *Journal R. A. Soc.*, Ceylon Br. XXIII, no. 67, 1914, p. 288. *sq.*

Even professional *thieves* practised in house-breaking (*saṃdhibhedassa kusalā corā* 70-168) were employed in war by Parakkamabāhu. They were sent by him in the middle of the night to a fortified camp (*dugga*) erected by the enemy to undermine it with sharp antelope horns (*migasiṅgāni*) and so to take it. Antelope horn was perhaps the name of an iron-instrument comparable to a miner's pick. *Coras* were also engaged in the siege and capture of Pulatthinagara (70. 285).

4. The traditional name in India for a complete *army* is the four-membered army '(*senā cāturaṅginī* in the ancient *Mahāvaṃsa*, 18. 29 etc., and in its mediaeval portion, 70, 217 etc.), because it is composed of elephants, horses, chariots, and foot soldiers. In the 13th century the four constituent parts of the army of Parakkamabāhu II were the *vīramahāyodhā*, the great warriors, i.e. the foot soldiers, *hatthipakā*, the elephant drivers; *turaṅgasādī*, the horsemen; and *rathino*, the charioteers' (88. 34). This however seems to be but a poetical paraphrase of the traditional name which in fact hardly suits the mediaeval Sinhalese army; for I believe that H. W. Codrington (l.l. p. 69) is right, when he says:, 'In the twelfth century there is no indication of the existence of organised units of elephants, chariots, or cavalry in Ceylon; indeed the thickly wooded nature of the country, in which the operations took place, renders it very doubtful whether they could have been used to any extent.'

It is true that in the earlier centuries of the mediaeval period elephants were used as animals for riding in battle by kings or their substitutes (41. 23, 47 *sq.*; 50. 21 *sq.*). But otherwise elephants are never mentioned in the description of a battle. In 70. 228 *sq.* we hear that king Gajabāhu's generals when preparing the final resistance placed in readiness well-armoured elephants but this is hardly more than a poetical phrase, for in the following chapters we do not learn anything about their employment. Parakkamabāhu is said

(69. 22-3) to have brought up many sons of distinguished families in his own palace with the wish that people skilled in the art of riding elephants and horses should increase in number. This notice, however, does not concern but sport, and bodily training in general, not military exercise especially. The Ramaṇas contrary to the Sinhalese were using elephants in war. When, therefore, Parakkamabāhu prepared the Rāmañña campaign, he provided his soldiers with a peculiar sort of arrows for the defence of those animals (76. 48).

As to horses, in one case only it is related that a royal prince, Kassapa, the younger brother of king Sena I, was on horseback, in battle (50. 26-28) but we may infer from the narration itself that this was something extraordinary. In the Coḷa army cavalry was numerous and the report in the *Mahāvaṃsa* on Parakkamabāhu's war with Kulaśekhara clearly shows how much the Sinhalese were impressed by this fact. The capture of many horses in the various battles is repeatedly exalted by the chronicler (76. 100, 298, 331).

The bulk of the mediaeval Sinhalese army consisted of foot soldiers with the baggage train (*bala-vāhana*). Even the *officers* (*sāmantā*) were never on horseback. Their conveyance was a palanquin, on the march as well as in battle, as we may infer from 72-100 (*Cūlavaṃsa,* trsl. I, p. 328, n. 2; H. W. Codrington, l.l., p. 75). We must, therefore, also translate the word *yāna,* generally meaning a vehicle, in this connection with palanquin; not with chariot (70. 85, 122). The badge of the officers was an umbrella probably of different colour (66. 49; 70. 122), as the white umbrella was that of the king.

Trumpets and *drums* are frequently mentioned in the chronicle. It is shown by the word *saṅkha* (85. 113; 89. 46; Sk. *Śaṅkha*) that what we call trumpets were conches. They are often called victorious or auspicious shells (*jayāsaṅkhā* 65. 27; 88. 75; *maṅgala-*

saṅkhā 74. 222). From 72-119 *pañca-mahāsadda-saṅkha-nāda* (filled) with the din of the five loud clanging conches we may perhaps infer that so many forms or kinds of conches were in use.

The words for 'drum' are more various. It is a well-known fact that the Sinhalese people are very fond of drumming and beating the drums with admirable rhythmic art. More than sixty sorts of drums exist now in Ceylon, of large or small size, one-headed or double, narrow or wide in the middle, each bearing a peculiar name. It must have also been the same, or nearly the same in the mediaeval period. The most common name for a military drum is *bheri* (Sk. *id.*, Sinh. *beraya*), also *raṇabheri* battle drum or *jaya-bheri* victorious drum (70. 227; 75-104; 76-161 88. 75). Other words are *kāhala* (74. 222; 75. 104; Sk. and Sinh. loanword *id.*), *dundubhi* (85. 113; Sk., Sinh *id.*), *āḷambara* (69. 20; Sk. *āḍambara*) and, mentioned in the latest part of the chronicle, *maddala* (96. 15; 99. 46; Sk. *mardala*). We may notice here that in time of peace drum-beating and blast of trumpets were never lacking on festive occasions (72. 315, 74. 221), and that public proclamations used to be made by beat of drum.

Flags (*dhaja* 85. 114) were also in use in the Sinhalese army. King Gajabāhu boasts that all his enemies were taking to flight because they could not behold his victorious flag (*jayaddhajaṃ* 70. 225; cf. 88. 75). According to a later passage (99.44, 18th cent.) we may assume that the militia contingents of the different districts were distinguished by different flags, probably by flags of different colours.

5. In the *Mahāvaṃsa* five kinds of *weapons* (*pañcâyudha* or °*âv*° 41. 48; *dasaddhâyudha* 70. 229) are distinguished, but they are never enumerated. Clough in his *Sinhalese Dictionary* s.v. says they were sword, spear, bow, battle-axe, and shield. This is hardly correct, for the shield cannot be called *āyudha* which always denotes an offensive weapon; nor do I know whether the

battle-axe was ever in use among the Sinhalese . I think that *pañcâyudha* was simply a traditional name similar to *caturaṅginī senā*, and used by the chronicler without considering the actualities.

The first and foremost weapons were *bow* (*cāpa, dhanu*) and *arrows* (*sara, bāṇa, usu, salla*). The archer is called *dhanuggaha* (70. 116; 72. 244; Sk. *dhanurgraha*), *dhanuddhara* (83. 45; Sk. *dhanurdhara*) or *issāsa* (72. 245; Sk. *iṣvāsa*), the archery *dhanusippa*.

It is a phrase often met with in the chronicle that the archers rain an uninterrupted shower of arrows on the enemy (*saravassa* 66. 27; 70. 114; 72. 134, 246, 250; *saravuṭṭhi* 74. 96; *bāṇavuṭṭhi* 74. 117). Whether poisoned arrows were ever used by the Sinhalese is extremely doubted. It is true that poisoned arrows are mentioned in the chronicle but only among the Ramaṇas and the Jāvakas. Parakkamabāhu had provided his soldiers whom he sent to Rāmañña, with medicine, preserved in cow horns for the healing of venomous wounds caused by poisoned arrows (*visa-pītasalla-* 76-49). And the Jāvakas who had invaded Ceylon in the 13th century are said to have harrassed the people with their poisoned arrows (*visa-diddhehi bāṇehi* 83. 38) likened to terrible snakes; they even shot such arrows swiftly one after another from a machine (83. 44). It appears from the tone of these reports that here the chronicler is touching a strange foreign custom which was unknown and unheard of to the Sinhalese people and looked to them like a diabolic practice.

A peculiar kind of arrows is called *gokaṇṇaka*, probably after their form. The word corresponds to Sk. *gokarṇa* which occurs in the *Mahābhārata* in the same meaning. Such sharp-pointed (*tikkhagga*) arrows were used for defence against elephants (76. 48).

Archery was highly developed and esteemed in India as well as in Ceylon. Kitti, afterwards king Vijayabāhu I, is praised for his skill in the use of the bow already in his thirteenth year (57. 43). In the army raised by Parakkamabāhu there was a troop of excellent

archers, called, moon-light archers (*candâlokadhanuddharā* 69. 19) because they were versed in night-fighting. In the ancient *Mahāvaṃsa* 23.86 archers are mentioned who hit their mark guided only by sound (*sadda-vedhino*) and others who were able to hit a hair (*vāla-vedhino*) and others who hit their mark by the light of a lightning (*vijju-vedhino*). The last group is mentioned in the mediaeval period also: *akkhaṇavedhino issāsā* (72. 245), and we shall be allowed to assume that the other groups were not unknown at the same time.

6. For the sword we come across the names *asi, khagga* (Sk. *asi, khaḍga*) and less frequently *tharu* (*Mhvs.*, 69. 22; Sk. *tsaru*), but it does not seem that different forms of the sword are denoted by those words. They are merely synonymous. The sword was used in hand-to-hand fighting, and sparks were flying from the clash of swords in such a combat (72. 84). Training in the manipulation of the sword as well as in that of the bow belonged to the education of princes and sons of noble families (64. 4; 69. 22). The Sīhalas, after having vanquished the Jāvakas, got as booty their elephants and horses, their swords and many other weapons together with their trumpets, drums, and flags (88. 74). The sword was the principal weapon in the hand of the king (66. 24, 31, 108), and two royal swords are distinguished in 72, 102 *sq.*, one being called the Jambudīpa blade and the other the Sīhala blade. The latter appears to have been the more terrible weapon. The *dagger* (*churika* 39. 27; *asiputtaka* 41. 24; *nikkaraṇi* 44. 112) is mentioned as royal weapon. It was also weapon of the Keraḷa mercenaries (55. 6) and among the different regiments of Parakkamabāhu's army there was also that of the dagger bearers (*churikaggāhakā* 69. 24).

The heavy lance (*kunta*) is often mentioned in the chronicle. In ancient Ceylon a lance with a relic was the badge and standard of king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (25. 1, 26. 9 *sq.*). In the 17th cent.

bows, swords, lances, etc. (*dhanukhaggakuntâdīni* 96. 14; cf. 99. 49) were the weapons of the foot soldiers. The spears given by Parakkamabāhu to the Vyādhas (69. 20) were probably javelins. The word *sattikā* used in this passage is Sk. *śakti* + suff. *ka*. Another word for a dart or some other light missile is *samara*. Parakkamabāhu's warriors who had taken up a position in the stronghold of Āḷigāma killed many enemies with arrows, darts and javelins (*usu-tomara-sattīhi* 70. 116) which they flung from the turrets of the gate. The meaning of *sattha* is doubtful. The pursuers of king Bhuvanekabāhu are said to have pierced the king's litter *tikkha-satthehi* so that everything was in tatters. The king sprang to the ground from his litter and fled by foot (90. 7-8). My translation was, 'with their pointed spears' (*Cūlavaṃsa*, trsl. II, 1.1.), but, with their sharp swords (Cf. Sk. *śastra*) would perhaps be better. We have seen above that light missiles were shot by the Jāvakas from a machine (*yanta*). Such a machine from which stones were hurled, apparently something like a catapult, was also in use among the Sinhalese (72. 251).

An ancient and primitive weapon was the *club* (*muggara*). It is however remarkable that even Parakkamabāhu enrolled in the army raised by him several thousand soldiers, tall men and strong, who were armed with clubs (*muggarike yodhe* 69. 17). The most ancient weapon was, therefore, not yet out of use in the 12th century.

Among the *defensive arms* (*kavacāni* 69. 7, 38, or *vaṃma* 76. 47, opposite to *āyudhāni*) the shield (*phalaka*) must be mentioned. It was probably made of wood but it is doubtful whether it was always worn and by all soldiers. When Parakkamabāhu was attacked in the wilderness by a dreadful bear he forced the beast down with the edge of his shield and killed it with his sword (67. 42). In 74. 73 it is said that two generals of Parakkamabāhu provided for their troops arrow protectives consisting of buffalo-skin'

(*mahisacammamaye bāṇavāraṇe*). It seems that leathern doublets are meant by this expression; but their use was apparently an isolated case.

7. When *war* is imminent it is necessary first of all to provide the food supply for both the army in the field and the population at home. Therefore Parakkambāhu, ere he began the campaign against *Rājaraṭṭha,* took care in every possible way to enlarge the cultivable area of his province so that he might be able to store a large quantity of grain (*Mhvs.*, 68. 7-53). His financial reform served the same purpose (69. 27 *sq.*). We need not add that also stores of armour and weapons of every kind and many other things formed parts of the war material (*yuddhôpakaraṇa* 69. 5, 14). For the war in Rāmañña the king had supplied for his army not only the iron arrows against elephants and medicine for the healing of venomous wounds, but also armour and weapons in abundance, and provisions for a whole year such as rice and the like, as well as all kinds of remedies for curing the poison of infected water in the many swampy stretches of the country; also iron pincers for extracting arrow-heads which are difficult to move when they have pierced deeply and the shaft has broken. The army was also accompanied by skilful physicians and serving women (*thiyo paricārikā*) who were to attend sick and wounded soldiers (76. 47 *sq.*).

The soldiers themselves were trained for the military profession already at peace by manoeuvres. Parakkamabāhu in order to test the fitness of his men arranged fights on the street, sifted out the most skilled people and dismissed those unfitted for fight. They were to till the fields and perform other works living at home (69. 37-8). Sham-fights (*yodhakīḷā*) in which the soldiers could show their skill in handling the weapons were also in use (89. 26, 31).

Before the beginning of the war against Rājaraṭṭha Parakkamabāhu is said to have worked out with ingenuity in a way suited to the locality and the time, and the plan of campaign. He did so

with careful study of literary works valuable for carrying on war, such as the text-book of Koṭalla, i.e. the *Kauṭalīya Arthaśāstra,* and the Yuddhaṇṇava, probably a part of the *Agnipurāṇa* which bears the separate title *Yuddhajayârṇava.* The plan was written down and handed out to the officers with the strict order not to swerve by a hair's breadth from the king's instruction (70. 56-8).

It is however impossible to carry through a war successfully without an accurate knowledge of the military power of the hostile king and of the political and financial situation of his country. Such a knowledge must be acquired by *espionage.* Prince Parakkamabāhu is said to have done so (66. 126 *sq.*) during his sojourn at king Gajabāhu's court in Pulatthinagara. We must not accept this report as historical in its details, for the chronicler followed here, as I have shown in *Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte Indiens* (in honour of H. Jacobi), p. 418 *sq.*, the text of the *Kauṭalīya.* He wished to describe his hero as a ruler who in all his qualities corresponded to the ideal of an Indian king who is versed in the *nīti.*

The prince is said to have sought out clever and astute men and sent them forth in various disguises in order to become acquainted with the people in the outlying districts, whilst he himself confined his observations and inquires to the town and its inhabitants. In the enumeration of these spies in the *Mahāvaṃsa* the ascetic (*tāpasa* 66. 135) corresponds to the *tāpasa* in the *Kauṭalīya,* the poisoner (*rasakriyâbhiññā* 66. 138) to the *rasada,* the sorcerer and fortune-teller (*bhūtavijjāvidū* 66. 138, *sāmuddikâdikânekalakkhaṇaññu* 66. 132) to the *sāmedhika* (cf. *aṅgavidyā*), and the itinerant trader selling glass bangles and similar trifles to the *vaidehaka* (*Kaut.*, I. 11 and 12). In order also to find out among the king's dignitaries those whom he could win over and to apply the right method for doing so he tried to distinguish between those who were ambitious (*abhimānino*), those who nursed a grudge (*saṃkuddhā*), those who

were afraid (*bhītā*), and those who were avaricious (*luddhā* 66. 142). These four-groups exactly correspond, even in wording, to the *mānivarga, kuddhavarga, bhītavarga* and *lubdhavarga* in the *Kauṭalīya,* I. 14.

There are some more spies of other character mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa* as well as in the *Arthaśāstra.* But so much seems to be certain that the *Kauṭalīya* and perhaps also other works of the Indian *nīti* literature were well-known and eagerly studied in mediaeval Ceylon, and what they taught was probably also applied by the kings as far as it was possible or advisable. It is however very improbable that Parakkamabāhu personally practised espionage at Gajabāhu's court, as it is described in the chronicle; for such an activity was too risky and could hardly be kept secret.

8. As to the *war* itself four 'means of success' (*upāyā*) are mentioned in the chronicle 58. 3. The same distinction occurs in the Indian śāstras. In the *Kauṭalīya* the four stratagems are enumerated (II. 10; Shamasastry, ed.[2] p. 74;[8] trsl., 84): *bheda* division of the enemy; *daṇḍa* open war, offensive; *sāma* friendly negotiations, *dānāni* gifts or bribes. The character of the war itself was mainly depending on that of the country. In the mediaeval times Ceylon was, for the greatest part, thickly covered with forest, and frequently the assistance of scouts (*carā* 66. 99; 75. 64) was necessary to show to the soldiers a road leading through the wilderness. They were probably recruited from the local militia, perhaps also from forest tribes (see above in 3). Often the war was hardly more than a guerilla (*corayuddha* 75. 135). In this respect the description of the beginning of the second Rohaṇa campaign is very interesting (75. 1-18).

In the first campaign the sacred relics of the *dāṭhādhātu* and the *pattadhātu* had been captured by Parakkamabāhu's generals (74. 138). That was certainly an important moral success. But in order to achieve the main object of the whole undertaking, the

subjection of the province, the king was forced to begin a new campaign. He first intended to invade Rohaṇa from north-east through the districts of Dīghavāpi and Guttasālā, now Buttala. The resistance offered by the Rohaṇa people was apparently weak, but when it seemed to have been suppressed at one place, it at once broke out anew in another. In spite of the victories reported by his generals the king gave up his plan and decided to attack the province from its north-west frontier. After the first defeats in this final phase of the terrible war, the Rohaṇa people themselves proclaimed the guerilla. They said: 'Save the wilderness, there is for us no other protection. In every way our land is furnished with mountain wildernesses and the like. Therefore at all inaccessible places let us throw up many entrenchments, make all the well-known high ways impassable, lay down many robbers' paths (*coramagge*), and when our land has been made impassable let us gather ourselves together and open battle' (75. 31-33).

An ambuscade is described in 66. 72 *sq.* Prince Parakkamabāhu on his way to Pulatthinagara was pursued by his uncle's officers and their troops who had been sent forth to bring him back. When he heard at Buddhagāma that they were approaching, he left in front space for the advancing army and placed his bravest men in ambush on both sides of the road. Then when the whole of the hostile force had advanced to the centre he suddenly fell upon them and had numbers of soldiers cut down. In a similar manner when Gajabāhu's troops approached the stronghold of Mihiraṇabibbila, the warriors of Parakkamabāhu feigned as if they were giving way, and thus enticed the enemy into an ambush of soldiers who had been hidden in the forest and suddenly made a dash on them (72. 246 *sq.*).

The tactics of outflanking the enemy were also known. We can hardly understand the undertakings of the Damiḷādhikārin Rakkha against Mahānāgahula in the final stage of the Rohaṇa

campaign, if we do not assume such a method of warfare (75. 83 *sq.*). The basis of Rakkha's operation was Doṇivagga, that is the district round Pelmadulla, S.E. of Ratnapura, from here he first tried to advance directly to Mahānāgahula along the road which at present runs through primeval forest from Madampe to Ambalantoṭa. But he realised that a break through along this highway was impossible and we hear in v. 98 that he marched with a strong force to Sūkarālibheripāsāṇa. That is a place near the modern Deniyaya, south of the Rakvana mountain range. Obviously Rakkha had crossed this range on the Bulutoṭa pass and thus made on outflanking manoeuvre. The enemies were surprised and alarmed, for they had not expected an attack from this side because the road leading from Doṇivagga to Navayojana, i.e. the Bulutoṭa pass was very difficult (75. 72) to negotiate and they had not sufficiently secured their left flank. Rakkha won the ensuing battle and was able to advance to the hostile capital.

The descriptions in the chronicle of a battle are of no great interest. They are always made according to a certain poetical model. The simile is generally a thunder-storm. The soldiers are pouring out a rain of arrows, or the arrows are the cloud by which the heavens are darkened. The battle-cry of the warriors is compared to the thunder, the sparks flying from the clash of swords are like the lightnings (72. 84; 75. 63, 110-11, 131-32 etc.) In a very artificial and fictitious passage (76. 160-61) the battle-field is compared to the ocean in a heavy storm. Often a general is said to be a lion that has broken into a herd of elephants or gazelles (72. 2-3, 69).

A peculiar heroic feature in battles of ancient times was the single combat between the leaders of the two armies. That of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and Eḷāra near the southern gate of Anurādhapura (25. 67 *sq.*) is a classical example. In the mediaeval period such a combat is mentioned between Dāṭhāpabhuti and his brother Moggallāna,

6th c. (41. 49). In later times we do not hear any more of such heroic deeds. King Vijayabāhu I, 1059-1116, is said, it is true, to have challenged the Cola king (60. 30 *sq.*), but this was rather a theatrical pose or a poetical exaggeration. The single combat never took place. In his adventurous youth Prince Parakkamabāhu sometimes is reported to have personally taken part in fighting (66. 103-4; 67. 48), if this is not simply an embellishment of the narration made by the chronicler who wished to exalt the bravery of his favourite hero. After he had become king, Parakkamabāhu in all his wars generally remains behind the army in the headquarters or in the capital sending therefrom his commands to the generals in the field. Once when he was present in the most critical phase of a battle against Mānābharaṇa he cried for his sword (72. 102). However he made no use of it, but looked significantly at the faces of his generals who had given way, but turned now again towards the enemy and flung themselves into the midst of the hostile army.

The *victory* (*jaya;* opp. *parājaya, parābhava*) was celebrated by a festive entrance into the capital of the victorious army. When the dignitaries of Parakkamabāhu had finished the Rohaṇa campaign and occupied the whole province they marched at the head of their troops to Pulatthinagara. Accompanied by the dwellers of the city who played music, shouted with joy and waving cloths let their cries of victory resound, they drew near the palace and rendered homage to the monarch (75. 200 *sq.*).

After a successful war the heads of the hostile officers who had been killed in battle together with their umbrellas and palanquins, the weapons captured during the campaign, and the captives caught alive were sent to the king (70. 122), and the victorious generals were honoured by titles and ornaments (*ābharaṇāni* 72. 320) corresponding to our medals.

Naval battles are mentioned at the beginning of Parakkamabāhu's war with Gajabāhu and were fought by the king's generals,

in the middle of the sea 'near a place called Muttākara.' This name and the fact that pearls were captured as booty seem to prove that the Gulf of Mannar was the seat of this naval war (70. 63 *sq.*, 91 *sq.*). Some of the Sinhalese kings also sent ships across the sea to Southern India to wage war with the Pāṇḍus and Coḷas. Thus did Sena II in the 9th cent., Kassapa V and Udaya IV in the 10th cent., and Parakkamabāhu I in the 12th cent., (51. 22 *sq.*, 52. 70 *sq.*, 53. 46 *sq.*, 76. 86 *sq.*). The latter even is said to have made an enterprise against Rāmañña (76. 44 *sq.*). In none of these cases we hear that a naval battle was given by the enemies in order to repel the aggressors. When Parakkamabāhu sent many hundred ships, which sailed a day and a night on the back of the ocean, to Southern India the Damiḷas restricted themselves to defend the coast and to prevent the Sinhalese army from landing (76. 89 *sq.*). As the ships had to lie in deep water the Sinhalese commander made the troops get into hundreds of boats of small size. In order to protect them from the rain of arrows that came flying from the Damiḷas who were standing on the coast, he had shields made of leather set up in front of the soldiers. Thus he landed on the coast and after putting to flight the Damiḷas he took up a firm position near the harbour.

9. *Fortified camps* or temporary fortresses (H. W. Codrington, l.l. p. 70) played a great part in the wars in mediaeval Ceylon. The same was the case in main India since ancient times. The first chapter of the tenth book, on war in the *Kauṭalīya* contains the rules concerning the laying out of a fortified camp (*skandhāvāra-niveśa* Shamasastry, ed.[2] p. 363; trsl., p. 437). In the *Mahāvaṃsa* the word for such a fortress is *khandhāvāra* exactly corresponding to the expression used in the *Kauṭalīya*. It is met with already in the oldest part of the chronicle (10. 46; 25. 20; 37. 19), and in the fifth century king Dhātusena waging warfare with the Damiḷas who at that time had ravaged Ceylon, is said to have laid

out such camps in the Island, twenty-one in number (*khandhāvāre nivesetvā* 38. 36). But the expression *khandhāvāra* rather occurs seldom in later chapters (70. 138, 161, 167); it is replaced by *dugga* (cf. 55. 28; 58. 42). This word corresponds to *durga* in the *Kauṭalīya* (e.g. *durga-niveśa* 2. 4 s.f.; td.[2] p. 57[6]) which however here as well as in the *Mahābhārata* appears to denote a permanent rather than a temporary structure (cf. *Kauṭ.*, 2. 2; ed.[2], p. 114 *durgavidhāna*).

Fortified camps were constructed wherever the army had reached an opportune position in order to serve as entrenchments against sudden attacks and as basis for further operations. In the history of Parakkamabāhu's campaigns against Rājaraṭṭha and Rohaṇa many duggas are enumerated, and the names of the places where they were laid out sometimes enables us to state the vicissitudes in war which so often are veiled in the chronicler's report.

As an example I shall excerpt the description of the military operation of Senāpati Deva who commanded the troops in the district Giribā, south of Kalāveva. He first raised an encampment on the bank of the Kālavāpi river. Then he threw a bridge across this river, marched off and built a new encampment near Aṅgamu and took up a position there. The leader of the hostile army did the same at a place called Senāgāma. After it had been captured by Deva the enemy built four encampments more, apparently in order to stop the advance of Deva, but they were all successively taken away by Parakkamabāhu's general (70. 123-136). The word for, 'encampment' is always *dugga;* one only which was erected by Gajabāhu's officers near Terigāma is called (v. 138) *khandhāvāra.*

When after the death of Mānābharaṇa[2] the Rohaṇa people wished to save their independence and were expecting the invasion of Parakkamabāhu's army, they built at each difficult spot as far as the frontier of the province many camps, had trenches dug everywhere, placed there barricades and made the roads in-

accessible with felled trees. Then they took up their place in one of those camps (74. 31-35). But the general Rakkha having broken through three different fortifications advanced up to a big forest where the Rohaṇa people had laid out one behind the other seven fortified camps (74. 55-66). Here Rakkha's advance came to a standstill, and the seven strongholds were conquered only when his army had been enforced by the troops of the general Bhūta (74. 75-6). In this passage the term *dugga* is used for all those camps and fortifications.

Such a temporary fortress which was erected by Parakkamabāhu's officers near Mihiraṇabibbila is described (72. 232-53) in detail. They had stakes made like spear-points and driven into the ground. Outside these they had stakes of greater size driven in and had them interwoven with branches. Between the two rows of stakes they had a trench dug with pitfalls, and similar trenches at other places also. Then they had the big forest felled round the camp over a tract two or three bow-shots in extent. The footpath leading through the wilderness was made impracticable by sharp thorns which were covered with sand and withered leaves. In the middle of the fortification (*dugga-majjhambi*, v. 244) a structure of four storeys was erected, from which when the enemy approached the archers rained a hail of arrows and stones, and burning sharp-pointed bamboo rods were hurled from engines.

10. Imposing strongholds were built in Ceylon on some of those isolated gneiss rocks which rise abruptly from the lowland and form such a characteristic feature of the landscape. The most famous example is the Sīgiri rock (Sīhagiri) with its stronghold erected already in the 5th century by king Kassapa I (*Mhvs.*, 39. 2-3). A similar stronghold was that on the Vātagiri, now Vākirigala in the Kegalla district (58. 31, 60. 39), built in the 11th century. Others were erected in those times of terrible perturbance when Māgha was reigning in Ceylon 1214-35, by Sinhalese noblemen

who wished to maintain their independence, as in Dakkhiṇadesa on the Subha mountain, now Yāpahu (= *yasa-pabbata*), and on the rock of Jambuddaṇi, modern Dambadeniya, and in Rohaṇa on the Govindasela rock which is now called Westminster Abbey (81. 2-6, 15-16).

The big towns, especially the capital cities of Anurādhapura and Pulatthinagara, were fortified with wall and moat, with turrets and bastions (cf. below). Defence and besiege of strongholds are described often enough in the chronicle but generally in a conventional form. The defence of a fortified camp has been quoted above in 9. In a similar manner the stronghold of Āḷigāma was defended by general Rakkha. When Gajabāhu's troops attacked it, the Sīhala archers standing on the gate-turrets, slew numbers of the foe with various missiles. Other warriors took up their position at the gates which the enemy tried to blow up. The combat ended with a sally of the Sīhalas who suddenly burst forth and cut down the foe (70. 112 *sq.*).

The stronghold Semponmāri in the Pāṇḍu country was captured by the Sīhalas within half a day. After they had broken through two outer-walls and four gate-towers, they penetrated into the interior of the fortress and slew there the Damiḷas, many thousands in number (76. 241 *sq.*). When Parakkamabāhu after many actions approached Pulatthinagara and had sent in advance his light troops, the Vyādhas and Kirātas, the dwellers in Pulatthinagara were living as in a besieged town. As circulation on all the roads leading to the city was stopped by those troops they dared not even by day leave their houses and go outside the gate when they wanted supply of water and wood. In the shops here and there on the outskirts of the town the various businesses were completely given up (72. 209 *sq.*). When captured by storm the towns were plundered and destroyed in the most reckless manner.

W. Geiger

The Early Home of the Imperial Guptas

I-Tsing visited India in A.D. 671 or 672 and returned to China in A.D. 693-694. In his *Kau-fā-kao-sang-chuen*, an account of fifty-six Buddhist pilgrims, who visited India, he narrates that 'about forty stages to the east of the temple of Nalanda, descending the Ganges, one arrives at the temple of Mṛgaśikhāvana. "Tradidition says that formerly a Mahārāja called Śrī-Gupta built this temple for the use of Chinese priests. He was prompted to do so by the arrival of about twenty priests of that country who had travelled from Sz'chuen to Mahābodhi Temple to pay their worship. Being impressed by their pious demeanour, he gave them the land and the revenues of about twenty villages as an endowment. This occurred some 500 years ago."[1]

I-Tsing's report places Mahārāja Gupta some time between A.D. 173 and 194. The grandfather of the Mahārājādhirāja Candragupta I was, as is known from the Gupta inscriptions, the Mahārāja Śrī-Gupta.[2] As Candragupta ascended the throne in A.D. 319, Gupta is to be placed in the second half of the third century A.D. Fleet remarks that[3] "as it is now certain that the era used by the early Guptas commenced from A.D. 319-20, the Mahārāja Śrī-Gupta, mentioned by I-Tsing and referred by him to about A.D. 175, cannot be identified with the founder of the early Gupta family, who lived in the fourth century A.D." Allan is, on the other hand, inclined to identify I-Tsing's Śrī-Gupta with the grandfather of Candragupta I, "considering the lapse of time and the

1 Chavannes, *Voyages des Pelerins Bouddhistes*, p. 82. A plus de quarante relais (yojanas) a l'est du temple Na-lan-t'ouo (Nalanda), en descendant le K'iang-kia (Gange), on arrive au temple Mi-li-kia-si-kia-po-no (Mṛgaśikhāvana). Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, Introduction, xxvi.

2 *CII.*, p. 15.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 8, f.n. 3.

fact that the Chinese pilgrim gives this information on the authority of a tradition, handed down from ancient time by old men."[4] Following this identification Allan concludes that Pāṭaliputra had been in the possession of the Guptas since the time of the Mahārāja Śrī-Gupta.

Needless to mention that the traditional report generally lacks precision. Hiuen Tsang, depending on the traditional report places Budhagupta (A.D. 477) in the pre-Christian era.[5] He also places Śilāditya, king of Mālava, sixty years before his visit to Mālava i.e. in A.D. 580.[6] But a record of the Maitrakas establishes that Śilāditya was ruling in A.D. 609.[7] Hence Allan's view that I-Tsing's Gupta is identical with Gupta, the founder of the Gupta dynasty, cannot be rejected simply on the ground that the tradition removes one from the other by nearly one hundred years.

The scholars, though they differ from one another in regard to the identification of the two kings as one and the same, agree in thinking that I-Tsing's Gupta ruled in Pāṭaliputra, the capital of Magadha. But the discussions made below will prove that their location of Gupta's kingdom is faulty.

According to I-Tsing, as has already been noticed, the temple of Mṛgaśikhāvana is forty stages east of Nalanda, descending the Ganges. Shortly after this statement I-Tsing lays down that Nalanda is seven stages north-east of Mahābodhi.[8] Cunningham's map places Nalanda forty miles north-east of Bodh Gaya.[9] This makes one stage of I-Tsing equal to nearly six miles (5 5/7 miles). Mṛgaśikhāvana, which is, according to the above calculation, two

4 *Gupta Coins*, Intro. p. xv.

5 Beal's *Life*, p. 110.

6 Beal's *Records*, II, p. 261.

7 *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. I, pt. I.

8 *Voyages des Pelerins Bouddhistes*, p. 84—A plus de sept relais (yojanas) au nord-est du temple de la Grande Intelligence (Mahabodhi), on arrive au temple Na-lan-t'ouo (Nalanda)".

9 *ASI.*, XV, pl. 1.

hundred and twenty-eight miles east of Nalanda, following the bank of the Ganges, is to be placed in the Murshidabad District, Bengal. That Gupta held sway over at least some part of Bengal, finds corroboration in another statement of I-Tsing. I-Tsing states that the land, which the king Gupta granted to the temple of Mṛgaśikhāvana, "has now reverted to the king of Eastern India, whose name is Devavarma, but he is said to be willing to give back the temple-land and the endowment in case any priests come from China."[10]

I-Tsing's report places Magadha in Mid-India,[11] and lays down that Tamralipti[12] and Harikela (Ho-li-ki-lou)[13] are respectively the southern and eastern limits of Eastern India. Harikela is the other name of Vaṅga, modern East Bengal. Dr. R. C. Majumdar[14] identifies Devavarma with the king Devakhaḍga of the Khaḍga dynasty of East Bengal. In this circumstance the temple-land, which reverted to Devavarma, does not seem to have been situated in Magadha, but in East India.

The above discussion leads to a definite conclusion that I-Tsing's Gupta held sway over the Murshidabad District.

If Allan is right in identifying I-Tsing's Śrī-Gupta with Śrī-Gupta, the founder of the Gupta dynasty, doubt may be reasonably entertained whether Magadha was an early possession of the Imperial Guptas. Possession of Magadha by Śrī-Gupta would imply that his kingdom extended from the District of Shahabad, Bihar, to the District of Murshidabad, Bengal. The Gupta inscriptions[15] describe Śrī-Gupta as a Mahārāja, a title indicative of lower political status. It is unlikely that a petty ruler of Śrī-Gupta's status held sway over an extensive territory, comprising the Districts of Shahabad, Patna,

10 Beal's *Life*, Intro., p. xxvii.
11 *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, Intro., p. xx.
12 *Ibid.*, p. xxx.
13 *Voyages des Pelerins Bouddhistes*, p. 106.
14 *Early History of Bengal.*
15 Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions.*

Gaya, Monghyr, Bhagalpur, and Murshidabad, including Santal Parganas. Moreover the evidence, hitherto available, will not support the conclusion that Śrī-Ġupta's kingdom extended beyond Murshidabad.

Thus the early home of the Imperial Guptas is to be located in Murshidabad, Bengal, and not in Magadha.

Some coins bearing the legend Candra (gupta I) are known.[16] They demonstrate the marriage between Candragupta I and the Licchavi princess, Kumāradevi. V. A. Smith,[17] while discussing the importance of these coins, remarks—"It seems probable that at the time of this fateful union the Licchavis were masters of the ancient imperial city (Pāṭaliputra), and that Candragupta I by means of his matrimonial alliance, succeeded to the power previously held by his wife's relatives." Allan[18] criticises Smith's view by pointing out that "I-Tsing's evidence suggests that Pāṭaliputra was in the possession of the Guptas even in Gupta's time." In his opinion Candragupta conquered Vaiśāli from the Licchavis, and "that his marriage with Kumāradevi was one of the terms of the treaty of peace."

But the above discussions show that Smith's view, viz. that the Licchavis were in possession of Pāṭaliputra in the early part of Candragupta's reign, cannot be rejected simply on the ground that the city was in the possession of the Guptas from the time of Śrī-Gupta.

If Smith's view proves to be true, it will follow that Candragupta I transferred his capital from Bengal to Magadha, where his successors ruled for a long time.

D. C. Ganguly

16 *Gupta Coins.*
17 *Early History of India*, Second ed., p. 265.
18 *Gupta Coins*, Intro. p. xix.

The Dutch in Bengal after Bedara

Dependence of the Dutch on the English

The defeat of the Dutch at Bedara in November, 1759, dealt a crushing blow to their hopes "to rival the political power of the English in Bengal;"[1] and henceforth their existence in Bengal became entirely dependent on the goodwill of their rival, the English. The Nawab of Bengal began to look on them as "an unloved guest," whose departure, rather than existence, he now desired most. The Dutch traveller Stavorinus, who visited Bengal during 1769-71 A.D., has thus described the situation of the Dutch after 1759:—"Since the unfortunate issue of our expedition to Bengal in 1759, the reputation of our countrymen has been on the decline; and we are obliged to be not a little dependent upon the English, with respect to the piece-goods wanted for our cargoes, both for Batavia and for Holland. In the beginning of the government of the Director V— (Vernet), in the year 1765, or 1766, when Lord Clive was still in Bengal everything seemed to take a friendly aspect, and arrangements respecting trade were about to be made to mutual satisfaction and advantage. Both these gentlemen came to an agreement, that all the aurungs, or weaving manufactories in Bengal, should be numbered, in order that a repartition might afterwards be made for so many aurungs to each nation for the purpose of weaving the goods they wanted; and two Commissioners were appointed, to this end, respectively, by the English, the Dutch and the French, to go through the whole country and ascertain the number of manufac-

1 The importance of the victory of Bedara for the English was aptly hinted at by Clive in the following sentence:—

"Thus ended an affair which, had the event been different, threatened us in its consequence with utter destruction; for, had the Dutch gained the same advantage over us, we have now the most convincing proofs to conclude that the remembrance of Amboyna would have been lost in their treatment of this colony." Malcolm, *Life of Clive*, vol. II, p. 89.

tories.....But these excellent arrangements were all broken, by the departure of Lord Clive from Bengal; his Lordship was succeeded by Mr. Verelst, with whom the Director V—shortly afterwards fell out, and their disagreement was carried to such a point, that upon paying the customary annual national visit to Calcutta, Mr. V—was treated in a most improper and humiliating manner; whence, in the end, so great a breach arose between these two chiefs that the above arrangements were, much to our prejudice, entirely set aside. The English had equally, on their sides, much reason to be discontented with Mr. V—as he had used his utmost endeavours to favour the French in all things, notwithstanding they (the French) had no power to render our Company any service or even to help themselves, and the English were much hurt at this conduct, especially at Mr. V—'s selling all the Japan copper, which the Dutch ships brought to Bengal, to the French, without allowing them the opportunity of purchasing a single pound, for a considerable time although they offered a higher price than was obtained from the French. This was evidently not only unfriendly but wholly incompatible with the interests of the Company; which appears the more strongly if we consider that, upon the least difference with the Moors, the Council at Hugli were obliged to have recourse to the mediation and protection of the government at Calcutta, as was the case, two or three times, while I was in Bengal."[2] The Dutch commerce in Bengal, formerly "very profitable, now ceased to be so."[3]

Relations between the Dutch and the Nawab of Bengal

The relations between the Dutch and the Nawab's government did not also turn out to be cordial. The Dutch had annexed the village of Partabpur near Hugli to their territory, and Mirza Kazim,

2 Stavorinus, *Voyage to the East Indies*, vol. I, pp. 499-501.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 324-25.

formerly *naib* of the *faujdar* of Hugli, and an inhabitant of that village, had connived at this encroachment of the Dutch for the sake of their protection. Muhammad Reza Khan, *naib* Nazim of the minor Nawab Saif-ud-daulah, visited Hugli in February, 1768, argued before the Dutch Director Mr. G. L. Vernet that Partabpur was within the area of Hugli and was "never annexed to Chinsurah" and "wanted him to restore it to the Nawab."[4] We do not know if it was actually restored or not. There were also other faults on the part of the Dutch which excited the displeasure of the Nawab's government against them. The Dutch Company had to pay certain duties to the Nawab for conveying goods up and down the river Ganges; but these had not been paid by Mr. Vernet for several years. The Nawab thereupon ordered the *faujdar* of Hugli to exact his lawful dues in a forcible manner, and the latter accordingly sent a *chubdar* to the Dutch Governor demanding the money and threatening him that "in case it were not paid, he would not suffer any more goods belonging to the Dutch to pass."[5] The Director "took umbrage at this peremptory message, and after having violently abused the poor *chubdar*, sent him to the fiscal De Saumaise, and had him bound to the whipping post, and unmercifully flogged."[6] At this the *faujdar* of Hugli detained all callicoes and other piece-goods intended for cargoes for the Dutch ships, which were to sail for Europe in the month of November 1768, and he also invested Chinsurah on the land side on 3rd October 1768, with ten or twelve soldiers.[7] All the "approaches and barriers were so closely guarded, that no one could go in or out. This occasioned in the ensuing days such a scarcity of provisions, among the inhabitants of the village that many of them perished for want.....Besides this blockade in the land side, the Moors (the Muslims) had also beset the river,

4 *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, vol. II, pp. 231-32.
5 Stavorinus, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 115.
6 *Ibid.*

7 *Ibid.*

above the village, so that nothing would be brought down the water; and from below, there was little to be obtained, while there was any rice, seven pounds weight were sold for a rupee, but it was soon consumed."[8] On a reference being made by Mr. Vernet, the Dutch Council thought it useless to use force and decided to settle the matter amicably through the mediation of the English. A Dutch deputation consisting of Mr. Ross, the Chief Administrator, and Mr. Van Braam, the Controller of Equipments, settled the affair with the English Council in Calcutta and Muhammad Reza Khan. On their promise that the Nawab's duties should be quickly paid, the Dutch goods were released, the Nawab's soldiers left Chinsurah on the 15th October, and the navigation of the Hugli river was opened.[9]

Dutch actions during the administrations of Cartier and Hastings

But both the English and the Nawab's government kept a strict watch on the movements of the Dutch. They were required by the Naib Nazim "not to send more than one European with a fleet."[10] Officers were appointed at Kalpi to inspect their ships as also of the other Europeans like the French and the Danes, to take strict account of the cannon, arms and military stores on board their ships and to prevent them from sailing up the Kalpi with more than 24 guns and stores in proportion and 250 men in one ship, which were considered sufficient for a merchant ship.[11] These officers were ordered "not to use violence without just cause.....and on no account to receive gratuities from anyone."[12] The regulations of the *Nizamat* were, however, scarcely obeyed by the Dutch, the French and the Danes.[13] On the other hand, they obstructed the business of the *faujdari* and oppressed the people.[14] In 1771 the

8 Stavorinus, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 115.
9 *Ibid.*
10 *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, vol. III, p. 27.
11 *Ibid.*, p. 42.
12 *Ibid.*
13 *Ibid.*, p. 138.
14 *Ibid.*, pp. 249-50.

Director of the Dutch Company committed a murder, and the victim's heirs petitioned to Sayyid Muhammad Ali Khan, *faujdar* of Hugli, for redress.[15] Mr. John Cartier, the Company's Governor in Calcutta, thereupon, authorised the *Naib Nazim,* Muhammad Reza Khan, to write to the *faujdar* of Hugli, to put a stop to the illegal actions of the Director of the Dutch Company.[16] Further, disputes generally took place between the Director of the Dutch Company at Chinsurah and the officers of the *Nizamat* on the question of respective rights and privileges. Considering it desirable to put a stop to such disputes, Warren Hastings, who succeeded Mr. John Cartier as the Governor of Bengal, wrote to Nawab Mubarak-ud-daulah and his guardian Muni Begam, on the 11th May, 1773, to call upon the Director of the Dutch Company to produce copies of *firmans* by virtue of which his Company claimed privileges in Bengal.[17] The Nawab acted accordingly. It is not known if the Nawab's orders were complied with by the Dutch or not. But the Dutch Director defied the authority of Khan Jahan Khan, the *faujdar* of Hugli, who thereupon requested the Company's Governor to "give him definite directions for his guidance and to ask the Nawab at Murshidabad to reprimand them and issue a *parwanah* empowering him to stop their boats of grain, etc."[18] As desired by the English Governor,[19] the Nawab issued a *parawanah* to the *faujdar* of Hugli asking him "to stick to the privileges of his office and not to give up his authority."[20]

Hostile Anglo-Dutch relations during the War of American Independence

In course of a few years, the Anglo-Dutch relations in India turned to be hostile under the influence of extra-Indian politics. The adhesion of Holland to the league against England during the

15 *Calendar of Persian Correspondence,* vol. III.
16 *Ibid.,* p. 255.
17 *Ibid.,* vol. IV, p. 56.
18 *Ibid.,* p. 149 and p. 168.
19 *Ibid.,* pp. 161-62.
20 *Ibid.,* p. 168.

War of American Independence was followed by a declaration of war on the part of England and seizure of Dutch colonies. In pursuance of this policy, Lord Macartney, Governor of Madras, drove the Dutch out of Madras and Pulicat, and in November 1781 captured the Dutch settlement of Nagapatam.[21] The Dutch forts and factories in Bengal and Bihar were also seized by the English without much difficulty, as the English, apprehending a rupture with the Dutch for some time, had not allowed them to maintain strong garrisons in their settlements.[22] But after the termination of the War of American Independence by the Peace of Versailles in 1783, the Dutch got back most of their possessions in India,[23] and in the year 1778 the Dutch settlement of Baranagar was exchanged with the English territories contiguous to their factory at Hugli.[24]

Anglo-Dutch alliance during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars

The Dutch power was badly affected in Europe during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. On the conquest of Holland by France in 1795, the Dutch possessions in India were placed under the protection of the English for their safety against the French,[25] and the English issued the following proclamation[26]:—"Whereas armed Force acting under the pretended authority of the persons now exercising the Powers of Government in France, has entered into the Territories of his Britannic Majesty's ancient allies, their High Mightnesses, the States General of the United Provinces, and has forcibly taken possession of the seat of Government, whereby the Stad-holder has been obliged to leave his own country and to take refuge in Great Britain; We do by this Proclamation

21 E. H. Nolan, *Illustrated History of the British Empire in India*, II, p. 400.

22 *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin* (Eng. trans.), IV, pp. 118-19.

23 Consultations, 23rd Nov. 1784 (Imperial Records Dept., Foreign Branch).

24 Consultations, 12th Jany. 1789 (Imperial Records Dept., Foreign Branch).

25 Letter from G. Hay, Secretary to Government, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, 14th August, 1795 (Patna District Judge Court Unpublished Records).

26 *Ibid.*

issued in virtue of his Majesty's Commands, invite and require all Commanders and Governors of Settlements, Plantations, Colonies and Factories in the East Indies, belonging to the said States as they respect the sacred obligation of honour and allegiance and fidelity to their lawful sovereigns (of their adherence to which they have at all times given the most distinguished proofs) to deliver up the said Settlements, Plantations, Colonies, and Factories into his Majesty's possession, in order that the same may be preserved by his Majesty until a general Pacification shall have composed the differences now subsisting in Europe, and until it shall please God to re-establish the ancient constitution and Government of the United Provinces, and in the meantime we do hereby promise upon the assurance of His Majesty's Royal Word that so long as the said Settlements, Plantations, Colonies, and Factories shall continue to be possessed by His Majesty, they shall be held and treated upon the same Terms with respect to all advantages, privileges, and Immunities to be enjoyed by the respective Inhabitants upon which the Settlements, Plantations, Colonies and Factories in the East Indies are held and treated which are now subject to his Majesty's Crown, or are otherwise possessed by the Company of Merchants trading from England to the East Indies under His Majesty's Royal Charter."

Loss of Dutch possessions in India

The Dutch gradually lost all their possessions in India during the first three decades of the 19th century. The Marquis of Wellesley contemplated an expedition against the Dutch at Batavia, as the Dutch were then in alliance with the French, but it could not be carried out.[27] When Mr. Sohnlein, the Chief of the Dutch factory at Patna, died in May, 1803, his effects were sent by Mr. Henry Douglas, Magistrate of Patna, according to the desire of the

27 *Journal of Indian History*, 1932, p. 52.

deceased, to his executors, Messrs Bowman of Chinsurah and Ullman of Fultah.[28] During the Governor-Generalship of Lord Minto (1807-13), the Dutch lost Cape of Good Hope, the Spice Islands and Amboyna.[29] But Java and the Dutch possessions within the jurisdiction of the Madras Government were restored to the Dutch by Lord Hastings.[30] The territories of the Dutch in *moujah* Octler Nowapore in paragana Sonhit near Balasore, from which the Dutch agent at Balasore had been dispossessed, were also given back to them in 1820.[31]

During the Governor-Generalship of Lord Amherst, a treaty was concluded between England and Holland with a view "to place upon a footing mutually beneficial to their respective possessions and the commerce of their subjects in the East Indies so that the welfare and prosperity of both Nations may be promoted in all time to come, without those differences and jealousies which have, in former times, interrupted the Harmony which ought always to submit between them, and being anxious that all occasions of misunderstanding between their respective agents may be, as much as possible, prevented."[32] The important terms of the treaty were the following:—

> Art. 8—His Netherlands Majesty cedes to His Brittanic Majesty all establishments on the continent of

28 Letters from Messrs Playdell and D. V. Kerrim to H. Douglas, dated 23rd May and 24th June, 1803 (Patna District Judge Court Unpublished Records).

29 Thornton, *History of the British Empire in India* IV, pp. 181-95, pp. 200-201.

30 Consultations, 26th October and 17th December, 1816 (Imperial Records Department, Foreign Branch).

31 Letter from D. A. Overbeck, Resident at Chinsurah, to W. L. Melville, *Judge and Magistrate of Cuttack*, dated Chinsurah, the 2nd February, 1820. (Cuttack Unpublished Records). Copies of these records were lent to me by Principal K. P. Mitra of Monghyr, for which I thank him sincerely.

32 Proceedings of the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council in the Foreign Department, under date the 14th October, 1824 (Cuttack Unpublished Records).

India, and renounces all privileges and exemption enjoyed or claimed in virtue of those establishments.

Art. 9—The Factory of Fort Marlborough, all the English possessions on the island of Sumatra are hereby ceded to His Netherland Majesty; and His Brittanic Majesty further engages that no British settlement shall be formed on that island, nor any treaty concluded by the British authority with Native Prince, chief or state therein.

Art. 10—Town and fort of Malacca and dependencies ceded to Brittanic Majesty.

Art. 11—His Brittanic Majesty withdraws objection to the occupation of the Island of Billiton and dependencies by agents of Netherland Government.

Art. 12—His Netherland Majesty withdraws objection to occupation of the Island of Singapore by subjects of His Brittanic Majesty. No British establishment to be made on the Carimon Island and Island of Baltam, Bintang, or other islands.

Art. 13—Delivery of all possessions on the 1st March, 1825.

Art. 14—Inhabitants for 6 years of the date of ratification of the Treaty may dispose of property as they like."[33]

Thus by the year 1825 vanished all the possessions of the Dutch in India.

KALIKINKAR DATTA

33 *Ibid.;* Consultations 13th January, 3rd February, 3rd March and 19th May, 1825 (Imperial Records Department, Foreign Branch).

Nawab Muhammad Ali and the Siege of Arcot (1751)

Introductory

The contemporary historian, Robert Orme, wrote in 1764 that Captain Clive, on his return from Trichinopoly in the beginning of August 1751, proposed as the only resource left to the English, to attack the possessions of Chanda Sahib in the territory of Arcot, "offering to lead the expedition himself which he doubted not would cause a diversion on the part of the enemy's force from Trichinopoly." Following him, other writers of eminence have given Clive the whole of the credit for conceiving the idea of the diversion on Arcot. Sir George Forrest repeats the same in his *Life of Lord Clive* (1918) and says that Clive, on his return to Fort St. David, made "a proposal which was an example of daring and military sagacity", *viz.*, if a swift dash should be made on Arcot, Chanda Sahib would be bound either to lose the seat of his government or send a large portion of his besieging force from Trichinopoly to protect it or retake it." A study of the records of the English Presidency and of other indigenous sources will, however, point to the fact that it was Nawab Muhammad Ali, the son of the martyred Nawab Anwaru'ddin Khan, who was besieged in Trichinopoly by Chanda Sahib assisted by the French, that insisted, almost from the very beginning of the siege operations at Trichinopoly, on the necessity for, and the importance of, an attack on Arcot; and the English Governor Saunders wholly approved of the plan and supported it from the first.

Muhammad Ali on the importance of Arcot

Nawab Muhammad Ali who had taken shelter in Trichinopoly after the assassination of Nasir Jang, in December 1750, had all along been urging on the English the necessity of their promptly

sending reinforcements to him. He assured Governor Saunders, in his letter to Fort St. David (received 2/13th March 1751), that Mir Asad of Chetpat, Mutabir Khan of Ranjangudi, Hirasat Khan and Murtaza Ali Khan of Vellore were all his friends and his troops could take shelter in their forts whenever they might be sent to take possession of the Carnatic country.[1] Muhammad Ali thus gave out his plans: "I do therefore give it as my opinion that it is highly necessary to strengthen the affairs of Trichinopoly Fort, retake Madura (from Alam Khan, an adherent of Chanda Sahib who had to come to be in possession of it in the beginning of 1751) and settle Tinnevelly, but at the same time we ought to be mindful of the affairs at Arcot, and use our endeavours to weaken the enemy, for if we proceed to Arcot before we retake Madura, Alam Khan will grow powerful. On the other side, if we neglect Chanda Sahib on account of Madura, it will prejudice our affairs. We must therefore be mindful of both these affairs and to that end I think it requisite to send a part of my army with a detachment of your troops to Madura.....and the other part of the army shall be commanded by my brother Abdul Vahab Khan who in conjunction with your troops are abroad upon the expedition to Arcot."[2]

Writing a few days later, the Nawab was sanguine that Madura could be easily retaken and it should be secured "before we think of settling the affairs of Arcot." Governor Saunders appreciated the wisdom of the plan of the Nawab; but he deprecated the sloth of his movements. He thus wrote to Muhammad Ali on the 30th April/11th May 1757:—"Am doubtful whether you have come to a final resolution. Our troops have been abroad above a month, when

1 No. 29 of Country Correspondence, Public Department: Records of Fort St. George. (1751).

2 Letter No. 59 of Muhammad Ali to Fort St. David received 20th April 1751—For Cope's failure before Madura see Orme, vol. I, pp. 169-170: and Orme Mss. O. V. (India Office): Hill's *Catalogue*.—O. V. 14; 21.

they first went out. Chanda Sahib had gained no advantage and it was thought your joining us would entirely frustrate his designs. On receipt of your letter, I wrote to the Deputy Governor of Madras to send a detachment to Vellore, but the affair was finished. It is my opinion that if you don't attack Chanda Sahib in this province, he will attack you; if his forces come into your country they will plunder and ruin it, but if yours enter his, it will be the contrary. The friendship and regard I have for you induce me plainly to tell you what I think."

Muhammad Ali was apprehensive of Chanda Sahib's march on Trichinopoly and was chagrined when Cope had to send away a detachment to Fort St. David under definite instructions from Saunders. He could only repeat his firm conviction that "if this (Trichinopoly) is preserved, we shall be enabled to retake Arcot."

Muhammad Ali repeats the urgency of a diversion on the Arcot country

But the nearer Chanda Sahib approached Trichinopoly, the more frightened Muhammad Ali came to be, for his own safety. The latter was prepared to deliver up the districts of Trichinopoly, Madura, and Tinnevelly to the English, provided they allowed him 2 lakhs of Madras pagodas every year for his expenses; as an alternative, he desired the English to negotiate with the French and conclude a peace between him and Chanda Sahib so that "each of us may remain in peaceable possession of his respective country, that is, I in Trichinopoly and its dependencies, and Chanda in Arcot."[3] At the end of the letter containing the above alternatives, Muhammad Ali wrote in his own hand thus:—"Please raise as great a disturbance as possible in Conjeevaram etc. countries." Muhammad Ali was already getting to be suspicious of the English and could

3 The Nawab's letter to Governor Saunders received on the 29th July/9th August/1751 (No. 103—Country Correspondence, Public Department 1751).

be easily persuaded into believing that they were ready to abandon him. So when Governor Saunders wrote to Chanda Sahib taxing him with having unjustly seized the Trichinopoly country, advantage was taken of his sealed letter to prepare an inner slip as though addressed by Saunders to Chanda Sahib offering to deliver up to the latter the Fort of Trichinopoly and the person of Muhammad Ali on certain conditions.[4] A letter of Muhammad Ali to Governor Saunders received on the 15/26 August, discloses how he did not feel very secure in the possession of English friendship; he thus began his letter:—"I have had the pleasure to receive a letter from you wherein you are pleased to intimate that affairs in this World are not always upon the same footing so that I should by the help of God continue to be mindful of my own affairs.....I do not doubt but you will be mindful of the friendship between us according as you have wrote to me."

Nawab Muhammad Ali had, for some months past, been stressing on the value of a diversion in the country of Arcot. He had all along been holding that if troops had been despatched from Madras, they could have taken possessoin of several places in the Arcot country and the enemy might have been obliged to desist marching on Trichinopoly.[5] At first Governor Saunders and his

4 Dodwell remarks that this was "a device characteristic of Dupleix, no matter whether proposed by him or not." For the reply of Chanda Sahib to Saunders see No. 109, Country Correspondence, 1751, Public Department; letter received on 20/31 August.

5 *Vide* para 4 of the Nawab's letter received at Madras on the 26th May/6th June. (No. 74 of Country Correspondence 1751). Again in his letter to Saunders received on the 27th June/8th July 1751, the Nawab reiterated his advice in the following words:—"Be pleased also to send a proper assistance and a supply of warlike necessaries. *Sometime* ago I desired you by several letters to send a small force from Madras to assist my amaldars to take possession of the several districts lying that way; if this had been done, the enemy might have been deprived of the revenues of the country which in all likelihood would have obliged them to decline their march this way and then our troops would have fought them to their entire defeat in that country."

Council thought that this might be effected by Captain Gingens leaving sufficient number of men in Trichinopoly and marching with a detachment into the Arcot country.

Rightly therefore does the contemporary annalist of the Carnatic, Burhanu'd-din, in his *Tuzuk-i-Wálájáhi,* write thus:—"When weakness overtook the beseiged at Natharnagar; (Trichinopoly) on account of the protraction of the seige and the stubbornness of the enemy, Hazarat Aala (Muhammad Ali) devised to divide the attention of the enemy and thus to remove the weariness of his own men and to clear the roads for the coming in of provisions. Accordingly Hazarat Aala despatched Muhammad Madinah Ali Khan and Mr. Clive, the Sirdar of the English army, with sepoys who bore hatred to the enemy to subdue the town and the fort of Arcot and thus to exhibit their courage."

Governor Saunders appreciates the Nawab's idea

Governor Saunders now began to appreciate the value of the Nawab's proposal. At first he was very hesitating. He wrote to the Nawab on the 23rd August thus:—"As I judge a diversion in the Arcot country may be serviceable to your affairs, I have sent a party of men with good officers to Madras to be reinforced with more; these are to raise money for you.....whatever is got is entirely for you; but in case of hostilities the plunder is to be half yours; the other half to the officers and men, as soldiers who venture their lives ought to be rewarded." The Nawab responded to this letter by writing to his Diwan, Sampat Rai, who was at Madras to send Wali Muhammad Khan or some other officer along with the English troops and also to write to Bommarazu and other poligars

6 From the manuscript translation by Mr. Muhammad Husain Nainar, Senior Lecturer in the Islamic section, Oriental Research Institute, University of Madras. This translation (in process of publication by the Madras University) has been annotated by the writer with historical notes.

for help. He then envisaged the consequental happenings in the following words:—"As soon as our troops have begun incursions in the Arcot country it will hinder the enemy from receiving the revenues which will weaken them greatly and they cannot divide their troops in case they march with their whole army towards Arcot, my troops shall pursue them jointly with yours and those of Mysore and Tanjore.....If it happens that the enemy retreat and our troops pursue them, I shall then be able to collect money from different parts which will be a means to gain our ends. You will in no way neglect to disturb the Arcot country and take possession of the several districts. This may probably withdraw the enemy's troops from this (Trichinopoly) country." Muhammad Ali urged thus in a subsequent letter, in reply to Governor Saunders,[7] after Arcot had been actually taken from the enemy and before its full significance had been grasped by the English, and when Clive actually proposed to abandon Arcot and to strengthen himself in Timiri:—"It is highly necessary for us to take care of this place; it has pleased you to fortify the fort at Vriddhachalam. I cannot omit writing to you that Arcot is the metropolis of the Carnatic country so that the Fort will be of better use to us than Vriddhachalam; I must repeat you will take care to make it strong by demolishing all the buildings which may be destructive to it.....By the blessing of God the present success will procure you a great name in the Deccan and Hindustan countries and also in Europe.....Please.....to take diversions in the several districts round your place."

7 Saunders felt that though the English and the Nawab's forces might be strong enough to keep Arcot, they would never be able to collect the revenues from the poligars, without some of the Trichinopoly troops joining them. The enemy was strong in cavalry while they had none and therefore when they were beaten, they could not be pursued. He added "It is thought this will not divert Chanda Sahib from his enterprise on Trichinopoly, there is no time to lose, exert yourself, engage Chanda, if possible and send some horse to Arcot." (Letter No. 193, Country Correspondence of 1751.)

The immediate effect of the capture of Arcot

Actually the English capture of Arcot[8] did not make any great impression on the country, nor did it much disturb the minds of the Pondicherry people. News of the English march to Arcot did not reach Dupleix for a week; and Polur Muhammad Ali Khan, a brother of Chanda Sahib who was the Killedar at Arcot and evacuated it after a little or no resistance, was promised reinforcements from Pondicherry where the crafty Madame Dupleix gave out as her advice that it would not be advisable to recall Chanda Sahib's troops or the French troops from before Trichinopoly.[9] The two sons of Bangaru Yachama Nayak of Venkatagiri, whose vakils were at Pondicherry, soliciting Dupleix's favour, were written to immediately to send troops for the help of Polur Muhammad Ali Khan. It was, however, Dupleix that realised the seriousness of the event; he became greatly put out and urgently wrote to Chanda Sahib who had already despatched 1,000 horsemen, to write to his son Raza Sahib to march at once to Arcot with another body of 1,000 horse; and that Chanda Sahib himself should immediately cross the Cauvery and deliver an assault on the Tichinopoly fort.

Nawab Muhammad Ali rightly cautioned Governor Saunders to urge Clive and Muhammad Hamid to fortify Arcot and endea-

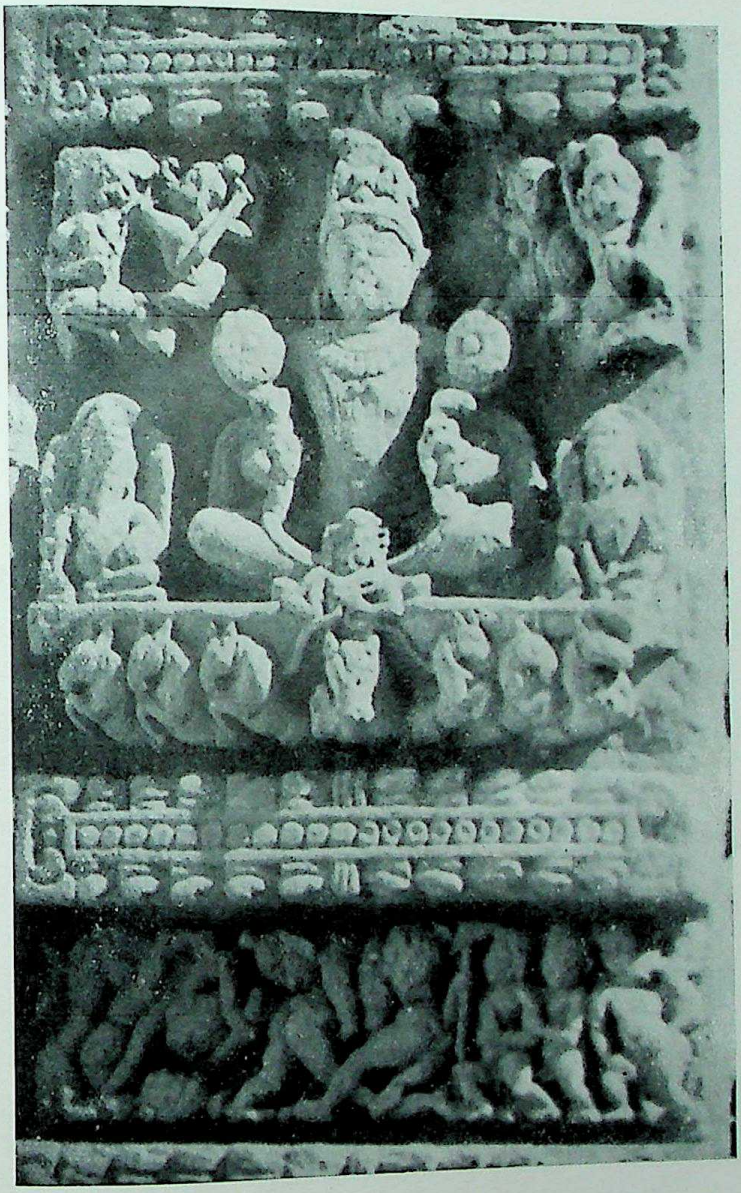
8 Governor Saunders wrote to Muhammad Ali on August 15/26, that he had resolved to leave only three or four hundred men at Trichinopoly and make a diversion on the Arcot country with the rest, and join the Nawab's forces and raise contributions, consistently with the Nawab's desire. Subsequently he wrote to Nawab (30th September/11th October) that he had actaully ordered a diversion into the Arcot country in order to draw off the enemy from Trichinopoly. Clive embarked with 130 men from Fort St. David for Madras on August 22/September 2. He got a reinforcement of 80 men at Madras and proceeded to Arcot on August 26/September 6, with a body of 200 Europeans and 300 sepoys and 8 officers and 8 field pieces. Passing on through Conjeevaram the force reached the neighbourhood of Arcot on August 31st/September 11, and they took possession of the Fort next day, hoisting both the English colours and Muhammad Ali's flag.

9 As reported by the Pondicherry Diarist, Ananda Ranga Pillai (vol. VIII).

vour to get in provisions and also to send reinforcements to Arcot from Madras and Fort St. David. The English troops and the Nawab's troops were very deficient in cavalry; their sallies could not be long; and Clive's assault on Timiri was unsuccessful (17th September). A week later, the reinforced enemy took up a stand within 3 miles of Arcot; and then Clive could only make a feeble attack upon him. The latter seized the big pagoda of Conjeevaram; and Clive had to use great skill in conveying safely the two eighteen-pounders that were sent to him from Madras. Raza Sahib finally began the famous siege of Arcot which lasted from the 4th October to the 25th November. Even when the siege was raised after the failure of a final attack, Governor Saunders did not seem to have valued much the undisturbed possession of Arcot and the neighbouring forts of Timiri and Kaveripak, as in his opinion "it will only weaken our small force greatly to leave men in them."

Thus it will be seen that the credit for the initiative of the idea of diversion made on Arcot should go in a very large measure to Nawab Muhammad Ali whose repeated requests opened Governor Saunders' eyes to the possibilities of success attendant on the plan, while Clive eagerly took advantage of the opportunity offered by it and persuaded Saunders that he could do it, when Captain Gingens doubted his own capacity for the task.

C. S. Srinivasachari



Seated Sūrya at Ūnzā

North Gujrat

Trailokyamohana
A rare image of Viṣṇu with 16 hands
(*according to Rūpamaṇḍana*)

A rare image of Viṣṇu from Gujrat

A woman with a child (in black granite)
(*from Kotyārka, Vijapur Taluka, Baroda Territories*)

Gujarātī or the Western School of Mediaeval Indian Sculpture

The Western School of Mediaeval Sculpture

The Western School of Indian Sculpture flourished in three ramifications: of which one lies to the west of a line which begins at the latitude of Delhi and may be drawn through Ajmer southward to the river Tāpti. Some of the best-known monuments lie in Gujarat, and so the westernmost branch of Mediaeval Indian Sculpture should better be styled as "Gujarati."[1]

Nomenclature "Gujarati."

The nomenclature of the Mediaeval Sculpture and Architecture presents considerable difficulty. In any case, a sectarian classification (such as that forms the main defect of Fergusson's work), is quite misleading. For just as in the case of Sculpture and Painting, there are no Buddhistic, Jaina or Brāhmanical "styles" of architecture, sculpture and painting; but only Buddhist, Jaina and Brāhmanical buildings, paintings and images, in the Indian style of their period.

The Indian painting, architecture and sculpture is one: but there are provincial variations in its formal development, existing side by side with the secular variation in pure style. Hence, in respect of these, the only adequate classification is geographical. "Gujarāti" is therefore the apt name for the Western Indian School.

Gujarat, an art-province

Gujarat—the mediaeval Gujarat of the days of the Solankis and Vāghelās—in her palmiest days, say from the 10th century to the

1 Cf. *Indian Sculpture* (Heritage of India Series, Calcutta 1933) by Dr. Stella Kramrisch, p. 105.

end of the 13th, had evolved a provincial school of sculpture, the existence of peculiar specimens of which have been recorded in the dhyānas (descriptions) of the images by Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana (*circa* 1450 A.D.) in his three compendiums on the subject: the[2] Rūpa-Maṇḍana, the Rūpāvatāra and the Devatā-Mūrti-prakaraṇa.

Gujarat enjoyed political tranquility in the reign of the Solanki kings—in the time of Mūlarāja, Bhīmadeva, Siddharāja, Kumārapāla and some others of the Vāghela branch, though occasionally it was disturbed by the inroads of Moslem iconoclasts. And this was the time when art, literature, etc., could flourish in Gujarat.

Gujarat deserves, therefore, to be considered as an art-province, with a dialect of its own, although it is related to that of the contemporary currents in the other two branches of the Western school of sculpture. It can be said that mediaeval craftsmen from Gujarat to Orissa share common traditions.

Contemporary Mediaeval Art in India.

The best period of mediaeval art in India, ranged from the 9th century onwards to the 13th century, before the general conquest of the various provinces by the Mahomedans, when the Hindu artistic talent got a set-back and soon degenerated into a decadent art. This is the period when the Pāla and Sena schools of art flourished in Bengal, and reached its zenith. The Utkal and the Kaliṅga art flourished in Orissa, as manifest in the temples at Puri, Koṇārka and Bhuvaneśvara.

Indian architecture and sculpture, in a way, illustrate the background of philosophy and religion, that are still blended together in this country. Sculpture and pictorial representations of our different gods and goddesses are significant inasmuch as that a kind of symbolism meant for meditation attaches to them. This gives a peculiar importance to the different texts on Śilpa.

2 Published as No. XII in the Calcutta Sanskrit Series, (1936).

In the Indian idea, the artist, the Śilpin, is not a peculiar individual with special gift of experience, but simply a tradesman meeting a general demand. His vocation is hereditary, and he receives his education in the workshop. His genius is not an individual achievement, but it manifests the quality of the society at any given period in the work of a single school. Therefore practically the same grade of vitality appears everywhere, and the workmanship of individual is only to be distinguished in the Hindu and the Jaina temples of Gujarat and in the style of miniature-painting in Jaina and non-Jaina MSS. of the Gujarati school which bear out this truth.

Śilpaśāstras

These Śilpa-śāstras, as far as they are known hitherto, deal either with image-making with regard to iconography and iconometry, or else with the theory and practice of painting, but not with the theory and but little with the technique of sculpture as a plastic art. The artist in India is not the master of his own theme, nor does he choose his own problems. For him they are laid down in the Śāśtras or canonical prescriptions, which lay down instructions to make such and such images in such and such a fashion.

Abnormal forms

At times changes in the prescribed abnormal forms of images are done at the instance of a certain class of donors, who do not like such grotesque forms with a large number of heads; and accordingly by reducing the number of faces make the image as natural as possible. Moreover, much depends on the stone they work upon. If the stone is weak at certain spots, the sculptor fashioned it according to convenience, and thus either reduced the number of heads or changed the order of symbols—and these naturally constituted the iconographic peculiarities of these images.

Harmonising the abnormal

Sometimes the texts prescribed abnormal descriptions of images; but, here the individual talent of the Śilpin is found to come to his help. In the creation of abnormal types (in case of image having more than one head or more than two hands or having non-human form) the idea is new and the conception bold. Here the clever artist is found able to harmonise the seemingly impossible theme into a graceful work of art. Several artistic examples of the important deities in the Brāhmanical pantheon—Viṣṇu, Ganeśa, Śakti, etc. are found in Gujarati sculpture.

Artistic peculiarities

The artistic peculiarities of Gujarati sculptures bear a close resemblance to the specimens hailing from Bengal in the Pāla and Sena periods. The delicate ornamentation, artistic expression, boldness of outline, definiteness of detail and the pleasing effect produced on the minds of every onlooker make the images of the mediaeval period the product of the best days of Hindu art, particularly in Gujarat. The execution of these images seems to be perfect, but gaudy and much detailed. The figures are beautifully and yet delicately ornamented, the expression is natural, serene and peaceful. The frame of the body, the garments, the various ornaments and the symbols are found depicted faithfully, according to the dhyānas in the texts.

Characteristics of the Gujarat branch

In the Gujarati branch of Western Indian Sculpture, a strained motion (instead of the easy and swaying state of poise in which classical reliefs had dwelt) in its nervy elegance, overstresses the curves, so that they have a tendency to become angular, not far remote from that of the Gujarati paintings of the same age[3] Such

3 Cf. *Indian Sculpture,* Plate L, fig. 114.

vestiges as there are of modelling in this region are laid flattened and angular, with an acute and fantastic outline.

A beautiful variation of the Āryāvarta or Indo-Aryan style, found in Rajputana and Gujarat is characterised by a free use of columns, carved with all imaginable richness, strut brackets and exquisite marble ceilings with casped pendants.

By an unfortunate error Fergusson described this Western or Gujarati style as the "Jaina Style." In reality it has no concern with any special kind of religion, and is Jaina merely because Jainas were numerous and wealthy in Western India in the late mediaeval period as they are still. When power passed into Muslim hands the so-called Jaina style, i.e., to say the local style was applied with the necessary modifications to the needs of Mahomedan worship. We need hardly mention the two temples at Mount Abu as being unsurpassed models of this wonderful style.

Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana

Both Maṇḍana and his father Śri Kṣetra were under the patronage of Mahārāṇā Kumbhakarṇa, the celebrated king of Mewar (Medapāta), and an outstanding personality of the middle of the 15th century (reigned 1419-1469 A.D.). Rāṇā Kumbha was a distinguished hero, a man of letters and a noted builder of monuments. His Kumbha-merū-prāsāda at Chitor is well known. It, therefore, stands to reason that Mahārāṇā Kumbha should be a patron of architects and sculptors, just like king Bhoja of Dhārā to whom goes the credit of the compilation of *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra* (G. O. Series, vol. XXV.), a work on mediaeval architecture, and like king Someśvaradeva who compiled his *Mānasollāsa,* an encyclopaedia on useful topics (G. O. Series, Vol. 28).

Thus it is evident that Maṇḍana's handbooks on architecture and sculpture enjoyed considerable popularity with artists and crafts-

men. The Oriental Institute collection of MSS. at Baroda alone includes 7 MSS. of *Rūpamaṇḍana* and about 5 MSS. of *Rājavallabha Maṇḍana,* some of these embellished with running translations in Gujarati prose, some centuries old. Maṇḍana seems to have been a prolific writer of treatises on architecture and sculpture. The following is a list of works ascribed to him, the titles ending with his name, viz., *Vāstu-maṇḍana, Prāsāda-maṇḍana, Rājavallabha-maṇḍana, Rūpamaṇḍana,* etc.

Maṇḍana's works seem to have enjoyed wide popularity throughout the length and breadth of India. In the unique library of Kāvīndrācārya,[4] a Deccani Brahmin, and a very learned man, the head of the Pandit community of Benares of his time (17th century) who ultimately took Sannyāsa, copies of Maṇḍana's works were deposited. Thus within two centuries after compilation, we find copies of Maṇḍana's texts, deposited in Benares, the great centre of Indian culture. From Benares Maṇḍana's works probably spread to other places, westwards as well as eastwards. MSS. of his works are also met with in the South.[5]

Variety of forms of Viṣṇu

From the original form, developed many other forms of Viṣṇu, according mostly to the individual taste and conception of the authors and sculptors or the donors of the different images. When the worshipper thought that with four arms his god does not become powerful enough, he increased the number of hands from two to four, six, eight, ten, twelve, fourteen, sixteen, twenty, or more. When, again, the sculptor thought that his god with one face was not able to display all his might or illustrate the mythology connected with the god, he went on adding faces

4 G. O. Series No. 17 (1921) 'Kavīndrācārya Grantha Sūcī.'
5 Vide T. A. Gopinath Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography.*

one after another till he was satisfied. Sometimes new forms are described in the dhyānas or executed in actual sculptures and then the authors on Śilpa enjoined the execution of such images in that fashion.

Viṣṇu being one of the chief deities of the Hindu Pantheon, is very frequently represented in sculpture. He is conceived in various forms, and the sculptures of all these forms are found in temples in North and South India. Usually Viṣṇu's symbols are the Conch and the Disc; but when four-armed he carries in addition the Lotus and the Mace. The conch-shell is symbolical of eternal space, the wheel of eternal time, the mace of eternal law and the unfailing punishment consequent on its breach, and the lotus symbolizes the ever-renewing creation and its beauty and freshness.

By way of illustration as to the uniqueness of iconographical materials in Gujarat we mention the iconographic characteristics of certain Viṣṇu and Śakti images found alone in Gujarat, and nowhere else. These are described in the Rūpamaṇḍana and not in any other Śilpa work. Images like those of Acyuta (four-armed, with its 24 varieties due to the permutation and combination of the four symbols held in the four arms), of Vaikuṇṭha (one-faced, eight-armed and seated on Garuḍa) and of Viśvarūpa (four-faced, twenty-armed, and mounted on Garuḍa) are thus unique and rare in the history of Indian sculpture.

Their variations from Rūpamaṇḍana

Sometimes, however, images are met with in Gujarat, which are in the main in accord with the descriptions in the Rūpamaṇḍana, but differ in certain details from the same. And it is very probable that the sculptures of the mediaeval period had kindred texts to guide their artists, which canons were, however, modified or changed by the time of Maṇḍana.

Maṇḍana's compilations on sculpture are more interesting in that they contain descriptions of certain rare and abnormal images of Viṣṇu and varieties of Gaurī, which are found nowhere else in India. It is for the same reason that T. A. Gopinath Rao has drawn upon the text of Rūpamaṇḍana in his *Elements of Hindu Iconography* (1916, 4 vols.) for description of rare and unique images. However, he has not been able to support the text from Rūpamaṇḍana with adequate photographs of actual images. Dr. B. Bhattacharya's paper on 'Eight mediaeval images in the collection of Prince Pratāp Sinh'[6] although based on a study of actual images, could not be illustrated.

Discovery of rare Viṣṇu images

I have, however, been able to take photographs of some of the rare Viṣṇu images, mentioned in the *Rūpamaṇḍana* during my research tours in North Gujarat, at the instance of the Bombay University, (see Illustrations).

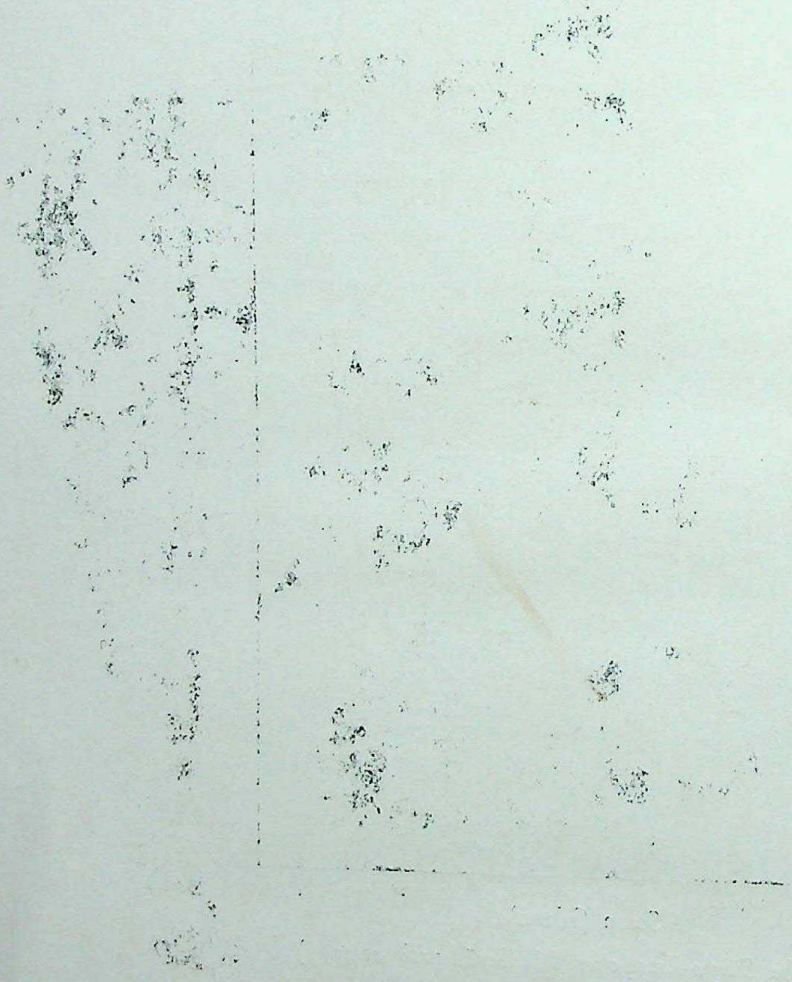
Section in Rūpamaṇḍana on Jaina Iconography

The other noteworthy feature of the Rūpamaṇḍana is that different forms of Hindu and Jaina images have been described along with Āyatanas or the companion deities or the attendant Yakṣa and Yakṣiṇīs, as the case may be. This is explained by the fact that the rich Jaina community in Western India was very influential at the court of Rājput kings. The warlike Jaina ministers and merchants were also great patronisers of art. They were great builders. Hence the section on Jaina iconography in Maṇḍana's work is highly justified, as it was principally designed to guide the artists and craftsmen of Rajputana and Gujarat.

6 *Indian Culture*, vol. I, no. 3.

Soma (Moon)

(from the Sūrya-Kuṇḍa at Madherā, 11th century)



Gujarat is a rich mine of fine sculptural remains; in spite of this fact nobody has attempted a detailed and intensive study of such artistic specimens of the mediaeval period. Whenever the detailed series of sculptures from Gujarat shall be reproduced, it will be invaluable as a key to Brahmanical and Jaina iconography. It is also likely that such a study would contribute to the history of art, in its aesthetic aspect as well.

M. R. MAJMUDAR

Kulatattvārṇava—a spurious work ?

This work has been published by the *Midnapore Prādeśika Brāhmaṇa Sabhā*. The single Ms. is said to have been taken from Vikrampura to a Navadvīpa *tola* from where it travelled to Midnapore. The authorship has been attributed to Sarvānanda, son of Dhruvānanda of *Mahāvaṁśa* fame. The following reasons make us question its genuineness.

(a) No book of this name and of this author was known before. This is no doubt an argument *ex silentio*. But in case of the *Kulaśāstras* this argument has some weight. Very few *Kulapañjikās* have been published or read by few. But many have heard the names of the important works. They are generally transmitted from generation to generation. Before the publication of Dhruvānanda's *Mahāvaṁśa*, it was known that there was a work of this name and author. The works of Harimiśra and Eḍumiśra have not yet been found. But they exist in quotation of later authors. It is rather strange that so important a work as *Kulatattārṇava* by the son of a celebrated *ghaṭaka* was never heard of before.

(b) Every important event in this work is dated. We have got dates for the introduction of Kulīnism by Vallālasena, Danujamādhava's *Śrotriya* divisions, for Dattakhāsa's reforms and for Devīvara's *mela-bandhana*. The curious fact is that all these dates tally with the results of the recent historical researches. So far as we know, no Sanskrit work gives so many correct dates, not even the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (all of the dates in it have not proved to be accurate). If the *Kulatattvārṇava* proves to be a genuine work, it must be regarded as a unique work, so far as its dates are concerned.

(c) Dattakhāsa's reforms are narrated in the book, against which a section of the *Śrotriyas* revolted. They refused to accept his decisions and left Bengal and settled in Midnapore and became known as *Madhyaśreṇī*—a section of the Brāhmaṇas found only in that district (*ślokas* 380-396). It may be that Dattakhāsa was an *amātya* of Rājā Gaṇeśa during whose rule there was a Hindu revival. It is now held by competent scholars[1] on numismatic grounds that Rājā Gaṇeśa had the viruda Danujamardana. But in the *Kulatattvārṇava* his *viruda* is Kaṁsanārāyaṇa. Kaṁsanāryaṇa of the *Vārendra Kulapañjikās* flourished in the latter half of the sixteenth century[2] while Gaṇeśa ruled in the beginning of the fifteenth. The real cause of this confusion in this book is, it is to be suspected, due to Mr. N. N. Vasu's article in the *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā,* (vol. IV, p. 146). Those who are responsible for this part of the *Kulatattvārṇava* will do well now to revise it, because Mr. Vasu has changed his opinion. Rājā Gaṇeśa and Kaṁsanārāyaṇa are two different persons and flourished in two different centuries. The revolt of a section of the *Rāḍhīya Śrotriyas* against Dattakhāsa's reforms and the rise of the *Madhyaśreṇī* have been given undue importance in the book. This revolt is not mentioned in any other book. Is it because that it has been published from Midnapore?

The reading of the book leaves the general impression that it is a recent compilation, based on the *Kārikās* of Harimiśra and Eḍumiśra and Dhruvānanda's *Mahāvaṁśa,* as published in the *Vaṅger Jātiya Itihāsa,* vol. I. Modern researches about the chronology of the royal dynasties of Bengal have been utilised.

PRAMODE LAL PAUL

1 Dr. N. K. Bhattasali, *Coins and Chronology of the Sultans of Bengal,* Intro.
2 *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā,* 1341 B.S., p. 16.

The Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad and the Kārikās of Gauḍapāda

The question of the relation of the *Gauḍapāda Kārikās* to the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* has been engaging the attention of the present writer ever since Mm. Professor Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya raised a discussion over it.[1]

The *Māṇḍūkya* is traditionally regarded as one of the ten major upaniṣads, and the kārikās of Gauḍapāda are supposed to be explanatory verses thereon. The *Muktikopaniṣad* names 108 upaniṣadas and holds that the *Māṇḍūkya* alone is enough to liberate a man.

There is a good deal of controversy over the extent of the *Māṇḍūkya,* which is set forth in Professor Bhattacharya's paper referred to above. While present-day Advaitins are unanimous that the twelve prose passages found interspersed in Gauḍapāda's work constitute the upaniṣad, most Vaiṣṇava commentators of it since the days of Madhvācārya have, on the other hand, held the kārikās of the first book also to have been a part of the upaniṣad, Puruṣottama, the grandson of the suddhādvaitin, Vallabhācārya, going further and holding the entire work of Gauḍapāda as a part of it. It has also been pointed out by Bhattacharya that all the four books of the kārikās have been severally held by others as distinct upaniṣads, while some latter-day advaitins have accepted the Vaiṣṇava view. Mr. B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma has pointed out[2] that kārikā I. 17 is referred to in *Sūta-saṃhitā,* IV. 55, as *Śruti,* and he has further attempted without success to prove that both

1 'The Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad and the Kārikās of Gauḍapāda.' *IHQ.*, I, pp. 119-25, and 295-302.

2 'Some light on the Gauḍapāda Kārikās.' 'Further light on Gauḍapāda Kārikās,' and 'Still further light on Gauḍapāda Kārikās"—in the *Review of Philosophy and Religion,* II, pp. 35 ff.; III, pp. 45 ff. and IV, pp. 174 ff.

Śaṅkara and Sureśvara knew the kārikās of BK. I to have been a part of the upaniṣad. All that he has succeeded in proving is that a few of these kārikās have been mentioned as *Śruti* in Śaṅkarācārya Apocrypha like the 'Viṣṇusahasranāma' commentary, the 'Nṛsiṃhapūrvatāpanīya' commentary, and the 'Vivekacūḍāmaṇi.' Bhattacharya has pointed out that Śaṅkara, in his commentary on *B.S.*, II. 1. 9, distinctly refers to kārikā I. 16 in the following terms: —*atroktam vedāntārthasampradāyavidbhirācāryaiḥ*. It is also found that in his Brahmasiddhi, Śaṅkara's senior contemporary, Maṇḍanamiśra, quotes kārikā, I. 11, but does not mention it as *śruti*.[3] Nor does Sureśvara refer to kārikās BK. I as such. He refers to them as 'āgama-mātram' or 'vedāntokti, but that is because the entire work of Gauḍapāda is described as the 'Āgama-śāstra' and the first book is particularly named the 'āgamaprakaraṇa.'

So there can be no doubt that Śaṅkara and his contemporary advaitins did not look upon the kārikās of BK. I as part of the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad*. If the prose passages and the kārikās had been works of the same author, there is no reason why the prose passages should use the terms 'vaiśvānara' and 'turīya'; while the kārikās vary them as 'viśva' and 'turya'; nor should we expect in such a case a difference of opinion as between prose passage 9 and kārikā 19, BK. I. Madhva, however, anticipated these difficulties when he said that Varuṇa, in the shape of frog, saw the passages, while he introduced explanatory *mantras* in the shape of the verses which had been seen by Brahmā, the creator, a view which he supports by quotations from certain Purāṇas which, according to Bhattacharya, cannot be traced in the printed editions thereof. This practically amounts to an admission that the prose and the verse portions of BK. I are not works of the same author.

3 *Brahmasiddhi*, ed. by Mm. S. Kuppuswami Śāstri, p. 150.

Prof. Bhattacharya thinks that the twelve prose passages are a later work than the kārikās of Gauḍapāda, and that probably it is a post-Śaṅkara work, since Śaṅkara is not found referring to them, even where one would expect him to do so, in this recognized commentaries. He is also of opinion[4] that the author of the commentary on the *Māṇḍūkya* and kārikās is not really Śaṅkara, but somebody else assuming that great man's name,—a view which it should be possible to accept in spite of tradition and the opinion of such a distinguished scholar as Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Śāstrī to the contrary.

One may also readily accept Bhattacharya's view that the kārikās are by no means what they are supposed to be, namely, a sort of vārtika on the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad*, since they have no characteristic of a vārtika which consists in discussing what is said, what is not said and what is badly said (*uktānukta-durukta-cintā vārtikam*—Rājaśekhara). The reasons set forth by Prof. Bhattacharya need not be repeated here.

But one cannot help joining issue with this erudite scholar when he insists that the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad*, that is, the twelve prose passages, is a post-Śaṅkara or even a post-Gauḍapāda work. First, the tradition that the *Māṇḍūkya* is one of the ten major upaniṣads cannot be discarded without adequate reason. Secondly, Y. Subrahmaniya Sarma has pointed out[5] that Sureśvara actually quotes from this upaniṣad and names it:—

एषो ऽन्तर्य्याम्येष योनिः सर्वस्य प्रभवाप्ययौ ।
माण्ड्केय-श्रुति-वच इति स्पष्टम् अधीयते ॥

Thirdly, Māṇḍanamiśra, who like Sureśvara, was a senior contemporary of Śaṅkara, quotes the Nṛsiṃhottaratāpanīya passage *ekam amṛtam ajam*, and the Māṇḍūkya words—*sarvajñaḥ, sarveś-*

4 *Sir Ashutosh Silver Jubilee*, vol. III, pt. 2, pp. 101-110.
5 *Review of Philosophy and Religion*, IV, p. 220.

varaḥ.[6] Fourthly, Śaṅkara's commentary on *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, IV. 2. 3 and 4., leaves hardly any doubt in one's mind that he is referring therein to the *Māṇḍūkya*, though not expressly naming it. I refrain from quoting the relevant commentary *in extenso*, and hope that my readers will take the trouble of reading the commentary at first hand. Swami Mādhavānanda, in the excellent translation of Śaṅkara's commentary on this *Up.*, appears to have come across references to the *Māṇḍūkya* in the *bhāṣya* for he names this *Up.*, in the list of abbreviations, prefixed to his work, but I have unfortunately failed to trace the references. Then, again, in view of Sureśvara's quotation of the *Māṇḍūkya* passage containing the expression, *prabhavāpyayau*, it seems likely that Śaṅkara, too, had this passage in mind when he used the expression in his *B.S.*, I. 1. 9, commentary and not *Kaṭha*, II. 3. 11, as Bhattacharya contends, for the expression appears to have a somewhat different import in the latter context. Lastly, Bhattacharya has himself shown that the terms 'Vaiśvānara' and 'Turīya' are older than 'Viśva' and 'Turya' found in the kārikās, and also that the prose passages have a tinge of the language of the Brāhmaṇas. For all these reasons it would be legitimate to hold that the *Māṇḍūkya* is a pre-Śaṅkara and pre-Gauḍapāda work and that it would be wrong to reject the tradition that it is one of the ten major upaniṣads. Even Nāgārjuna might have borrowed the word 'prapañcopaśama' from it.

We shall now proceed to discuss the real problem before us, viz., what is the relation of the kārikās to the Upaniṣad. In agreement with Bhattacharya, I have already said that the kārikās of Gauḍapāda are not a vārtika on the *Māṇḍūkya*. What, then, is the relation between the two? To come to a finding on this point, it is necessary to examine first what it is that the kārikās aim at. Are they pure Vedānta as the orthodox commentators would have

6 *Brahmasiddhi*, pp. 4, 127.

us believe? Most probably not. It stands to the credit of Poussin[7] and Bhattacharya[8] that they have been the first to tell us what the kārikās really aim at. The kārikās of the first BK. establish non-dualism of the Māṇḍūkya type, the second and the third BKs, have, to use Poussin's words, a *double entendre* or, in the language of Prof. Bhattacharya: they begin with the Vedānta and end with Buddhism, while the kārikās of the fourth BK. confine themselves to the exposition of Maḥāyāna Buddhism, mainly of the Vijñānavāda but partly also of the Mādhyamika variety. Bhattacharya points out how, in this book, the terminology used is entirely Buddhistic, such upaniṣadic terms as 'ātman' and 'brahman' being discarded, how the word 'agrayāna' (which means 'Mahāyāna,) is used and how the author begins by saluting the Buddha and ends by telling us what the Buddha did not teach.[9] Any one having a moderate acquaintance with Yogācāra and Mādhyamika literature, who goes through the kārikās dispassionately, will have little doubt left in his mind that the sole object of Gauḍapāda in writing this prakaraṇa work was to show, first, what Vedāntic non-dualism really stood for and, next, to make out that Yogācāra and Mādhyamika Buddhism could be reconciled to it and placed on an upaniṣadic basis.

The question which now confronts us, and which should not be difficult to answer, is how the *Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad* came to have a place at the head of the kārikās. Even in the case of an upaniṣad, we know that the *Nṛsiṃhapūrvatāpanīya* quotes almost the

7 'Vedanta and Buddhism,' *J.R.A.S*, 1910, pp. 129-40.

8 'The Gauḍapāda Kārikās on the Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad,' *Proceedings of the Second Oriental Conference*, pp. 439 ff.

9 According to Poussin and Bhattacharya Kārikā 99, BK., IV, tells us what the Buddha did not teach. I am inclined to think however, that the Kārikā tells us what the Buddha taught; it repeats what has been said in the introductory Kārikā I, viz., that 'jñeya' is not different from 'jñāna'. This, however, does not affect the conclusions arrived at in this paper.

whole of the *Māṇḍkya*. Now, Gauḍapāda, in order to show that his views had the support of the *Śruti* could do no better than to begin his prakaraṇa work of four Books with the quotation of the *Māṇḍūkya* passages. After quoting six prose passages, Gauḍapāda introduces some of his verses with the words, *Atraite ślokā bhavanti;* and the process continues till the entire Upaniṣad is exhausted. The introductory words do not mean, in this case at least, that the verses are older than the prose passages. Gauḍapāda evidently preferred the *Māṇḍūkya* to any other Upaniṣad because this very brief and unambiguous work was best calculated to support his own point of view, and he has distributed the prose passages just as they suited his purpose.

The commentator of the Upaniṣad and the Kārikās, whoever he might be, was, therefore, perfectly right when he said that this 'prakaraṇa' work of four Books began with the words *"Om ity etad akṣaram."* But this does not certainly mean that the entire work is Gauḍapāda's in the sense that there is no such thing as a *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad,* as Dr. Venkatasubbiah contends.[10] The entire work is Gauḍapāda's, but he has quoted the entire *Māṇḍūkya* in support of his thesis. This seems to be the right solution of the problem before us.

AMARNATH RAY

10 See his paper in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1933, pp. 181-193.

Sūrjanacarita of Candraśekhara

(A mahākāvya of the sixteenth century)

A complete ms. of this *mahākāvya* is contained in the Government collection of mss. deposited in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and has been noticed by Rajendra Lala Mitra,[1] Theodor Aufrecht,[2] and Hara Prasad Shastri.[3] It is written on country made paper in Nāgara character. There are 87 folios, each containing ten lines. The appearance of the Ms. is old and its extent in ślokas is 2200. The work consists of twenty *sargas* and contains 1446 verses.

Its contents

After a few invocatory verses, the author states that Dīkṣita Vāsudeva was the first amongst the princes of the Cauhāna-vaṃśa (I, 9). He lived in the city of Vṛndāvatī (I, 19) and his activities were restricted mainly to the banks of the river Carmaṇvatī (I, 18). His son was Naradeva (I, 20); his son Śrīcandra (I, 21); his son Ajayapāla (I, 22). He built the fort named Ajayameru (I, 23); his son Jayarāja (I, 24); his son Sāmantasiṃha (I, 25); his son Gūrjaka (I, 26); his son Candana (I, 27); his son Vajra (I, 29); his son Viśvapati (I, 30); on the advice of his spiritual preceptor's son Sunaya (II, 13) he set out to worship the goddess who is described as *sakalārthadātrī* and *śumbhāsuraprāśamanī*[4] in the Śākambharī janapada.[5] Accompanied by Sunaya, the king arrived at the temple

1 *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.*, Calcutta, vol. I, 1871, No. LXXVI, pp. 42-43.

2 *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, Leipzig, 1891, p. 181.

3 *Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss.*, Government Collection, pp. 8-9, No. 3084.

4 She is also called Aṣṭamūrteḥkuṭumbinī (III, 11), Bhavānī (III, 26), Girirāja-putrī (III, 37), Nāgarāja-kanyā (III, 36), Ambā, Ambikā, Gaurī, Śaṅkara-priyā Acalaputrī, Śumbhadaitya-dalanī, Andhaka-vairijāyā, Indirā, etc.

5 Also called Śākambharī-deśa (III, 9).

of the goddess and Viśvapati worshipped her by undergoing many austerities. The goddess being pleased gave him her blessings and directed the prince to rule over that *janapada* which was named after her (IV, 25). After this king Viśvapati brought the whole world under his yoke. His son was Harirāja (IV, 43), a devotee of Hari. The Yavanapati, feeling encouraged by the death of the "son of Vajra", invaded the Cāhaṃāna territories by crossing the Sindhu. But Harirāja soon defeated the Pārasīka army which consisted of Hūṇas, Maḍras, Cīnas and Mlecchas and celebrated his victory by building the Yodhapuradurga near Maṇḍapapura at the sight of which the Turuṣka lords trembled in fear (IV, 47-53). His son Siṃharāja was childless; so to save the *Cauhāna kula-rājadhānī* Vṛndāvatī from falling into the hands of enemies he crowned his nephew Bhīmadeva (V, 30). In the course of his (Bhīma's) *digvijaya,* he passed through Magadha, Gauḍopakaṇṭha, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Karṇāṭa, Kuntala, banks of the rivers Paṃpā, Godā, Tāpī, Tāmraparṇī and the city of Dvārāvatī; he defeated the Khasas, the Śakas living on the banks of the river Sindhu, and the Kāmbojas, after extending his power to the Himādribhūmi and Kāmarūpa, he returned to his capital Vṛndāvatī (V, 41-63). His son was Vigrahadeva (VI, 1). He defeated the Gurjaras and annexed their extensive kingdom (VI, 3). His son was Guṇḍadeva (VI, 15); his son was Vallabha (VI, 16) who defeated the Cedipāla and the Bhoja-bhūpati and having imprisoned the latter entered Śākambharī-pura; after some time he sent him back to his own country with gifts and presents (VI, 18-31). His son was Rāmanātha (VI, 33); his son Cāmuṇḍa (VI, 35) was a great votary of Vṛṣāṅka. He defeated the Yavanānīka-nāyakas and threw the lord of the Śakas into prison (VI, 42). His son was Durlabharāja (VI, 43), and the latter's son was Dusaladeva (VI, 44). His son was Vīsala (VI, 45) who defeated king, Karṇa and entered Avantinagarī. Several verses are devoted to a *praśasti* of this city and references are made to the god Mahākāla and

the river Siprā (VI, 49 ff). After bathing in this river and having worshipped Pramathanātha (VI, 63), he made the Mālava prince his tributary and returned to his own city (VI, 81). His son was Pṛthvīrāja (VI, 82); his son Valhaṇa (VI, 83); his son Analadeva (VI, 86) to whom are devoted the whole of the 7th and the first twenty-five verses of the 8th *sarga*. The poet however devotes his labours not to record the king's victories but to a description of the seasons and of Puṣkara. On the advice of his *Purodhas*, the king went to this sacred *tīrtha* and built a magnificent temple of Hari and constructed a garden round it. The son of this king was Jagadeva (VIII, 26) and his son Vīsaladeva (VIII, 28). His son Ajayapāla (VIII, 29) married Vijayā. The poet then seems to describe the *vijayayāna* of this prince and incidentally gives a description of many flowering plants and trees. In the course of his travels the king notices a beautiful girl on the side of a tank. It was a case of love at first sight but before the king could approach her she disappeared in the water of the lake. The prince however meets a Siddhapuruṣa and is informed that she was named Vijayā and was the daughter of the Vāsuki-vaṁśaja Nāga Sudāma. On his advice he worshipped the god Ananta and having dived into the tank went to the *Phaṇiloka*. The poet devotes a number of verses to a fanciful description of the land of the Nāgas and then describes how the prince met its king Vāsuki and the Nāga Sudāma. The Siddha now makes his appearance and through his intercession the king succeeds in marrying Vijayā. With the permission of the lord of the Pannagas, he then returned with his queen to his capital. In course of time he adopted the life of a Vānaprastha after placing his son Gaṅgadeva on the throne (IX, 73). His son Someśvara married Karpūradevī, a daughter of the king of the Kuntalas (X, 4). He had two sons of whom the elder was Pṛthvīrāja and the younger Māṇikya. The whole of the tenth sarga is nearly devoted to the career of the former prince (X, 10ff.). While he was resting in a pleasure garden outside the city of Vṛndāvatī, a female messenger

(*dūtī*) came to see him. She said that she came from Kānyakubja, the capital of the king who was followed in war by 9,00,000 horsemen (*aśvavārā-navalakṣa-saṅkhyā*).[6] He had a beautiful daughter named Kāntivatī who had fallen in love with Pṛthvīrāja on hearing his praise from the *cāraṇas* who visited her father's court. Seeing no hope of union with her beloved, she began to languish. Her condition became desperate when she heard that her father was thinking of marrying her to another prince. Pṛthvīrāja tells the messenger that the father of Kāntivatī was his sworn enemy but still he would devise some means to help her. He then visits the great city of Kānyakubja (*Kānyakubjam nagaraṃ garīyaḥ*), ingeniously comes into touch with his beloved princess, and secretly entering the female quarters of the palace of Jayacandra, the father of Kāntivatī, unnoticed by the guards, (*Pratihāras*) eloped with her. Though pursued by the army of the irate Jayacandra, he succeeded in reaching Indraprastha (also called Hariprastha) with his bride. He then attacked the pursuing Kānyakubja army and destroyed it in the waters of the Yamunā. We are next told that Pṛthvīrāja conquered all the quarters and though he defeated and imprisoned Śāhāvadīna 21 times, he released him each time. But the ungrateful Yavana by some means having once defeated and imprisoned him carried him to his own country and blinded him. While in this condition he was discovered by a *cāraṇa,* whom he had once befriended. On the advice of this *vandī,* he gave up all ideas of putting an end to his life by *prāyopaveśa* and having formed a secret plot with this minstrel succeeded in killing Śāhāvadīna during a tournament. The Muslim prince was shot through his *tālumūla* by a *śabdabhedi-vāṇa.* In the confusion which followed, the *vandī* and Pṛthvīrāja both escaped on a

6 This king was named 'Jayaccandra' and not 'Jayacandra' as in the text See Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India,* vol. I, 1931, pp. 536 ff.

fleet Persian horse (*vanāyuja*) to the Kurujāṅgala. The Cāhamāna prince died in this Puṇyakṣetra. He was succeeded by his son Prahlāda (XI, 1) and he by his son Govindarāja (XI, 3). The latter was succeeded by his son Nārāyaṇa (XI, 4) and the latter by his son Vāgbhaṭa (XI, 5) who captured Raṇastambhapura by defeating the Yavanas. The latter's son Jaitrasiṃha (XI, 6) built Siṃhapurī and was succeeded by his powerful son Hamīradeva (also called Hammīradeva) (XI, 7, 12 & 14). Except the first few verses of canto XI, practically the whole of this *sarga* and the next one (XII) are devoted to the career of this prince. We are told that he conquered the whole earth and fought with the Turuṣkas. He captured Raṇastambhapura having expelled the Yavanas from the city (XI, 17). The poet then gives an elaborate description of the king's journey to a city named Pattana accompanied by his *Paṭṭarājñī, Purohita,* feudatory princes, *sadasya, vayasya, saciva,* cavalry and elephants. He arrives at the banks of the river Tiladroṇī and bathed in its waters. Then follow the descriptions of forests and Pāriyātragiri and other mountains; the king saw the god Vilveśvara (Mahādeva) and worshipped him. After some time he entered the above mentioned *Pattanākhyam nagaram* whose praise was sung by the Carmaṇvatī. He bathed in this river and not only worshipped Mṛtyuñjaya and performed the *Tulādāna* but also a big *Saptatantra* (*Yajña*). While engaged in these Alāvadīna finding him away from Raṇastambhapura, started with a powerful cavalry force to attack his capital. The front portion of his army was under the command of his dear brother Ullūkhāna (XI, 65). Hearing of this invasion, the Cāhamāna prince consulted Vidyābhaṭa and other *Mantrimukhyas* and began to move his cavalry and elephants in the direction of the enemy. His Senāpati attacked and routed the Yavana encampment at Jāgarapura which was under the direct charge of Ullūkhāna. The latter appeared before the Sārvabhauma of the Śakas and told him of the disaster. The lord of the Pāraśikas then besieged the city of the Cāhuvāṇa

(XI, 71).[7] In the meantime "the son of Jaitra" had also entered his city. While the outer ramparts of the fort (*durgānta*) were being attacked by Muslim artillery (XI, 73), a messenger (*sandeśahara*) came to the court of the Cāhamāna prince bearing a proposal from the Śākādhipa. It amounted to this;—(i) Giving up of those who had taken shelter with him from the fury of the Yavana prince[8] and (ii) submission and payment of tribute. Unless Hammīra accepted this *sandhi,* he would meet with the same fate that had overtaken Gayāsadīna (XII, 21). In reply the Cāhamāna prince told him that it was inconsistent with the traditions of his line either to humbly pay tribute or to hand over those who had been granted asylum. One of his predecessors Harirāja after defeating the Pāraśīkas had built the formidable fort of Upaṣodhapura (XII, 27); another, Cāmuṇḍa after defeating the Śaka-cakravartin brought him in chains to his capital; a third Jaitrasiṃha bravely defended Yoginīpura when Gayāsadīna went to the land of Indra (XII, 28-29). He denied all liability for the looting of the Yavana camp at Jagarapura and in the end proudly refused to submit, and challenged Allāvadīna[9] to do his worst (XII, 33-38). The Muslim *dūta* left the Cāhamāna court in high dudgeon and told Hammīra that he would soon die like a fish caught in a net (XII, 40-42). After the departure of the messenger, the Cāhamāna prince accompanied by his *mantrins* got up on the top of his fort and noticed the constantly increasing and numerous forces of his enemy. Then thinking as follows:—

समरे शमयन्ति वैरिवर्गानथवा जीवनमेव यापयन्ति ।
इह काचन चाहुआनवंशे विदिता नैव हि पद्धतिं स्तृतीया ॥ (XII, 49),

he took leave of the ladies of his household and his Purohita and surrounded by his followers and those whom he had given refuge,

7 Same as Cāhamāna. See Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India,* vol. II, 1936, p. 1052, fn. 1.

8 *Mahimā-Śāhimukhāns Turuṣka-mukhyān* (XII, 10 & 30); also Ray *ibid.,* p. 1102.

9 Sometimes spelt 'Alāvadīna', see XII, 4.

issued out of the fort and engaged the Muslim forces in furious combat. The battle rages for some time outside (XII, 75) the fort and Hammīra is killed (XII, 76-77); in the meantime, the *Mahiṣīs* had burned themselves in fire.

The next canto (XIII) begins with the name of a prince called Māṇikyarāja[10] who is described as the younger brother (*jaghanyaja*) of Pṛthvīrāja, the seventh predecessor from Hammīra (XII, 1-2). Māṇikya's son was Caṇḍarāja (XIII, 6); his son Bhīmarāja (XIII, 7); his son Vijayarāja (XIII, 8); his son Rayaṇa (XIII, 9); his son Kolhana (XIII, 10); his son Vaṅga (XIII, 12); his son Deva (XIII, 13); his son Samarasiṃha (XIII, 14); his son Narapāla (XIII, 15); his son Hammīra (XIII, 16); his son Varasiṃha (XIII, 17); his son Bhāraṃalla (XIII, 18); his son Narṃada (XIII, 19); his son Arjuna (XIII, 23); his son Śūrajana (XIII, 49)[11] by his queen Jayantī, daughter of Daśaratha (XIII, 28.). Arjuna obtained this son as a special favour from the god Śauri (Viṣṇu) whom he worshipped. The remaining portion of canto XIII (verses 49-80) and *sargas* XIV to XIX are devoted by the poet to the career of this king. Some 20 verses (XIII, 50-70) describe the beauty, gifts and prowess of Sūrjana. He owned the city of Vṛndāvatī by hereditary rights and captured many other *durgas*. The poet then gives us an account of his victorious campaigns (*āśājaitra-yātrā*) (XIII, 72ff.). By defeating the lord of Mālava (*Mālavānām-adhīśam*) he captured *Koṭākhyaṃ durgam* (XIII, 76). He also conquered Telaṅga, Kerala, Andhra, Karṇāṭa and Lāṭa (XIII, 79). Then follows an elaborate description of the king's marriage with Kanakāvatī, the daughter of Jagamāla (XIV, 1ff.). The latter is described as a *bhūbhṛt* (king) and lord of Vaṃśavahalā; Jagamāla-pattana is mentioned as his capital. Sūrjana goes to this city and marries Kana-

10 See, canto X, 7:—नृपस्तयोः पूर्वजमाह पृथ्वीराजं स माणिक्यमथानुजातम् ; see also ibid., X, 9:—विभज्य राज्यं भुजवीर्यभाजौ पित्रा-प्रणीतं प्रतिपालयन्तौ ।

11 Sometimes spelt 'Sūrjana'.

kāvatī. Many verses describe the beauty of the bride, the ceremonies and the pleasures of the married pair (XIV, 6-88). With Jagamāla's permission the Cāhamāna prince then arranges to start for his own city. The mother of the bride gives her daughter advice on her duties and responsibilities (XV, 16-33). After reaching his capital Sūrjana passes some time in pleasure with his wife in a pleasure garden (XV, 34ff.). The poet describes the king's pleasures in summer in a *dhārāgṛha*. Women dressed in *dukūla* and *kañcuka* and with their lips coloured (*ayāvakaṁ dantacchadaṃ*) (XV, 70, 73)[12] took active part in water sport. In course of time a son named Bhoja was born to the king by his *Paṭṭamahiṣī* Kanakāvatī (XVI, 1). The poet then again describes Sūrjana's wars and victories. Akavara is introduced and prasied; we are told that this prince who lived in Ḍhillinagara and had brought the whole world under his power, besieged the capital of Sūrjana. The attempts of the Yavana generals however, did not meet with any success. King Sūrjana defeated the Turuṣka and Pāraśika hosts thirteen times. Then the *Humātmaja* (Akbar) himself came to battle with the Cāhaṃāna prince (*Jāṅgala*, XVI, 11). In the preliminary engagements which seem to have taken place on the banks of a tank or lake (*sarit, hrada, taṭinī*) Akbar's hosts were defeated inspite of the personal encouragements of the Muhammadan emperor. The Muslim army rallied a little towards evening, but soon darkness descended and the armies were separated. The valour of Sūrjana drew unstinted praise from the *Humātmaja* and next morning before the battle began, the latter sent a *saciva* to the fort of the former to open negotiations for peace. Led by the *Pratihāra* of the Cāhamāna prince, he came to the royal presence and eloquently pleaded for the conclusion of peace which would lead neither to loss of glory nor material loss. The proposal of the emperor was that he should receive from the Cāhamāna prince Raṇastambha-durga in exchange of territories on the banks of the

12 See *Kumārasambhavam*, V, 11.

sacred rivers Narmadā, Yamunā (Mathurā-*maṇḍala*) and Jāhnavī. After some deliberation Sūrjana accepted the peace proposals of the Śaka king and started on what looks like a pilgrimage. Leaving Raṇastambhapura, he pitched his camp on the Narmadā and after subjugating the neighbouring regions went to Madhupurī on the banks of the *Kalinda-kanyā*. After passing the rainy season in Vṛndāvana, he started for Vārāṇasī, halting on his way at the junction of the Yamunā and the Gaṅgā (i.e. Prayāga) to perform suitable religious ceremonies. Starting from here in the month of Māgha (*tapasi*) (XIX, 7) he reached Vārāṇasī and from the *Vyāsa* Gopāla got a graphic account of the excellence of the place (XIX, 9-34). The rest of the *sarga* is devoted to a description of the many meritorious acts of Sūrjana viz., gifts to many *yācakas*, Brāhmaṇas, excavation of tanks, *tulāpuruṣa* etc. In the end he attains *Sthāṇutvam* in Kāśī and Kanakāvatī and his other wives burned themselves on his funeral pyre. The last canto opens with a note of sorrow at the death of Sūrjana (XX, 17). His son Bhoja conquered *Gurjararājabhūmi* (XX, 9). On the occasion of his coronation *Vyāsa* Gopāla's son Cakradhara stood in front of the Cāhamāna prince. Description of the ceremonies connected with this event and his *praśasti* takes us practically to the end of this *sarga* and the *mahākāvya*. We are told that he was Dillīśena-puraskṛta (XX, 63) and he defeated the Suhmas, Vaṅgas, Vaidarbhas, Traigartas, Mālavas and the Gāndhāras. He is still called Vṛndāvatī-nāyaka. His death seems to be referred to in the penultimate verse (XX, 68) of the last canto of the work.

Its author

Unlike some other historical *kāvyas*, the *Sūrjana-carita* does not give us any information about the author in the colophons at the end of each *sarga*. The only information about the author which we can gather from the internal evidence of this big work is in the last verse of the last sarga (XX, 64). It runs as follows:—

गौडीयः किल चन्द्रशेखरकविर्यः प्रेमपात्रं सता-
मम्बष्ठान्वयमण्डनात् कृतधियो जातो जितामित्रतः ।
निर्बन्धान्नृप-सूर्जनस्य नितरां धर्मैकतानात्मनो
ग्रन्थोऽयं निरमायि तेन वसता विश्वेशितुः पत्तने ॥

Kavi Candraśekhara is described as *Gauḍiya* and the son of Jitāmitra who was an ornament of the *Ambaṣṭha* family. We are further informed that he composed this *grantha* at the request of *Nṛpa* Sūrjana in the *Pattana* of the ruler of this Viśva (Vārāṇasī). Several authors with the name Candraśekhara are known. One was the author of the *Smṛtiratnākara*. But he belonged to the 14th century[13] and as such cannot be identified with our author. As Sūrjana and Candraśekhara were apparently contemporaries of Akbar (1536-1605 A.D.), we must try to find out an author of the 16th century. The *Caitanyacaritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja refers to one Jitāmitra[14] as a disciple of Śrī-Gadādhara Paṇḍita, a contemporary of Caitanya. The same work also refers in another place to the Vaidya Candraśekhara.[14a] We are told:—

বারাণসীমধ্যে প্রভুর ভক্ত তিনজন।
চন্দ্রশেখর বৈদ্য আর মিশ্র তপন॥
রঘুনাথ ভট্টাচার্য্য মিশ্রের নন্দন।
প্রভু যবে কাশী আইলা দেখি বৃন্দাবন॥
চন্দ্রশেখর ঘরে কৈল দুইমাস বাস
তপন মিশ্রের ঘরে ভিক্ষা দুইমাস॥

This Candraśekhara was a Bengali Vaidya resident in Benares. As Caitanya was born about 1498 A.D. and entered into the *Sannyāsa āśrama* about the end of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, his disciple Candrasékhara was certainly a contemporary of the emperor Akbar and the Cāhamāna prince Sūrjana. It is thus probable that our author is identical with this disciple of Caitanya. But as yet I am unable to produce any evidence that

13 Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 448.
14 P. 82. Ādililā, XII.
14a *Ibid.*

this *bhakta* was also a poet and an author or that Jitāmitra, the disciple of Gadādhara, was the father of Candraśekhara, the disciple of Caitanya.

A Historical Kāvya

The generally accepted view that ancient and early mediaeval Hindu authors were not familiar with the true conception of real history must be considerably modified in the light of the following statement of Kalhaṇa: —

श्लाघ्यः स एव गुणवान् रागद्वेषबहिष्कृतः ।
भूताश्रक्कथने यस्य स्थेयस्येव सरस्वती ॥[15]

But unfortunately, with the exception of the last four cantos of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* we have not yet discovered many historical works written in the spirit and with the historical detachment of the Kashmirian author. We are however long familiar with the historical *kāvya.*[16] Though their authors could never afford to be really impartial and take a detached view of events, yet as contemporary documents they cannot be ignored by the student of history. The present *kāvya* shows that the work begun by Hariṣeṇa, Bāṇa, Padmagupta, Bilhaṇa, Vākpati, Sandhyākara Nandī, Hemacandra and others was continued by their successors at least up to the 16th century A.D.. We must also remember that with the exception of the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākara Nandī we are not familiar with any other work by a Bengali poet which can be called a true historical *kāvya,* though we know a number of Bengali authors of the 15th and the 16th centuries who composed poetical works which can be called non-historical *kāvyas.* The *Haricarita* of Caturbhuja (1493 A.D.), Murāri Gupta's *Caitanyacarita* (*c.* 1528 A.D.), and Rūpa Gosvāmī's *Uddhava-sandeśa* and *Haṁsa-dūta* (*c.* early 16th century) may be

15 *Rājataraṅgiṇi,* I, 7.
16 Keith, *op. cit.,* pp. 144 cf.; also Keith, *Classical Sanskrit Literature,* pp. 61 ff.

mentioned in this connection.[17] Umāpati Dhara's Deopara *Praśasti*, though scanty, may however, be included in the list of historical *kāvya* by a Bengali author of the first half of the 12th century A.D.[18]

H. C. Ray

17 I am indebted to Dr. S. Sen of the University of Calcutta and Mr. C. Chakravarti, of the Bethune College, Calcutta for some suggestions in this paper.

18 See my *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol. I, 1931, p. 362. Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva's *Praśasti* is really a record of a Brāhman family and as such cannot be properly called a historical *kāvya*, see *Ibid.*, p. 255.

The Date of the Kaumudīmahotsava

कौमुदीकारकं चन्द्रं चूडायां बिभ्रतं सदा ।
उमाया रमणं नत्वा विचारं कञ्चिदारभे ॥
कः कालो नाट्यबन्धस्य यः कौमुदीमहोत्सवः ।
यत्नेन निर्णयः कार्यः प्रश्नस्यास्य समीक्षकैः ॥
गुप्तानां समये जाता नाट्यस्यास्य निबन्धिका ।
इति यत् केचन प्रोचुस्तत्साधु नैव भासते ॥
ब्रह्मव्याख्याननिष्ठं च नानात्वस्य च नाशकम् ।
कथयन्ती शिवं कर्त्तां विस्पष्टं सूचयेदिदम् ॥
व्याख्याता ब्रह्मसूत्राणां शङ्कराचार्यसंज्ञितः ।
शिवावताररूपी स श्लेषेणात्र हि सूचितः ॥
अतः सा शाङ्करात्कालान्नैव पूर्वमजायत ।
इत्येतच्छक्नुमो नूनं प्रतिपत्तुमसंशयम् ॥
यदि सा विज्जकाप्रख्या प्रसिद्धा काव्यकारिका ।
धनिकादवलोकस्य कर्तुर्न परभाविनी ॥
अथ चेद् विज्जका न स्यादेतच्चापि हि दुर्वचम् ।
इत्यतश्चाधिकं वक्तुमधुना नैव शक्यते ॥

Since the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal wrote on the "Historical Data in the Drama *Kaumudimahotsava*" in the *ABORI.*, vol. XII, pp. 50-56, the drama has attracted considerable attention. Jayaswal (henceforth abbreviated as J.) took it as a work of the early Gupta period and he drew from it a good deal of material for the reconstruction of the early history of the Guptas.[1] Several scholars have accepted the historical conclusions of J. without properly examining whether the text of the drama really supports them or not.[2] The highly speculative character of these deductions did not, however, escape the critical eyes of the late Prof. Winternitz, who said that 'there is no justification at all for assigning this *Kaumudimahotsava*

1 *History of India 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.* (*JBORS.*, Vol. XIX), pp. 113-121.
2 See, e.g., E. A. Pires, *The Maukharis*, pp. 25-35.

drama to 340 A.D.'[3] Winternitz, however, did not make a detailed refutation of J.'s views and Mr. Dasharatha Sharma found fault with him and supported J.[4] In view of the important character of the historical deductions of J., the question of the date of the *Kaumudīmahotsava* (henceforth abbreviated as *Km.*) needs be re-examined, though from the literary point of view the drama is not of much value.

The author's name has not been fully preserved, not also in the colophons of the unique manuscript on which M. Ramakrishna Kavi and S. K. Ramanath Sastri based their editions.[5] The author's name appears in the prologue of the drama but a part of it is missing. Its conclusion *-kayā* (*nibaddhaṁ nāṭakam*) makes it certain that the writer was a female whose name ended with the syllable *kā*. Mr. Kavi says that he noticed traces of "a part of *ja* underneath the worm-eaten portion"[6] and a suggestion has been made that the name of the authoress was *Vijjikā*.[6a] J. however, ignored this and inferred from the verse (Prologue, v. 3) that her name was Kiśorikā, daughter of Kṛṣīvala![7] No Sanskritist familiar with prologues in the *Abhijñānaśakuntala*, the *Veṇīsaṁhāra* and other Sanskrit dramas will take this verse as conveying any sense other than that of *ṛtu-varṇana*:

कृष्णशारां कटाक्षेण कृषीवलकिशोरिका ।
करोत्येषा कराग्रेण कर्णे कलममञ्जरीम् ॥

in autumn the young girl (*kiśorikā*) of the peasant (*kṛṣīvala*) is placing sheafs of paddy on her ears. There is no reference to the authoress.[8]

3 *Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume*, p. 362.

4 *JBORS.*, vol. XXII, pp. 275-282.

5 *Dakshina-Bharati Sanskrit Series*, No. 4, Madras, 1929.

6 Introduction, p. 3.

6a Mr. Kavi must be wrong in his view that the writer was not a woman (Introduction, p. 2.).

7 *ABI.*, XII, p. 50, n. 1.

8 Cf. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 361, n. 10.

J. inferred from the undermentioned words of the Stage-Manager in the prologue that the authoress was a contemporary of the characters in the drama:—

तदानीं (तदिदानीं?) तत्रभवतः पाटलिपुत्राधिपतेः सुगृहीतनाम्नो देवस्य कल्याणवर्मणः प्रतिनवराज्यलाभसंवर्धितदृष्टिवृद्धिपरसंकुलेऽपि राजकुले पुनरयमपरः प्रत्यासीदति कौमुदीमहोत्सवारम्भः, तदहमपि स्वकुलोचितेन सङ्गीतकसेवाधिकारेण लब्धावसरो राजकुलं प्रविशामि। (प्रविश्य) प्रयुक्तपूर्वेषु पूर्वसूरिसूक्तिविशेषेषु का पुनरभिनवरमणीया कृतिरभिनेतव्या। भवतु, यत्तदस्यैव राज्ञः समतीतं चरितमधिकृत्य कया निबद्धं नाटकम्। तदिदानीमग्रतः कृत्वा मगधराजान्तःपुरमवतरामि॥

If the above be compared with the prologues in other Sanskrit dramas, J.'s conclusion cannot be regarded as the only possible one. In the prologue of the *Uttararāmacarita* the Sūtradhāra says:

एषोऽस्मि कार्यवशादायोध्यकस्तदानीन्तनश्च संवृत्तः। (समन्तावलोक्य) भो भोः। यदा तावदत्रभवतः पौलस्त्यकुलधूमकेतोर्महाराजरामस्यायमभिषेकसमयो रात्रिन्दिवमसंहृतानन्दनान्दीकस्तत् किमस्य विश्रान्तचारणानि चत्वरस्थानानि।.....एहि। राजद्वारमेव स्वजातिसमयेनोपतिष्ठावः।

Here also the Stage-Manager affects to be a contemporary of the characters in the drama. With the exception of the sentence एषोऽस्मि कार्यवशादायोध्यकस्तदानीन्तनश्च संप्रवृत्तः, the Stage-Maneger's words in the *Uttararāmacarita* are similar to those in the *Km*. In the prologue of the *Veṇīsaṁhāra* we have the same affectation of contemporaneity without even a qualifying sentence as in the *Uttararāmacarita*. As soon as the Stage-Manager has introduced the names of the drama and its author to the audience, some one shouts from the green-room;

भाव, त्वर्यतां त्वर्यताम्। एते खल्वार्यविदुराज्ञया पुरुषाः सकलमेव शैलूषजनं व्याहरन्ति —"प्रवर्त्यन्तामपरिहीयमानमातोद्यविन्यासादिका विधयः। प्रवेशकालः किल तत्रभवतः पाराशर्यनारदतुम्बुरुजामदग्न्यप्रभृतिभिर्मुनिवृन्दारकैरनुगम्यमानस्य भरतकुलहितकाम्यया स्वयं प्रतिपन्नदौत्यस्य देवकीसूनोश्चक्रपाणेर्महाराजदुर्योधनशिबिरं प्रति प्रस्थातुकामस्य" इति।

The Stage-Manager then joyously says,

अहो नु खलु भोः, भगवता सकलजगत्प्रभवस्थितिनिरोधप्रभविष्णुना विष्णुनाद्यानुगृहीतमिदं भरतकुलं सकलं च राजकमनयोः कुरुपाण्डवराजपुत्रयोराहवकल्पान्तानलप्रशमनहेतुना स्वयं सन्धिकारिणा कंसारिणा दूतेन। तत्किमिति पारिपार्श्विक नारम्भयसि कुशीलवैः सह संगीतम्।

The Assistant now enters and the two carry on conversation in the same strain, as if they are contemporaries of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas.

In the *Mṛcchakaṭika* the Stage-Manager in course of his talk with his wife flares up and curses that his friend who has enjoined a costly *vrata* on her should receive capital punishment at the hands of king Pālaka, as if they were all contemporaneous with that king. The Manager also holds a dialogue with Cārudatta's friend, Maitreya, "in the sky." In the *Vikramorvaśīya* while the Stage-Manager is talking with his Assistant, cries of help are heard from behind the Stage and the Manager feigns that he does not know what they mean and then after affected reflection says that Urvaśī is being carried away by Asuras and her friends are crying for help. In the *Mudrārākṣasa* (as in the *Veṇīsaṁhāra*), while the Prologue is in progress, the character in the opening scene, Cāṇakya (like Bhīma in the *Veṇīsaṁhāra*), takes serious exception to the words falling from the lips of the Stage-Manager and begins his angry speech. Similarly in the *Ratnāvalī,* Yaugandharāyaṇa, the first speaker in the Prelude to Act I, takes up with approval from behind the stage a verse uttered by the Stage-Manager while the Prologue is still continuing. Of the so-called Bhāsa dramas each one (with the exception of the *Cārudatta* which is only an abridged version of the *Mṛcchakaṭika*) includes within the Prologue the first sentence of the first speaker of the opening scene.

All this shows that our dramatists often put anachronous words in the mouths of the Stage-Manager and his assistants. The words of the Stage-Manager in the Prologue of the *Km.*, therefore, need not necessarily make him or the authoress a contemporary of Kalyāṇavarman.

We cannot thus assume that the date of the work is the same as that of the story. If, however, the story is historical, its date will give the uppermost limit of our drama. But is the story

historical? None of the characters of the drama are known to us from inscriptions, coins or literary references. J. equates Caṇḍasena, the villain of the drama, with the famous Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty. This Caṇḍasena was the adopted son of Sundaravarman, king of Magadha, but he got estranged from his adoptive father probably when, as J. plausibly supposes, a son (Kalyāṇavarman) was born to him, which probably made Caṇḍasena suspicious about the chance of his succession to the throne. Caṇḍasena allied himself with the Licchavis, the enemies of the house of Magadha, and attacked Pāṭaliputra. Sundaravarman is said to have been victorious in the battle: He spared the life of Caṇḍasena but disinherited[9] him and banished him to the Licchavi territory (p. 30). But Sundaravarman himself died soon after, seemingly of wounds received in the battle, and Caṇḍasena came back and occupied the throne of Magadha. Kalyāṇavarman, the young son of Sundaravarman, had been removed to safety by his partisans and he grew into manhood, when a *coup* was arranged which installed him on the throne of his father and Caṇḍasena was killed.

J. thinks that this Caṇḍasena is the historical Candragupta I because both of them had connexions with the Licchavis and had accession of territory through their help. There is no doubt that Candragupta I married a Licchavi princess, Kumāradevī, *through whose right* he and his son Samudragupta ruled over lands that did not originally belong to them. But about Caṇḍasena we are only told that he had connexion (*sambandha*) with the Licchavis—ततः स्वयं मगधकुलं व्यपदिशन्नाप मगधकुलवैरिभिर्म्लेच्छैर्लिच्छविभिः सह सम्बन्धं कृत्वा लब्धावसरः कुसुमपुरमुपरुद्धवान्। (p. 30). Nothing is said here about

9 अपहस्तयित्वा in the text. This rendering is suggested by MM. Dr. Ganganatha Jha.

a marriage relation which J. näively assumes.[10] The context rather suggests that it was only a political alliance.

It is difficult to understand why Candragupta I, supposed to be the same person as Caṇḍasena, should become the adopted son of another king, when his father, Ghaṭotkaca, was already a king. The Gupta inscriptions from the time of Samudragupta and the coins of Candragupta I and Kumāradevī suggest that Candragupta I succeeded to the dominion of the petty kings (Mahārāja, which does not necessarily mean 'feudatory king'), Gupta and Ghaṭotkaca, and became an emperor (*Mahārājādhirāja*) when he received considerable addition to his territory through marriage with the Licchavi princess. Caṇḍasena's rule, on the other hand, was only through the usurpation of Sundaravarman's throne. If the Licchavis had kept him on the throne of Magadha, Kalyāṇavarman would have had to cross swords with them when he conquered Caṇḍasena and the *Km.* must have mentioned this feat of the new king.

Then the drama distinctly says that Caṇḍasena was killed after the *coup* of Kalyāṇavarman: दिष्ट्येदानीं प्रतिलब्धराज्याभिषेको देवः कल्याणवर्मा दिष्ट्या वत्सानुबन्धो निहतश्चण्डसेनहतकः। (p. 36). The meaning of वत्सानुबन्ध is not very clear. But the only way in which it can be construed is as a Bahuvrīhi compound adjective to चण्डसेनहतकः meaning 'along with his issue.' This meaning is made quite explicit by the following verse:

प्रकटितवर्णाश्रमपथमुन्मूलितचण्डसेनराजकुलम्।
कल्पन(?)मिव नमति जनः (सकलः) कल्याणवर्माणम्॥

So the entire family of Caṇḍasena was uprooted by Kalyāṇavarman. But Candragupta I seems to have had a peaceful end and certainly left sons, the great Samudragupta and other princes of equal birth (*tulyakulaja-*) referred to in l. 7 of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (Fleet, No. 1). J.'s assumption that "Candra-

10 *ABI.*, XII, p. 53.

gupta I who was dying either of wounds or of a broken heart on his expulsion from Pāṭaliputra, addressed Samudragupta, one of his younger sons, with tears in his eyes, and with the tacit consent and approval of his Council of Ministers,—'You now, my noble sir, be the king ("protect the kingdom")' and expired"[11] goes against both the *Km.* and the Allahabad Inscription. The *Km.* shows that Caṇḍasena, the alleged counterpart of Candragupta I, was not *expelled* from Pāṭaliputra when Kalyāṇavarman became the king but was *killed* (*nihataḥ*). He could not, therefore, have the time to give the alleged charge to one of his sons in the presence of the "Council of Ministers." Then, what "Council of Ministers" could sit in deliberation or even give "tacit consent" near the death bed of a king who had been dispossessed of his realm? Then, the tears in the eyes of the historical Candragupta I as recorded in the genuinely historical Allahabad Inscription (ll. 7-8), which J. ascribes to Caṇḍasena, are clearly tears of affection and not of sorrow. The words in the inscription are:

आर्यो ह्रीत्युपगुह्य भावपिशुनैरुत्कर्णितै रोमभिः
सभ्येष्वूच्छ्वसितेषु तुल्यकुलजम्लाननोद्वीक्षितः ।
स्नेहव्यालुलितेन बाष्पगुरुणा तत्त्वेक्षिणा चक्षुषा
यः पित्राभिहितो निरीक्ष्य निखिलां पाह्येवमुर्वीमिति ॥

"whom his father embraced, saying 'verily, noble thou art,' with his hairs, indicative of affection, standing erect, while the members of the court heaved with joy but (princes) of equal pedigree looked on with pale features, and then scanning him with eyes rolling with affection and laden with tears (of joy) and penetrating into (his) true nature, said 'Thus protect all this earth'." We have here very clearly the words of a prosperous king, seated in state in his court, naming a successor and charging him to protect the earth as he did it (एवम्) and not the plaintive words of a king, lying

11 *JBORS.*, XIX, p. 119.

mortally wounded in the field of battle, who has lost his all and asks one of the sons to regain the lost dominion. The other princes could not have turned pale because they were not given charge of an extremely difficult and hazardous task, a life and death struggle against tremendous odds. Actually the inscription refers to a peaceful succession. J.'s interpretation of these lines makes a travesty of the actual text. We must, therefore, conclude that the end of Caṇḍasena's career as given in the *Km.* makes his identification with Candragupta I impossible.

Then there is the difference in name. J. finds no difficulty in taking *Caṇḍa-* as the Prakrit form of Sanskrit *Candra-*[12] and Dasharatha Sharma supports it.[13] *Candra-* of Sanskrit becomes *Canda-* and not *Caṇḍa-* in Prakrit.[14] A preceding and not a following *-r-* ordinarily cerebralizes a dental.[15] It is only in Jaina Prakrit (Ardhamāgadhī and Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī) that *-dra-* sometimes becomes *-ḍḍa-*.[16] Even in Ardhamāgadhī *Candra-* becomes *Canda-* and not *Caṇḍa-*[17] and the form *Caṇḍa-* is extremely rare in Jaina Prakrit.[18]

12 *JBORS.*, XIX, p. 113. 13 *JBORS.*, XXII, p. 276.

14 *Dhanapāla, Pāialacchīnāmamālā,* v.5. The grammarians add an alternative form *Candra-* without assimilation (Vararuci, III. 4, Hemacandra, II. 80, Mārkaṇḍeya, III. 4, Trivikrama, I. 4, 80). *Caṇḍa* is not vouched for by any grammarian or lexicographer.

15 R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen,* §291.

16 *Ibid.*, §294.

17 Haragovinda Das Seth, *Pāiasaddamahaṇṇavo,* pp. 393-394. Compare, e.g., *Canda-* for Sanskrit *Candra-* in the *Aupapātika Sūtra,* §36 (ed. Leumann, p. 57) by the side of *Khuḍḍaga-* for Sanskrit *Kṣudraka-* in the same text, § 38 (p. 48). Caṇḍa also cites only the form *Canda-* and not *Caṇḍa-* in his grammar of the Ārṣa Prakrit (*Prākṛtalakṣaṇa,* II. 1, III. 39).

18 *Ibid.*, p. 392*a*. The author has cited an illustration from Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder.* The reason for *Candra* not becoming *Caṇḍa* is not far to seek: the preceding *-n-* protects the dental *-d-* from change. The alleged instance of *Candra-* becoming *Caṇḍa-* in Prakrit in the Kodavali Well Inscription of Vasiṭhiputa-sāmisirī-Caḍasāt (i) (*JBORS.*, XIX, p. 113, n. 4) is extremely doubtful for there the Sanskṛit form of the king's name seems to be Vāsiṣṭhīputra *Caṇḍa-svāti* and not V. *Candra-svāti,* (Cf. Sten Konow, *ZDMG.*, LXII, p. 591) a form favoured by the

Dasharatha Sharma says "The Prākṛta name Chaṇḍasena is turned into Chandrasiṁha by Kṣemendra. Somadeva, however, gives it as Chaṇḍasena in his Sanskrit version of Bṛhatkathā. This shows that the Prākṛta Chaṇḍa has been always regarded as the equivalent of not merely Chaṇḍa, but also of Chandra."[19] The fact stated here is not correct. It is true that in the Nirnay Sagar edition of the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* of Kṣemendra the name of the king of Tāmralipta in the eighth story of the Vetāla in the *Śaśāṅkavatī-lambaka* twice occurs as *Candra-siṁha* (verses 420 and 430) corresponding to the consistent reading *Caṇḍa-sena* in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva,[20] but it also occurs there as *Caṇḍa-sena* for the same individual within the self-same story (vv. 446, 449, pp. 323-4), which shows that *Caṇḍa-sena* is the form of the name in the *Bṛhat-kathāmañjarī* also and *Candra-siṁha* is only a wrong reading confined to two places. Nowhere else in the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* does *Candra-* in a proper name show the variant *Caṇḍa-* in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.[21]

majority of the Purāṇa manuscripts, the *Vāyu*, the *Brahmāṇḍa* and most manuscripts of the *Matsya* supporting *Caṇḍaśrī Śātakarṇi* and only the *Viṣṇu* and stray manuscripts of the *Bhāgavata* and one manuscript of the Matsya favouring the spelling *Candraśrī*. (Cf. F. E. Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text of the Dy. of Kali Age*, p. 43 and fns. 19, 22). It is true that Rapson read the legend on the coins of this king as *Raño Vāsiṭhiputasa Siri-Cada-Sātisa* with a dental *-d- Cat. Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, pp. 30-1). But the letter which he reads as *-da-* is hardly different from the letter in the coins of a different fabric, seemingly of the same king, to which he gave the value of *-ḍa-* (*Cat. Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, pp. 32-3, pl. VI). If the legend on the coins of this Vāsiṣṭhīputra (Rapson, nos. 117-124) must be read with a dental *-d-*, so can be read the name in the Kodavali Well Inscription. Cf. H. Krishna Sastri in *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 317.

19 *JBORS.*, XXII, p. 277, n. 1.

20 *Lambaka*, XII, *Taraṅga*, XIV (*Nirnaya Sagar* edition, pp. 421 ff.). It is the seventh story according to the order in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.

21 Critical editions of the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* based on very thorough examination of all available manuscripts are a great necessity. Study of these two texts will then be placed on a scientific basis.

In the *Km.* we find that *Candra-* appears as *Canda-* (p. 7, ll. 11, 14, 19; p. 14, l, 14; p. 21, l. 2; p. 28, l. 2; p. 46, ll. 11, 13). On the other hand, Caṇḍasena's name always appears in the Sanskrit passages as *Caṇḍa-sena* and not as *Candra-sena* (p. 29, l. 8; p. 30, l. 19; p. 32, l. 5 and p. 36, l. 13). Consequently the text of the *Km.* goes against the phonetic equation proposed by J.

It is thus clear that the *Km.* cannot be taken as referring to Candragupta I.[22] Nor can we determine the date or the historicity of Kalyāṇavarman, Caṇḍasena and Kīrtiseṇa. Consequently the story cannot help us in fixing the upper limit of the date of the drama.

Now let us look for other indications in the work for the date. The very first verse which gives a clear indication is as follows:

श्रीमद्व्याघ्रचर्मास्तररचिततले स्थण्डिले संनिषण्णः
कृत्वा पर्यङ्कबन्धं फणमणिकिरणोद्गारिणा तक्षकेण ।
नानात्वग्रन्थिभेत्त्रीं धियमिव विकिरन् दन्तकान्तिच्छलेन
ब्रह्मव्याख्याननिष्ठस्तव भवतु तमःकृत्तये कृत्तिवासाः ॥

The authoress is here paying obeisance to Śiva (*Kṛttivāsas*). The second half of the verse uses two adjectives for *Kṛttivāsāḥ* which are remarkable (1) नानात्वग्रन्थिभेत्त्रीं धियमिव विकिरन् दन्तकान्तिच्छलेन ("spreading, as it were, in the form of the lustre of his teeth, the knowledge that cuts the knot of duality") and (2) ब्रह्मव्याख्याननिष्ठः. The second

22 It is surprising how Jayaswal could gather from *Km.*, IV. 6

(कारानिरोधपरिपाण्डुकपोलरेखाकारा निरोधविधुराः प्रकृतीश्चकार ।
कारक्षणेन ककुभो वशमानिनाय कारस्करः स खलु सम्प्रति पार्थिवेषु ॥)

that Caṇḍasena was a Kāraskara (=Dhaṇri Jāṭ of the Punjab!) by birth. The last line of the verse means that in course of his oppressions Caṇḍasena has now (*samprati*) become a "veritable Kāraskara among kings." Āryarakṣita is explaining to Vardhamānaka how Caṇḍasena has become unpopular among his subjects. To take Caṇḍasena as a born Kāraskara from this passage is doing violence to the text. J. is wrong in taking the Kāraskaras as a northern people. They seem to have belonged to the Deccan (*Matsya Purāṇa*, Ch. 114, vv. 45-49). But *kāraskaraḥ* in *Km.* IV. 6 seems to mean a poison tree (*Pāṇini*, VI. 1.156, *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* V. 14.12 and *Rājanighaṇṭu*, IX. 142). Caṇḍasena had thus become a "poison tree" among kings by his misdeeds.

adjective is striking. Why is Śiva connected with *brahma-vyākhyāna* (exposition of Brahman)? Is it not very strange? If, however, we suppose that the authoress was thinking of the great Śaṅkarācārya, believed to be an avatāra of Śiva, both the adjectives become appropriate. The whole energy of Śaṅkarācārya was spent in establishing the *advaita* doctrine and refuting dualism and he is known as *the* commentator of the *Brahma-sūtras,* at least among Advaitins. *Brahmavyākhyānaniṣṭhaḥ* would admirably suit the well known teacher of *Brahma-vidyā*—ब्रह्मव्याख्याने निष्ठा=सतताध्यवसायो यस्य, 'who is always engaged in the exposition of Brahman.'' For Śiva the construction is not easy: it will have to be something like this—ब्रह्मव्याख्यानानां=वेदान्तवाक्यानां (!) निष्ठा=अवसानं तात्पर्यं यस्मिन्, ''who is the end of expositions of Brahman''). It is more usual to have a Bahuvrīhi compound of *niṣṭhā* with a word in the locative than with one in the genitive. Similarly the adjective नानात्वग्रन्थिभेत्त्रीं धियमिव विकिरन् would refer to Śaṅkarācārya more directly. In the case of Śiva the interpretation will have to be a little round about—Śiva is supposed to give higher knowledge, which an Advaitin will assume to be a dispeller of dualism. As regards the adjective in the first half of the verse the portion from श्रीमद्व्याघ्रचर्मास्तररचिततले to पर्यङ्कबन्धम् will suit Śiva and his incarnation equally well, for Śaṅkarācārya as a Sannyāsin must have used a seat of tiger skin when engaged in yogic contemplation. It is only फणमणिकिरणच्छारिणा तक्षकेण that creates some difficulty in the case of Śaṅkarācārya, for it is not easy to believe that he used an actual snake for tying himself fast (*paryaṅka-bandha*). Is *takṣaka* in his case to be understood as the T—shaped wooden rest, called *tākhā* in Hindi, much used by Sādhus? It may have had a sharp metallic end for splitting firewood.[22a] Even then फणमणिकिरणच्छारिणा remains unexplained. What-

22a This suggestion has emanated from a friend of mine, who is not only a good student of *yoga* but a practical yogin himself.

ever that may be the other adjectives clearly suggest that the authoress is referring here together to Śiva and his incarnation Śaṅkarācārya. Compare the words of Sāyaṇācārya at the beginning of his vedic commentaries,

यस्य निश्वसितं वेदा यो वेदेभ्योऽखिलं जगत् ।
निर्ममे तमहं वन्दे विद्यातीर्थमहेश्वरम् ॥

Here Sāyaṇa has identified Brahman, his *iṣṭa-devatā* Śiva, and his guru Vidyātīrtha. Our authoress seems to have held Śaṅkarācārya in similar regard. *In any case, the idea* नानात्वग्रन्थिभेत्त्रीं धियमिव विकिरन् *hardly be understod before Śaṅkarācārya popularised the advaita doctrine.*

The work is then to be assigned to a date not earlier than that of the great Vedāntist. Śaṅkara is usually believed to have lived between 788 and 820 A.D.[23] but this date now appears to be too late.[23a] In any case, this much can be safely said that he lived sometime between 650 A.D. and 800 A.D. This would then represent the upper limit of the date of the *Km.*

As one carefully goes through the drama one finds that this upper limit is confirmed by the borrowings of the authoress. Dasharatha Sharma and D. R. Mankad have shown the influence of Kālidāsa's writings in this drama.[24] One can considerably add to their lists. Thus

Km., p. 4, ll. 14-15. (निमित्तं सूचयित्वा) किं नु खलु स्फुरति दक्षिणो मे बाहुः This is clearly suggested by *Abhijñānaśakuntala*, Act I (निमित्तं सूचयन्) शान्तमिदमाश्रमपदं स्फुरति च बाहुः कुतः फलमिहास्य (Ed. Patankar, Poona 1902, p. 11). It should be noted that the throbbing of

23 K. B. Pathak, *IA.*, XI, pp. 174-5; XLII, p. 235; *JBBRAS.*, XVIII, 218; D. R. Bhandarkar, *IA.*, XLI, 206 etc. K. T. Telang pleaded for an earlier date in *IA.*, XIII, 95-103 and Introduction to the *Mudrārākṣasa* (B.S.S.), pp. xxxix ff. See also J. F. Fleet, *IA.*, XVI. 41-2.

23a See T. R. Chintamani, *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, III, pp. 39-56, S. Kuppuswami Sastri, *Brahmasiddhi*, Introduction, p. lviii etc.

24 *IHQ.*, X, pp. 763-6; XI, pp. 147-8; *ABI.*, XVI, pp. 155-157.

Duṣyanta's right arm soon secures him a good damsel, whereas Kalyāṇavarman gets Kīrtimatī after a long time.

P. 6, l. 1 एदिणा (=by the Aśoka tree growing wild in the forest) पच्चादिट्ठा दाणिं पमअवणपावपाणं समिद्धी Cf. *Abh.* I. 17 *cd*, दूरीकृताः खलु गुणैरुद्यानलता वनलताभिः (p. 11).

P. 10, ll. 1-2 कथमेषा वक्त्रामोदप्रसक्तं मधुकरयुवानं लीलारविन्देन निवारयन्ती हन्त अन्तर्हिता तरुसङ्कटे, clearly suggested by *Kumārasambhava* III. 56,

सुगन्धिनिश्वासविवृद्धतृष्णं बिम्बाधरासन्नचरं द्विरेफम् ।
प्रतिक्षणं सम्भ्रमलोलदृष्टिर्लीलारविन्देन निवारयन्ती ॥

The underlined expressions are identical. It is more natural that a line in verse should have been copied in prose than the other way about.

P. 11, ll. 5 ff. The discovery of the pearl necklace inadvertently left by Kīrtimatī was probably suggested by the *mṛṇāla-valaya* left by Śakuntalā in Act III of *Abh.* according to not only the long addition in the Bengali recension but also verse 25 (p. 76) of the Devanāgarī text.

P. 15, ll. 25-26 आश्रयति माधवी चेदाश्रमसहकारपादपस्कन्धम् । स्वार्थक्रीतां लभते निर्वृतिमारण्यको वर्गः reminds one of the talks between Anasūyā, Priyaṁvadā and Śakuntalā in Act I of *Abh.* (pp. 15-16) about the *navamālikā* Vanajyotsnā. The *mādhavī* creeper is named just before this in the Kashmiri recension (ed. K. Burkhard, p. 28) and immediately after in the Bengali text (ed. Permchand Tarkavāgīśa, pp. 14-15).

P. 22, l. 16 ततः प्रविशति कामयमानावस्थः कुमारः । Cf. *Abh.* Act III ततः प्रविशति कामयमानावस्थो राजा (p. 53), usuing a form (*kāmayamāna-*) which is unusual in classical texts, though grammatically correct.

P. 44, ll. 18-19 रम्यद्वेषनिबन्धनो मनसि मे वियोगोचितसन्तापः.....। The underlined expression seems to have been suggested by रम्यं द्वेष्टि etc. in *Abh.* VI. 5 (p. 150).

P. 48, ll. 7-8. The Vidūṣaka's mistaking a picture-roll thrown in that direction by Nipuṇikā for a serpent seems clearly to have been suggested by the incident of Irāvatī's maid Nipuṇikā throwing a stick at the sleeping Vidūṣaka in Act IV of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* and his mistaking it for a real snake (ed. S. P. Pandit, p. 121, ll. 158 ff.). It is more natural to mistake a stick as a serpent than a picture-roll.

If Kālidāsa be assigned to the reign of Candragupta II Vikramāditya (*c.* 380-*c.* 415 A.D.) or of Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya (*c.* 415-455 A.D.) or his son Skandagupta Vikramāditya (455 A.D.—*c.* 467 A.D.), the *Km.* cannot be dated as early as *c.* 340 A.D. I am, however, of opinion that Kālidāsa lived before Aśvaghoṣa (second century A.D.) who borrowed from him and not *vice versa*.[25] If my view about the date of Kālidāsa (not later than 100 A.D.) is correct, there will, of course, be no difficulty in dating the *Km.* at about 340 A.D. on account of borrowings from Kālidāsa. But there are works of dates later than 340 A.D. whose influence we can trace in the work.

The proclamation under orders of the minister Mantragupta for the celebration by the citizens of Pāṭaliputra in Act V of our drama (p. 39), an incident of no importance in the plot, seems clearly to have been suggested by a similar order of Candragupta Maurya in Act III of the *Mudrārākṣasa* (and its forbiddance by Cāṇakya), a very important event in the development of the plot of that drama. If the *Mudrārākṣasa* be assigned to the time of Candragupta II, the *Km.* cannot be assigned to a period even before the accession of Samudragupta, a predecessor of Candragupta II. According to J.'s theory the reign of Caṇḍasena = Candragupta I was followed by the accession of Kalyāṇavarman and his brief rule, after which Samudragupta came to power and ruled long enough to complete his extensive conquests. The rule of Candragupta II, therefore, would thus begin at least 20 to 30 years after the alleged date of the composition of the *Km.*

But the *Mudrārākṣasa* cannot be assigned to even such an early date as the reign of Candragupta II. The evidence of manuscripts is more in favour of the reading पार्थिवोऽवन्तिवर्मा for the close of the

25 See *Allahabad University Studies*, vol. II, pp. 79-170, *JIH.*, vol. XV, pp. 93-102 and *Kuppuswami Commemoration Volume*, pp. 17-24.

last verse than पार्थिवश्चन्द्रगुप्तः। Consequently we should assign Viśākhadatta to the time of Avantivarman, very likely the Maukhari king, father of Grahavarman. This Avantivarman we should place in the second half of the sixth century and that is very likely the date of the *Mudrārākṣasa*.[26]

There are still later works whose influence we can discern in the *Km*. The *Nāgānanda*, passing in the name of king Harṣavardhana (606-647 A.D.),[27] has supplied three motifs to our authoress: (1) The first one is the manner of the first meeting of the hero and the heroine. In the *Nāg*., Jīmūtavāhana comes to the Malaya mountain and meets Malayavatī in the temple of Gaurī, after she had worshipped the goddess. There is love at first sight on both the sides. Malayavatī feels so bashful that she cannot directly face Jīmūtavāhana but slightly turns her face and feels like getting away from the place. Soon a hermit comes and calls her away. While going she keeps on slyly looking at Jīmūtavāhana. In the *Km*. Kīrtimatī comes to pay her respects to Caṇḍī Vindhyavāsinī and after coming out of the temple sees Kalyāṇavarman. Here also there is love at first sight and the same bashfulness on the part of the heroine, who sits behind her friend Nipuṇikā but keeps on sending stealthy glances at the prince. A maid now announces that her place for residence has been got ready and she should now go there. Kīrtimatī leaves the place with difficulty, again and again looking at

26 Sten Konow's recent attempt at securing support for his view (*Das indische Drama*, pp. 70-1) that Viśākhadatta lived in the reign of Candragupta II from the title *Devī-Candragupta* of the author's other drama (*JBORS*., XXIII, pp. 450-1) is unconvincing.

27 The foreigner I-Tsing, who came to India after the time of Harṣa, naturally knew the work as Harṣa's, as it circulated in the king's name. But there is internal evidence in the *Ratnāvalī* (Prologue, verse 5 and the whole trend of the Stage-Manager's speech) showing that the *Ratnāvalī* was written by a person who wanted to please the king. The *Priyadarśikā* and the *Nāgānanda* seem to have been written by the same courtier-Pandit.

Kalyāṇavarman and tarrying on various pretexts. The agreement of the two motifs is striking.

The sense of one verse in our drama,

यातां नितम्बगुर्वीं यावद्यावन्मृगेक्षणां दूरम् ।
विम्बितगात्रीवान्तस्तावत्तावदवगाढा मे ॥

uttered by Kalyāṇavarman after Kīrtimatī leaves his company, becomes clear when we place before us the corresponding utterance of Jīmūtavāhana,

अनया जघनाभोगभरमन्थरया तया ।
अन्यतोऽपि व्रजन्त्या मे हृदये निहितं पदम् ॥ (*Nāg.* I. 19).

The last line of the latter verse explains the corresponding line of the former: We are to supply हृदयम् after अवगाढा मे in *Km.*, I. 26d. The two verses have other points of contact.

2. There is another partial agreement between the two works. In the *Nāg.*, the heroine is appraised in her dream by the goddess Gaurī about her coming marriage with the hero (Act. I) and in *Km.* the nun Yogasiddhi makes the false claim before the king of Mathurā that the goddess Caṇḍī has enjoined her in a dream about the marriage of Kīrtimatī with Kalyāṇavarman (p. 38, l. 9 to p. 39, l. 3 and p. 39, l. 21 to p. 40, l. 3). This ruse of Yogasiddhi is an absolutely unnecessary one. As Kīrtiṣena was a friend of Kalyāṇavarman's father (p. 40, l. 17) and Kalyāṇavarman is now established on his father's throne, there is no reason why the king of Mathurā should not readily agree to marry Kīrtimatī to Kalyāṇavarman, the moment such a proposal was made by Yogasiddhi or by Kalyāṇavarman himself.

3. The third motif agreeing in the two works is this. In the *Nāg.*, Act II, the next meeting of the hero and the heroine takes place thus. Jīmūtavāhana enters a sandal bower with his confidant and Malayavatī and her maid who were already there now move away and watch them from behind a tree. Malayavatī overhearing

their talk only from the middle supposes that the prince is in love with some other woman about whom he is talking and whose portrait he has just painted on the floor of the bower. She is deeply hurt, leaves the place and tries to kill herself. Ultimately she is saved and she is told that the person Jīmūtavāhana was talking about was her own self and all doubts are dispelled when she is shown the picture he has painted. The marriage of the pair comes immediately after this event. In the *Km.*, Act V, we have some of these elements partly reproduced. The meeting of the hero and the heroine here is not their second one, though it is certainly their second appearance on the stage together.[28] But their marriage and final union are to come just after this. Kalyāṇavarman, now the established king of Magadha, is conversing with his confidant in a bower in his palace garden and Kīrtimatī, sent by her father for marriage with him, is approaching that spot along with her friend Nipuṇikā. Nipuṇikā shows her the joint portrait of Kalyāṇavarman and Kīrtimatī which has played an important part in the development of the plot. Kīrtimatī does not look at the whole of the picture and supposes that the woman painted by the side of Kalyāṇavarman is some other girl with whom he is in love and is deeply tormented at the thought. Nipuṇikā makes her look carefully at the picture and she realises with joy that it is her own self that is painted by the side of her lover. Nipuṇikā throws the picture inside the bower and the king and the Vidūṣaka come out when the lovers meet. The mistake of Kīrtimatī about the female companion of the king in the picture, though short-lived, is extremely unnatural.

We then, find the influence of another work contemporaneous with the *Nāgānanda*, viz., the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa. After Kalyāṇavarman is firmly seated on the throne, Kīrtisena, the

28 Verses 26 and 27 in Act V show that the lovers had met after Act I and the incidents described in Acts II and III, and *not* "seen each other only once before the marriage" as J. hastily supposed (*ABI.*, XII, 52).

king of Mathurā, sends to him along with his daughter a wonderful necklace of *gajamuktā,* tracing back its origin to the Mahābhārata War, which was kept in the family as a precious heir-loom (*Km.*, p. 42). It seems that our authoress was influenced here by two incidents described in the *Harṣacarita,* the gift of a wonderful umbrella sent by Bhāskaravarman, king of Kāmarūpa, to Harṣavardhana soon after his accession, to secure his political friendship (*Ucchvāsa* VII) and of a pearl necklace of alleged mythic origin which was once in the possession of the historical Nāgārjuna who gave it to his friend, king Sātavāhana, which in course of *śiṣya-parampara* reached the hands of the Buddhist teacher Divākaramitra, who gave it to Harṣavardhana after he rescued Rājyaśrī (*Ucchvāsa* VIII).

There are also traces of the influence of a still later writer, viz., Bhavabhūti, who is assigned to the end of the seventh century A.D.[29] In Act. V of the *Km.* when Kīrtimatī is approaching the bower in the garden of Kalyāṇavarman already occupied by the king, as soon

29 S. K. Belvalkar, *Rāma's Later History,* H.O.S., vol. XXI, pp. xli-xlvi. Some scholars now suppose from the joint testimony of a manuscript of the *Mālatīmādhava* (S. P. Pandit, *Gauḍavaho,* B.S.S., p. ccvi) and the *Pratyaktattvapradipa* of Citsukha with its commentary, the *Nayanaprasādini,* by Pratyagrūpa (Nirnaya Sagar edition, p. 265) that Bhavabhūti was the same person as Umbeka, commentator of Maṇḍana's *Bhāvanāviveka,* and very likely one of the pupils of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. This identification, if accepted, would corroborate the latter half of the seventh century as the date of Bhavabhūti. I am myself not convinced about the identification. I fear that though Pratyagrūpa definitely identifies Umbeka with Bhavabhūti, Citsukha's own words—

न हि पुराप्त एव सन् नाटकनाटिकादिप्रबन्धविरचनमात्रेणाप्तो भवति भवभूतिः। उक्तं चैतदुम्बेकेन "यदाप्तोऽपि कस्मैचिदुपदिशति न त्वयाननुभूतार्थविषयं वाक्यं प्रयोक्तव्यं यथाङ्गुल्यग्रे हस्तियूथशतमास्ते"।

definitely suggest that he distinguished between Bhavabhūti and Umbeka. If he had identified them he would have said उक्तं चैतत्तेनैव instead of उक्तं चैतदुम्बेकेन just after referring to Bhavabhūti. The style of Umbeka, as far as it can be judged from his commentary on the *Bhāvanāviveka,* appears to be different from that of Bhavabhūti's dramas and it shows no sign of the well-known self-consciousness of Bhavabhūti.

as she hears his voice, she gets horripilations all over her body. She asks Nipuṇikā to stand in front covering her from the sight of the king, when the maid says jestingly भट्टिदारिए, कीस मए वारणं अणेस (सी) अदि ? णं तुए एव्व सव्वंगीणो आमुत्तो रोमंचकंचुओ. Kīrtimatī feels ashamed at this physical manifestation of her sentiments and says हला किं मं लज्जावेसि ? (p. 46). This last sentence immediately reminds us of a passage in the Third Act of the *Uttararāmacarita*. Rāma has fallen into a swoon and the invisible Sītā touches him at the bidding of Tamasā to bring him back to consciousness. Rāma regains consciousness and catches hold of the invisible hand of his beloved. Sītā gets very much agitated and it is some time before she can withdraw her hand. Tamasā wistfully looks at her and says:

सस्वेदरोमाञ्चितकम्पिताङ्गी जाता प्रियस्पर्शवशेन बाला ।
मरुन्नवाम्भःप्रविधूतसिक्ता कदम्बयष्टिः स्फुरकोरकेव ॥

(v. 43), when Sītā is filled with shame and says to herself अम्महे । अवसेण एदेण अत्ताणएण लज्जाविदम्हि भअवदीए तमसाए । This speech of Sītā has clearly suggested Kīrtimatī's words. Kīrtimatī has no reason for feeling any shame particularly before her confidante Nipuṇikā. But Sītā has good reason for feeling ashamed at the words of the goddess Tamasā, for, she adds herself, किं त्ति किल एसा भणिस्सदि । एसो दे परिच्चाओ एसो अहिसङ्गोत्ति । (*Uttararāmacarita*, S. K. Belvalkar, p. 45). Then again in the same Act of the *Km.* when Kalyāṇavarman comes out of the bower, he unexpectedly finds Kīrtimatī in his front and he takes her into his arms and congratulates himself on his good fortune, but says to the Vidūṣaka that he can hardly believe his eyes:

पश्यतोऽपि न विश्वासः सखेदस्य सखे मम ।
सङ्कल्पदृष्ट्या देव्या बहुशो वञ्चिता वयम् ॥ (verse 29).

The second half of the verse immediately reminds us of Rāma's words in the Third Act of the *Uttararāmacarita*: सर्वथा स एवैष भगवाननेकवारपरिकल्पनानिर्मितो विप्रलम्भः पुनःपुनरनुबध्नाति माम् (p. 46). Rāma's supposition is justified by the fact that though he

felt the touch of Sītā he couud not see her nor did his companion Vāsantī have any experience of her presence. Hence he thought that he had an illusion. In the case of Kalyāṇavarman, he saw, heard and touched Kīrtimatī, who was accompanied by her maid, and his companion, the Vidūṣaka, also saw the two ladies. Under the spell of the words of Bhavabhūti ringing in his ears, our authoress has failed to realise the absurdity of Kalyāṇavarman's apprehension of illusion.

The *Uttararāmacarita* may not be the only work of Bhavabhūti to which our authoress is indebted. The Buddhist nun Kāmandakī in the *Mālatīmādhava,* equally interested in Mālatī and Mādhava, who helps in bringing about their mutual love and subsequently contrives their marriage, seems to be the original of the nun in the *Km.* who was once the nurse of Kalyāṇavarman, but turned a nun after the death of Sundaravarman and his queens and became attached to Kīrtimatī. She too played an important part in the development of their love and later arranged their marriage. Painting of the picture of an absent lover or beloved for finding a little solace in separation was popularised by Kālidāsa (*Abhijñānaśakuntala,* Act. VI, *Meghadūta,* ed. Nandargikar, *Uttaramegha,* verse 44). Bhavabhūti has introduced in the *Mālatīmādhava* (Act. I) the motif of the hero and heroine painting each other's portrait on the self-same canvas. Mālatī who had seen Mādhava earlier and had already fallen in love with him painted his portrait to divert herself. After their meeting was arranged in a garden through the intrigues of Kāmandakī, Mādhava also fell in love with her. Shortly after this, his servant Kalahaṁsa brought to him the portrait painted by Mālatī which he had obtained through two intermediaries. Mādhava painted on it the portrait of Mālatī at the suggestion of his friend Makaranda and the picture was conveyed to Mālatī through the same channel. Kāmandakī had a secret hand in the whole affair. We can trace the influence of this motif in the *Km.* After the first meeting

of Kalyāṇavarman and Kīrtimatī, the latter pines for the prince and in trying to divert herself paints his picture. The portrait is conveyed by a happy accident to the nun, Yogasiddhi, from whom Kalyāṇavarman's friend, the Vidūṣaka, receives it (Act. II). Under her instructions, he conveys it to the prince. He makes him paint on it the picture of Kīrtimatī (Act. III). This joint portrait is then carried to the nun and is subsequently utilised by her for bringing about the marriage of the two lovers (Act. V). There are some more differences in the details of the two motifs, e.g. (1) Mādhava writes on the completed picture the verse जगति जयिनस्ते ते भावाः &c. (*Māl.*, I. 39) but Yogasiddhi writes the verse शौनकमिव बन्धुमती (*Km.*, II. 15) when only the prince has been portrayed on the canvas by Kīrtimatī and (2) the completed picture returns to Mālatī in Bhavabhūti's drama but goes to Yogasiddhi in the *Km.* to be shown to Kīrtimatī only in Act. V. Still the general agreement of the two motifs is quite manifest. The indebtedness of the *Km.* to the *Mālatīmādhava* in this respect cannot be proved but appears to be likely on account of the certain influence of the *Uttararāmacarita* pointed out above and Yogasiddhi's agreement with Kāmandakī.

This motif of a joint portrait is also found in the *Ratnāvalī* ascribed to Harṣa (Act. II) and in the *Daśakumāracarita* (*Ucchvāsa* V) of Daṇḍin (*circa* seventh century A.D.). It is, not impossible that our authoress got a clue from Daṇḍin. The *Daśakumāracarita* also shows a nurse of a prince turning a nun out of sorrow after she lost trace of the prince in her charge and her royal master lost his kingdom (*Ucchvāsa* III). The resemblance of Kālyāṇavarman's nurse, Vinayandharā, later becoming the nun Yogasiddhi, in the *Km.* with woman may not be accidental.

Then the motif of the growing in the Vindhya forest of Rājavāhana, son of the dispossessed king of Magadha, and his subsequent attainment of the ancestral kingdom in the

romance of Daṇḍin may have suggested to our authoress the secret rearing up in the Vindhya forest of Kalyāṇavarman, prince of Magadha, and his subsequent return to Magadha as its king. The story may thus have absolutely no basis in history.

We thus see that we cannot place the *Kaumudīmahotsava* earlier than 700 A.D. This is the upper limit for its date. Can we fix a lower limit? Unfortunately we have no means at our disposal to do that. We may, however, become more precise about the date of the work if we can be sure about the name of the authoress. A suggestion has been made that it is *Vijjikā*. Vijjikā or Vijjakā is well known as a poetess, whose verses are preserved in works on anthology and whose name is variously given as *Vījjakā, Vijjikā, Vijjā* or *Vidyā*.[30] The extant verses of this Vījjakā make it extremely likely that she is the Vijayāṅkā (or Vijayā?) of Karṇāṭa country named by Rājaśekhara,

सरस्वतीव कार्णाटी विजयाङ्का जयत्यसौ ।
या वैदर्भगिरां वासः कालिदासादनन्तरम् ॥

because they are all in good *Vaidarbhī* style and we know that the poetess called herself Sarasvatī,

नीलोत्पलदलश्यामां विज्जिकां मामजानता ।
वृथैव दण्डिना प्रोक्तं सर्वशुक्ला सरस्वती ॥
(*Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, no. 180).

It is, however, extremely doubtful if we should follow Mr. P. V. Kane[32] in further identifying her with Vijaya-mahādevī or

30 *Subhāṣitāvalī*, ed. Peterson and Durgāprasāda, nos. 158, 1141, 1175, 1523, 2090, 3137, 3138, *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, ed. Peterson, nos. 180, 451, 509, 582, 1003, 1131, 3746, 3769, 3794, *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya* (?), ed. F. W. Thomas, nos. 298 and 500, *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, ed. Rāmāvatāra Śarmā (Lahore, 1933), I. 2.3, II. 12.1, 13.1, 14.1, 21.4, 56.4, 103.2, 140.2, III. 7.1, 9.1, 15.1, 28.4, IV. 49.3, V. 74.1

31 No 184 in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*, where it is anonymous. The verse is ascribed to Rājaśekhara in Jalhaṇa's *Sūktimuktāvalī*. (P. V. Kane, *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, Introduction, p. xli).

32 *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, Introduction, p. xli.

Vijaya-bhaṭṭārikā (the queen of Candrāditya, son of the Cālukya Pulakeśin II), who calls herself *kalikāla-pratipakṣabhūtā* in her Kochrem plates (Kielhorn's *List of Southern Inscriptions*, no. 24) and whose Nerūr plates (Kielhorn's *List* no. 23) give the date of 659 A.D.[33] It is difficult to believe that the royal panegyrics भूपालाः शशिभास्करान्वयभुवः (*Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, III. 15. 1) and यशःपुञ्जं देव &c. (*Ibid.*, III. 28. 4) could have been written by a queen or a princess. If it is justified to infer from the missing letters in the name of the authoress in the prologue of the *Km.* that it was *Vijjikā* or *Vijjakā*, Vijjakā's date would be the date of our work.

Vijjakā is either later than Daṇḍin or is his contemporary, because of her proud assertion, नीलोत्पलदलश्यामाम् &c. referred to above, in which she clearly refers to Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* I. 1. d. The question of Daṇḍin's date is a vexed problem in the history of Sanskrit literature.[34] He is perhaps later than Bhāmaha but there is nothing to show that Bhāmaha's date is as late as 700 A.D. Bhāmaha's alleged borrowings from Dharmakīrti really appear to be borrowings from Vasubandhu and Diṅnāga.[35] Consequently it may be possible to assign Daṇḍin to the seventh century A.D. In any case he is not later than the eighth century. The seventh or the eighth century would thus represent the upper limit of Vijjakā's date, which we have already found to be the upper limit of the *Km.* on account of

33 Appendix to *EI.*, vol. VII, p. 5, n. 9.

34 See S. K. De, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, vol. I, pp. 58-70, Batuk Nāth Śarmā and Baladeva Upādhyāya, *Kāvyālaṅkāra of Bhāmaha*, Introduction, pp. 35-40, A. B. Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 375, n. 2-5, P. V. Kane, *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, Introduction, pp. xxv-xl.

35 Batuk Nāth Śarmā and Baladeva Upādhyāya, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-55, H. R. Rangaswamy Iyengar, *Proceedings and Transactions of the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference*, Part II, pp. 419-424. I would myself place Diṅnāga, who is, according to Buddhist tradition, the *parama-guru* of Dharmakīrti (seventh century A.D.), in the sixth century and his teacher Vasubandhu in the time of Narasiṁha-gupta (*c.* 473 A.D.), the only Bālāditya, son of a Vikramāditya, known to history.

the reference to Śaṅkarācārya and on account of the borrowing of ideals from other authors. The lower limit of Vijjakā is supplied by the quotation of her verse दृष्टिं हे प्रतिवेशिनि etc. (*Śārṅgadharapaddhati*) no. 3769, *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya,* no. 500, *Saduktikarṇāmṛta,* II. 14, 1) in the *Daśarūpāvaloka* of Dhanika (II. 21) whose date is the tenth century[36] and in the *Abhidhāvṛttimātṛkā* (p. 12) of Mukulabhaṭṭa who lived in the first half of the tenth century.[37] Consequently Vijjakā is to be assigned to a date between the seventh and the ninth centuries A.D. Vijayā named by Rājaśekhara certainly lived before 900 A.D. If the authoress of the *Km.* is Vijjakā or Vidyā she has to be placed between the seventh and the ninth centuries A.D.

But can we be sure that she is Vijjakā? Till other manuscripts are discovered and they clearly shows the reading *Vijjakā,* we must take the guess with extreme caution, particularly as there is no clear evidence in favour of Vijjakā's authorship of the *Km.* None of the verses in our drama can be traced among the verses ascribed to Vijjakā in the anthologies.[38] The style of Vijjakā is definitely *Vaidarbhī* but the same can hardly be said of the *Km.* which seems to use the *Pāñcālī* style. There is also gresater grace and much higher poetical quality in the preserved verses of Vijjakā than in our drama. Then Rājaśekhara's statement shows that she belonged to the south (Karṇāṭa), whereas our authoress who knows not only Kauśāmbī but also Suyāmuna = modern Sujāwan on the Jumna, near Allahabad (I. 11),[39] was pro-

36 S. K. De, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-4, P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. lxxxvii.

37 S. K. De, *op. cit.*, p. 76, P. V. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. lxxvi.

38 I have also not been able to find the verses in the *Km.* quoted in any of the anthologies or works on *alaṅkāra.*

39 Sujāwan is on the right bank of the Jumna, a few miles above Allahabad and very near Bhita. The Archæological Department of India is to be congratulated for starting excavation at Kauśāmbī and resuming operations at Bhita. The Department should also pay attention to Sujāwan, which is sure to yield a rich harvest to the spade of the excavator.

bably a northerner. Her identification with Vijjakā is, for these reasons, extremely doubtful.

Consequently in the present state of our knowledge we fail to fix the lower limit of the work or to settle its approximate date. The only definite conclusion we have been able to arrive at is that it was not written before Śaṅkarācārya. This serves at least one useful purpose, viz., the rejection of the inferences about the early history of the Guptas made by Jayaswal on the basis of this work.[40]

स्वर्गतो विबुधः सोऽयं भिन्तर्नित्ससमाह्वयः ।
प्रीयतामनया कृत्या चेलेशचन्द्रशर्मणः ॥

K. CHATTOPADHYAYA

40 It is sad that the great scholar Jayaswal is no longer living to reply to my criticisms or to accept my findings.

The Causeway of Giants at Angkor Thom

Everybody knows that the bridges, which cross the moats of Angkor Thom and give access to the five gates of the city, are decorated by balustrades, constituted by two huge nâgas with hoods turned outside and with bodies supported by giants in stone which represent on one side the Devas and on the other the Asuras.

This motif which is found also in other monuments of the same period (end of the 12th century A.D.) is generally interpreted[1] as the representation of the churning of the ocean, an architectural symbolism of which there are other examples.[2] In a remarkable article entitled "Angkor in the time of Jayavarman VII" and published in the *Indian Art and Letters*[3] my friend and collaborator M. Paul Mus gives a quite different interpretation of these bridges with balustrades of nâgas supported by the giants, and I propose to confirm his interpretation with new arguments and make his information more complete on certain points.

M. Paul Mus finds in these bridges of Angkor Thom a representation of the rainbow which according to Indian tradition is the link of union between the world of men and the world of gods which is materialised on earth by the royal city. His interpretation is based on a verse contained in the Sanskrit inscription dedicated by Jayavarman VII at the south-western corner of the outer walls of Angkor Thom. These verses are:

Vilasita-vyâlikhacchṛṅga eko
bhujagasadanasaṅgâgâḍhatānyā pi tena
anukuruta ime te nirmmite çrīmahâçrī-
jayagirijayasindhū tadbṛhatkīrttikoṭīm

1 Cf. *BEFEO.*, XII, 9, pp. 181-182.

2 Among the first works in which this hypothesis has been formulated, C. J. Commaille, *Guide aux ruines d'Angkor*, p. 110.

3 Vol. XI, 1937, pp. 65-75.

"One scraped the bright sky with its pinnacle and the other in its unfathomable depth reached the world of serpents; the Çrī-mahâjayagiri and the Çrīmahâçrījayasindhu erected by Jayavarman both emulated the arc of his mighty glory."[4]

I have proved already that Jayagiri and Jayasindhu are the names given respectively to the outer wall and the moat of the city.[5] "According to this poetical comparison, says M. Mus,[6] the Mountain of Victory and the Sea of Victory emulate the Arc of glory of the King. But the meaning of the latter term is not questioned: a king's arc of glory is the representation of the Arc of Indra, or in other words the rainbow, itself symbol of the divine power of sovereigns. Let us now take our stand before the actual lanscape of Angkor Thom. The Mountain of Victory and the Sea of Victory here become before our eyes, if we may so put it, a rampart and a moat. The third expression is missing. This should be a materialisation of this same rainbow which we learn from elsewhere to be a divine bridge. The conclusion is obvious: the Arc of Glory of Jayavarman VII, vying in splendour with the rampart and the moat, is the bridge which is the worldly representation of the rainbow."

M. Paul Mus has interpreted the expression *anukurutaḥ* as meaning that the rampart and the moat "rivalled in splendour" with the bridge, but I do not think that this is exactly what the poet wanted to say. The poet wanted probably to note that the glory of the king, poured out in the universe from the heaven up to the under-world, was exalted in the architectural complex comprising, in the sky, the rampart that reaches the heaven and, below, the moat which in its depth reaches the world of serpents. This is at least the first interpretation which occurs to anybody who may be a little acquainted with the style of the Sanskrit inscriptions of

4 *BEFEO.*, XXVIII, p. 88. 5 *Ibid.* 6 *IAL.*, p. 70.

Cambodia. But one is never sure of having exhausted all the niceties of a Kâvya stanza even though he may have drawn two or three meanings from it, because the subtleties of the court poets are infinite, and in the present case M. Paul Mus is certainly justified in drawing a third meaning relating to bow, and in discovering in it an allusion to the rainbow of which the material representation is the bridge of giants.

I can besides furnish another argument in favour of his interpretation. The five gates of Angkor Thom are decorated at their angles with gigantic heads of tricephalic elephants. One of these elephants at least (the Gate of Victory, north-east corner) still bears an image of Indra holding the Vajra and it is not too much to suppose that each of these elephants bore a similar image.[7] The rainbow is the bow of Indra and the presence of that god at the end of the bridge in the axis of the nâgas certainly confirms the hypothesis of M. Paul Mus.

On the other hand I am not quite in agreement with him when he writes: "The plastic motif of the churning, in which the great serpent already appeared, was no doubt, through association of ideas *the first model* for this new construction."[8] If the giants of the bridges may be an innovation of Jayavarman VII, the motif of nâga as balustrade of the bridge is much more ancient and goes back to the beginning of the classical Khmer art. The oldest example of it is found at Bakong which is dated from 881 A.D.[9] Now there is no necessity of bringing in the myth of the churning to explain the architectural motif of the bridge with the double nâga-balustrade. The rainbow theme is sufficient, and to the arguments cited by M. Paul Mus[10] I may add another which is more actual. In the popular Siamese and Cambodian imagery

7 H. Marchal, *Guide archéologique aux Temples d'Angkor*, p. 85.
8 *IAL.*, p. 71.
9 G. Cœdès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, I, p. 31.
10 *IAL.*, pp. 70-71.

the rainbow staircase by which the Buddha descends from the heaven of the Thirty-three is always represented with two hand-rails in the shape of nâgas of which the heads touch the ground.

It is not without interest to note that the first occurrence of this motif at Bakong, towards the end of the 9th cent., belongs to a period in which some Javanese influence is recognisable in the Khmer art, as a consequence of the reign of Jayavarman II who came back from Java.

This influence is manifested amongst other things in Cambodia in the introduction of the *Kâlamakara-toraṇa* motif with divergent heads of makaras.[11] Its connection with the nâga-balustrade on one hand and with the rainbow[12] on the other is apparent. This evidence goes to strengthen the thesis of M. Paul Mus but it places the introduction of the architectural motif in the Khmer country several centuries earlier.

It is not therefore the myth of the churning of ocean which has furnished the Khmer architects with the nâga motif for the decoration of the balustrades of their bridges, although this myth had certainly inspired the constructors of the causeways of Angkor Thom and contaminated the more ancient theme of the rainbow bridge.

It may be noted in this connection that the presence of the two serpents does not in any way stand in the way of our recognising in the causeway of giants a plastic representation of the churning, as M. Paul Mus thinks. "At Angkor Thom, he says, there is not *one* serpent, there are *two*. Gods and Titans each carry their own. Further instead of pulling against each other, they are in two parallel lines facing those who arrive. It is quite clear that they

11 G. de Coral-Rémusat, 'Influences javanaises dans l'art de Rolûoh,' *JA* CCXXIII, 1933, p. 190.

12 G. de Coral-Rémusat, 'Animaux fantastiques de l'Inde,' *BEFEO.*, XXXVI, p. 430.

are churning nothing."[13] This last remark is as judicious as the explanation which he gives a little later of the presence of the two serpents. It cannot be however denied that the representation of the churning at Angkor Vat[14] and Bayon[15] contains two serpents: one coiling around the mountain as a cordon to make it revolve, and the other reposing in the bottom of the ocean. Evidently the latter is so to say caught in the arms of the Asuras of the causeways at Angkor Thom and even if in this position the Asuras and the Devas cannot be regarded as churning anything, the two rows of the Asuras, the two serpents, the outer wall *Jayagiri* and the moat *Jayasindhu* do not constitute any less the essential elements of the churning, as it is represented in the bas-reliefs of the 12th century.

Why has this motif been added to that of the rainbow represented in a more simple way by a bridge with two hooded serpents? This innovation being no doubt due to Jayavarman VII, all that we know of the psychology of this great mystic supplies with a twofold reply to this question.

In the first place by having a representation of the churning of the ocean at the gates of his capital, Jayavarman VII emphasised its divine character, because the Jayagiri and the Jayasindhu of which the names reminded his own, thus became the cosmic mountain and ocean.

In the second place it was common literary theme abundantly exploited by the court poets to compare the battle with the ocean churned by the king in order to win Lakṣmī, the fortune, and also the *amṛta* of Victory,[17] or again to compare the world with a mountain which the king revolves to get

13 *IAL.*, p. 69.
14 *Le temple d'Angkor Vat* (*Mém. Arch. EFEO.*, II), 3e partie, II, pls. 351-370.
15 H. Dufour, *Le Bayon d'Angkor Thom*, inner galleries, pls. 78-81.
16 G. Cœdès, *Un grand roi du Cambodge: Jayavarman VII*, Phnom Penh, 1935.
17 For example, the inscription of Tà Prohm, st. XXI (*BEFEO.*, VI, pp. 52, 73).

the ambrosia of prosperity.[18] Jayavarman VII, the protegé of the Victory, has given his name to the mountain of the outer wall and to the ocean of the moat. That will not perhaps be the proof of an exaggerated subtlety if we try to discover in the plastic representation of the churning, effected with the moat as the ocean, and the outer wall as the pivot, a kind of magic operation destined to produce the Fortune and to assure to the country the nectar of Victory and Prosperity.*

G. Cœdes

18 Inscription of Thnal Bàràỳ, south-east angle, st. B. XXI, *ISCC.*, pp. 435, 445.

* Translated by Dr. P. C. Bagchi, M.A., Dr. ès lettres (Paris).

Struggle for Supremacy in the Deccan

The Cāḷukya Taila II defeated and overthrew the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in 973 A.D. and the Cāḷukya kingship was once again revived in the Deccan. It reached its full glory during the reign of Someśvara I (1042-1068 A.D.) The accession of Someśvara II, son of Someśvara I, marked the beginning of the fratricidal war between Someśvara II and Vikramāditya (VI), and the decline set in. The feudatory states were the worst disintegrating forces in the body politic of those days. The feudatory princes always enjoyed vast political powers and privileges and were waiting for an opportunity to declare independence. Whenever the sovereign authority was weak, they rose in rebellion and often declared independence.

The fratricidal war between Someśvara II and Vikramāditya (VI), two sons of Someśvara I, broke the unity of the Cāḷukya empire and it was divided into two hostile camps. This also gave the important feudatory princes an opportunity to enhance their power. The Cāḷukya empire was reunited by Vikramāditya VI when he ascended the throne in 1076 A.D. after overthrowing his brother, but the solidarity of the empire could not be restored. The feudatory princes, the Hoyasaḷas, the Yādavas, the Kadambas and the Silhāras strengthened their position. The Hoyasaḷas twice rebelled against their sovereign and inflicted severe losses to the emperor, but they were suppressed.

The successors of Vikramāditya VI, however, were incapable rulers and they could not check the Hoyasaḷas from capturing the whole of the southern part of the Cāḷukya dominions. Besides the Hoyasaḷas, other feudatories had also begun minor conquests and annexations at the cost of their sovereign.

When Taila III came to the throne in 1151 A.D. the condition in the Cāḷukya dominions was in a deplorable chaos. The feudatory

princes were busy in asserting, their power. The important feudatory princes, the Hoyasaḷas, the Kadambas, the Silhāras and the Yādavas practically became independent and severed their connections with the central government. Taila III was left to look after his own fate. The Kākatiyas had established their power in the eastern side of the Cāḷukya dominions and the Kākatiya Proḷarāja inflicted a crushing defeat on Taila III. The Kaḷacurya Bijjala, who was appointed the commander-in-chief of the Cāḷuykan forces, was himself waiting for an opportunity to occupy the throne at Kalyāṇī. As revealed by many inscriptions, his authority had overshadowed that of Taila III and when the latter suffered defeat at the hands of the Kākatiya Proḷarāja, Bijjala made full use of this event. Inscriptions from 1156 A.D. show that the Kaḷacurya Bijjala had begun the work of usurpation and Taila was made a puppet in his hands. The defeat of Taila III at the hands of the Kākatiya Proḷarāja brought the crisis to the pitch, and the death of Taila in about 1162 A.D. left Bijjala ultimately supreme in the Cāḷukya kingdom. He occupied the throne and assumed full paramount titles. He was also helped in effecting the *coup-de-etat* by the Silhāra prince.[1]

Beginning of the Struggle

The fall of the Imperial Cāḷukya power created an utter political chaos in the Deccan. The usurpation of Bijjala was quite sudden; he could not be acknowledged as the sovereign by other feudatory princes and they themselves began a hard struggle to strengthen their position and capture Kalyāṇī, if possible.

Bijjala, soon after accomplishing the *coup*, opened his campaigns to subjugate other feudatory chieftains. He had not to face any trouble in the north. The Silhāras were already friendly to him;[2]

1 *B.G.*, vol. I, pt. ii, p. 475, f.n. 6.

2 *Ibid.*

it was from the south that he apprehended danger. The death of the Hoyasaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana stopped the northward expansion of the Hoyasaḷas and his successor Narasiṃha I could not continue his aggressive policy. The Pāṇḍya and the Kadamba territories, which served as the buffer principalities for the Cāḷukyas in the south, were subjugated by the Hoyasaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana; but just at the height of his success Viṣṇuvardhana died. The Kadambas and the Pāṇḍyas, immediately after the death of Viṣṇuvardhana asserted their power and carried on their struggle with Narasiṃha I, successor of the Hoyasaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana.

The fall of the Cāḷukya power threw the feudatories in a fit of indecision. The Pāṇḍyas and the Kadambas were fighting against the Hoyasaḷas with the Cāḷukya help on their back, but now they were fighting for their own existence against the Kaḷacuryas and the Hoyasaḷas. Inscriptions dated 1165 A.D.[3] and 1182 A.D.[4] show that the Pāṇḍya chieftain Vijaya Pāṇḍya recognised the Cāḷukya Jagadekamalla, probably a brother (?) of Taila III as their sovereign. The Niḍugal chief Mallideva Coḷa Mahārāja also recognised the Cāḷukyas as his sovereign in an inscription dated 1169 A.D.[5]

Bijjala seems to have begun the drive against the Kadambas before the usurpation. In 1109 A.D. he attacked Billaya, the senior general of Banavāsi-nāḍ, appointed by the Kadamba Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Kumāra Kīrtti-deva.[6] He beseiged the fort of Guṭṭi and conquered it. Another inscription of about the same date records that "when Kīrttideva's great minister Bammārasa was ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom, Bijjaṇa-Deva's minister Soyavamarasa.....was fighting, saying, "I will beseige Guṭṭi."[7] Bijjala was ultimately successful in suppressing the Kadambas before

3 *EC.*, vol. XI, Dg. No. 77.
4 *Ibid.*, Cd. No. 13.
5 *SIE.*, A.R. 1917, No. 733; *H.I.S.I.*, p. 116.
6 *EC.*, vol. VIII, Sb. No. 416.
7 *Ibid.*, No. 568.

1163 A.D.[8] The Pāṇḍyas also could not hold against Bijjala and accepted him as their overlord,[9] though sometimes they mentioned the Cāḷukya Jagadekamalla as their king.[10]

The Hoyasaḷas were trying to continue their advance towards the north and led expeditions against the Kadambas. An inscription dated 1161 A.D. states that "Narasiṃha who astonished the world, when on hearing that a Kadamba army was at Bankāpura, being raised for assault, he crushed that force and won all its spoils, bringing glory to his father."[11] Yet another inscription records another conflict between the Kadamba and the Hoyasaḷa forces.[12] A third inscription dated 1161 A. D. reveals that the Maṇḍaḷikas of the Kadamba Kīrttideva were fighting against the Hoyasaḷas and beseiging the fort of Guṇṇalaguṇḍi.[13] Kīrttideva ultimately seems to have gained some success against the invaders,[14] but the conflict between the Kaḷacuryas, the Kadambas and the Hoyasaḷas could not be decided finally. The Kadambas unable to fight two powers accepted the authority of the Kaḷacuryas and then a struggle between the Hoyasaḷas and the Kaḷacuryas began. They had already fought a battle on the banks of the river Tuṅgabhadrā, before Bijjala usurped the Cāḷukya throne.[15] The Hoyasaḷas had captured the fort of Guṭṭi from the Kadambas[16] and began raids into the Kaḷacurya territory. In 1164 A.D. a Hoyasaḷa general raided the Keṛiyakāsive Agrahāra.[17] In 1164 A.D. Bijjala ordered his subordinate Taḷevūr Heṇḍi Sovavarma (?) and other chieftains to attack the fort of Guṭṭi and the invaders beseiged the fort. The fort of Guṇṇalaguṇḍi, which was under the possession of the Hoyasaḷas was also beseiged by Bammarasa and Vīrarasa in 1166 A.D., but the Hoyasaḷa general

8 *Ibid.*, No. 177.
9 *Ibid.*, vol. VII, Sk. No. 18.
10 *Ibid.*, vol. XI, Dg. No. 43.
11 *EC.*, vol. V, Bl. No. 193.
12 *Ibid.*, Ak. No. 172.
13 *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, Sb. No. 306.
14 *Ibid.*, No. 179.
15 *Ibid.*, vol. XI, Dg. No. 42.
16 *M.A.S.R.*, 1928, No. 81.
17 *EC.*, vol. XI, Dg. No. 84.

was successful in driving away the invader by stratagem, as he had not sufficient force to fight openly.[18]

These facts indicate that the struggle between the two powers continued without any final decision. Neither side was able to continue the struggle vigorously, because of the internal troubles. Not long after his accession Bijjala had to face a religious revolution in the capital and he was compelled to abdicate in favour of his son Soyideva in 1168 A.D.[19] Rebellions had broken out in the different parts of the Hoyasaḷa kingdom because of the weak rule of Narasiṃha. He had to abandon his campaigns in the north to find time and means to curb the rebellions.

The internal disturbances compelled the Kaḷacuryas and the Hoyasaḷas to stop the struggle The Hoyasaḷa Narasimha was dethroned by his son Ballāla II. He rebelled against his father and captured the throne[20] in 1173 A.D.[21] For a couple of years after his accession, he seems to have been busy in restoring peace and order in his dominions. Narasiṃha had lost much of the Northern territories conquered and annexed by the Hoyasaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana. The Kadambas and the Pāṇḍyas had again asserted their authority, and sometimes acknowledging the Kaḷacuryas and sometimes the Cāḷukyas, they were strengthening their own position. Ballāla immediately after restoring peace in his kingdom started towards the north and invaded the Pāṇḍya principality, which had its capital at Uccangi.

Ballāla after making full preparations marched on to the Pāṇḍya kingdom in or before 1177 A.D.[22] The Hoyasaḷas captured the fort

18 *M.A.S.R.*, 1928. No. 81.

19 Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, pp. 79-80; *B.G.*, vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 476-77.

20 *M.A.S.R.*, 1926, No. 55, p. 67.

21 *EC.*, vol. V, Hn. No. 119; Ak. No. 71; Bl. No. 118.

22 *EC.*, vol. XII, Ck. No. 36; vol. VI, Tk. No. 36.

of Devadurga[23] and were then opposed by the Pāṇḍyas at Ummadūr, where a fierce battle was fought.[24] Ballāla showed great personal bravery in the battle and gained complete victory. Ballāla attacked the fort of Uccangi, which was the centre of the Pāṇḍya power. The fort of Uccangi was very big[25] and strong "with a moat like Pātāla, as broad as the eight cardinal points, high as the sky, extending in both directions, so that it was famed in the three worlds."[26] The fort was beseiged and stormed. The Pāṇḍya chieftains, "King Kāma and the famous Oḍeya and their treasury, women and troops of horses were captured."[27] Ballāla now acquired the titles Giridurgamalla and Śanivārasiddhi as the fort was captured on Śanivāra (Saturday).[28] The Pāṇḍya chieftains Oḍeya or Udayāditya and his father Kāmadeva or Vijaya Pāṇḍya[29] submitted to Ballāla for protection, who taking pity restored them to their principality.[30] It seems very probable that they gave a princess of their family in marriage to Ballāla.[31]

Ballāla now faced the Kaḷacuryas and the Kadambas, who had acknowledged the former as their sovereign[32] by the year 1163 A.D. When the Kadambas were attacked by the Hoyasaḷas, the Kaḷacuryas came to their rescue. The Kaḷacurya Sankamadeva sent his general Kavaṇayya in 1179 A.D.[33] He pitched his camp at Beṭṭaur, but he seems to have gained no success and therefore Sankaṃadeva

23 *Ibid.*, vol. V, Bl. No. 119.
24 *Ibid.*, Bl. No. 175.
25 *Ibid.*, Cn. No. 289.
26 *Ibid.*, Bl. No. 72; vol. VI, Ak. No. 10.
27 *EC.*, vol. II, No. 327, Tr. p. 136; No. 240.
28 *Ibid.*, vol. V, Bl. Nos. 137, 175; Ak. No. 178.
29 *Ibid.*, vol. XI, Cd. Nos. 13, 36, Intro. p. 18; vol. IV, Ng. No. 70; *H.I.S.I.*, p. 373.
30 *EC.*, vol. V, Bl. Nos. 136, 72; vol. VI, Tk. No. 10.
31 *M.A.S.R.*, 1923, No. 1, p. 36.
32 *Kadambakula*, p. 138, f.n. 4, App. III, No. 10, pp. 444-5, 140; *EC.*, vol. VII, Sk. No. 171; vol. VIII, Sb. No. 431.
33 *EC.*, vol. XI, Dg. No. 44.

personally came down to the south to direct the campaign.[34] From the inscription it appears that a battle was fought at Maḍavalḷi in 1179 A.D. between the armies of Sankama and Ballāla. The battle of Maḍavalḷi does not seem to have been decisive and the two faced each other on the field of Hadaḍeyakuppa. The Hoyasaḷa Ballāladeva ordered the van of his army to attack the Kaḷacurya forces commanded by Murāri Keśava-Narasiṃha and the general Gaṇḍava Canna-kālam Sāhani. The Kaḷacuryas were probably defeated and they made peace as they were threatened by the Cāḷukya Someśvara IV, who seems to have been making an effort to regain the throne.[35]

The withdrawal of the Kaḷacuryas with discomfiture left the Kadambas all alone at the mercy of the Hoyasaḷas. During the campaigns against the Kaḷacuryas, Ballāla seems to have captured the Kadamba fortress of Udhare. It was under the command of the Hoyasaḷa general Toya?Singeya-daṇṇāyaka in 1181 A.D.[36] The Kadamba Kāmadeva who had succeeded his father Kīrttideva in 1180 A.D. sent his generals Gāngeya-Sāhani, Beyama-Sāhani and Javaneya-Nāyaka to recapture the fort of Udhare. They "coming with all the appliances" laid seige of the fort.[37] The Hoyasaḷa general seems to have been killed and the fort was surrendered to the Kadambas. In 1181 A.D. Ballāla seems to have defeated the Kadambas.[38] The struggle so far placed Ballāla in no territorial advantage.

The Cāḷukya revival

When this struggle was lingering on, suddenly the Kaḷcuryas were overthrown and Kalyāṇī was captured by the Cāḷukya Someśvara,[39] one of the sons of Taila III in 1183 A.D.[40] This again

34 *Kadambakula*, p. 142.
35 *Ibid.*
36 *EC.*, vol. VII, Sk. No. 212.
37 *Ibid.*
38 *Ibid.*, vol. II, No. 327.
39 *EI.*, vol. V, p. 259.
40 *S.I.E.A.R.*, 1928-29, App. E. No. 207.

changed the political condition of the Deccan. The change did not wipe out the political chaos, but on the other hand made it all the more worse. The Cāḷukya Someśvara IV, as the inscriptions show, was greatly helped by his general Brahma. He is styled as "the establisher of the Cāḷukya sovereignty" and "the chief of all the leaders of the army."[41] Another inscription records that Brahma "having vowed that he would uproot the destroyers of his masters, and make the Cāḷukyas again lords of the earth, became the destroying fire of the Kaḷachurya—(Kaḷacurya) kula."[42]

Ballāla II wanted to take full advantage of the situation arising out of this restoration and change. A blow at this time, when Someśvara IV was not in a settled condition, would give an easy success. He, leaving the struggle with the Kadambas undecided, rushed to the north and invaded the Cāḷukya kingdom. An inscription dated 1183 A.D. of the reign of the Cāḷukya Someśvara IV records that Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Ballāla's force was unloosing the waists of women.[43] Brahma seems to have been an able general. He drove away the Hoyasaḷa raiders and the inscription records about Barmadevarasa as "a venomous serpent to the strong hill-fortress of the Hoyasaḷas, a thunderbolt of the king Bhuvanaikamalla" i.e., Someśvara IV.[44]

The revival of the Cāḷukya sovereignty by Someśvara IV only served as a passing episode in the then disturbed political condition of the Deccan. It was in a state of transition. The Hoyasaḷas were making a desperate struggle for northward expansion. The Yādavas in the northern part of the Cāḷukya dominions had also commenced their struggle for expansion towards the south. They were already fighting against the Kaḷacuryas. The Yādava Mallugi, predecessor of Bhillama V (1183 A.D.—1194 A.D.) had been fighting against

41 *EI.*, vol. V, p. 250.
42 *IRAS.*, vol. IV, pp. 16-17.
43 *EC.*, vol. VIII, Sb. No. 419.
44 *S.I.E.A.R.*, 1915, App. B. No. 458.

Vijjaṇa, probably a Kaḷacurya prince and Ḍāḍa, his general, also claims to have defeated an army led by a Kaḷacurya prince.[45] After the fall of the Kaḷacuryas, the Yādavas continued their hostility against the Cāḷukya Someśvara IV.

In these circumstances, when the resources of Someśvara IV were crippled and few, the two strong powers advancing with grim determination to overthrow him, and the minor feudatories vascillating in their support and making their own position strong, it was not possible for the Cāḷukya Someśvara to hold his position for a long time. Inspite of all the heroism and superb generalship of the general Brahma, the odds were tremendously against him.

Fall of the Cāḷukyas

Ballāla seems to have prepared to strike the final blow, if possible. With his army he started towards Kalyāṇī. He was opposed by the Pāṇḍyas on the way. The Pāṇḍyas had always sympathy towards their sovereign, the Cāḷukyas. They had no doubt submitted to the Hoyasaḷa Ballāla, but when Someśvara IV came to the throne, the Pāṇḍya chieftain Kāmādeva immediately transferred his allegiance to him. Ballāla defeated Kāmadeva and killed him in battle in 1187 A.D.[46] The Kaṇṇada poet Rudrabhaṭṭa in his *Jagannātha-Vijaya* gives the title *ari-kāma-dhvaṃśī* (i.e. destroyer of the enemy Kāma) to Ballāla.[47] He then invaded the Cāḷukya dominions. The general Brahma opposed him with his force but suffered a crushing defeat. The Gadag inscription records about the battle in the following words "And by force, he, the strong one, defeated with cavalry only, and deprived of his sovereignty the general Brahma whose army was strengthened by an array of elephants with a single

45 *E.H.D.*, (Revised) pp. 183-4.
46 *EC.*, vol. V, Bl. No. 77; vol. XI, Cd. No. 33.
47 *IHQ.*, vol. IV, p. 133.

tuskless elephant, when, on account of an insult to his father, he was tearing the royal fortune from the family of the Kalacuryas."[48]

This sealed the fate of the Cāḷukya Someśvara IV. His power was shattered and he left Kalyāṇī at the mercy of the invader and fled away to Jayantipura, where he was residing on the 19th September 1187 A.D. the date recorded in an inscription.[49] Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Vijaya Pāṇḍya was supporting him even there. Someśvara seems to have continued for sometime more. The Kadambas seems to have transferred their allegiance also and it was with them that Someśvara took shelter. An inscription dated Dec. 25, 1189 A.D. reveals that Someśvara IV was continuing his sovereignty with the help of the Kadamba Kāmadeva.[50] This is the last known date of Someśvara IV.

Fall of Kalyāṇī

The victory of Ballāla over Brahma seems to have left him master of the situation and the country, but the overwhelming success was, not long after, eclipsed by another competitor, who was also advancing towards Kalyāṇī. The Yādava Bhillama came to power in 1183 A.D.[51] He was as ambitious as the Hoyasaḷa Ballāla II and has been striving hard to gain territorial advantage out of this political confusion. He was also advancing towards Kalyāṇī. Ballāla after defeating the general Brahma, probably, captured Kalyāṇī, but immediately he had to face the opposition of the Yādava Bhillama. Bhillama defeated the Hoyasaḷa Ballāla II and deprived him of the territorial advantages he had gained. Kalyāṇī was also captured. An inscription dated 1189 A.D. records that Bhillama "had become the beloved of the goddess of severeignty of the Karṇāṭa country and was reigning over the whole kingdom."[52]

48 *EI.*, vol. VI, p. 92. Vs. 35-36.
49 *EC.*, vol. XI, Cd. No. 33
50 *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, Sb. No. 129.
51 *EI.*, vol. III, p. 217; *S.I.E.A.R.*, 1930, App. E, No. 108.
52 *B.G.*, vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 518-19.

Hemādri also states that Bhillama "having attained the sovereignty of Kalyāṇī put to death the Hoyasaḷa king."[53] Hemādri is definitely wrong in stating that the Hoyasaḷa king was put to death as it is known from various sources that Ballāla continued the struggle for a long time. But Hemādri makes it clear that Bhillama attained the sovereignty of Kalyāṇī from the hands of the Hoyasaḷas. Having captured Kalyāṇī Bhillama pushed on at the heels of the Hoyasaḷas. They were compelled to vacate all the territory formerly included in the Cāḷukya dominions. The Yādavas even entered the Hoyasaḷa dominions and a battle was fought between the two forces at Alūr in the Hassan district of the Mysore state.[54] Bhillama carried on his conquests vigorously and Hemādri states that Bhillama having become master of the country north of the river Kṛṣṇā founded the city of Devagiri and crowned himself a king.[55] The Gadag inscription dated June 23, 1191 A.D. also suggests that Bhillama had his supremacy established[56] and he was residing at his victorious camp at Herūru.

Turn of the tide

The events had moved with a dramatic rapidity. The Hoyasaḷas had been for years past making constant struggle for supremacy. They had fought against the Kadambas, Pāṇḍyas, Kaḷacuryas, and the Cāḷukyas. They were on the point of success, when suddenly the Yādavas deprived them of all territorial advantages and they were driven away almost to the south of the river Tuṅgabhadrā. It seemed that the Yādavas had established their supremacy and for about four years, no doubt, they maintained it, but after that the tide again turned.

53 *E.H.D.*, (Revised), p. 243, App. C.I., Vs. 38-39.
54 *Ibid.*
55 *M.A.S.R.*, 1926, No. 9, p. 41.
56 *EI.*, vol. III, p. 219.

Battle of Sorāṭur

The Hoyasaḷa Ballāla silently made preparations and organised his forces for another conflict. He marched with his army towards the north and the Hoyasaḷa and the Yādava armies faced each other on the battle-field of Sorāṭur. The Yādava Bhillama arrayed a vast horde of 200,000 foot soldiers armed with thunderbolts[57] and 12000 cavalry.[58] After a 'fierce' and 'bloody' battle the Yādava army was completely routed and annihilated. Bhillama himself fled away from the battle-field with the remnants of his army. He was hotly pursued by the Hoyasaḷas up to Belvoḷa and the Kṛṣṇā river with a terrible massacre.[59] The *Vyavahāraganita,* describing the battle, records that out of the 12,000 cavalry of Bhillama "five parts fell into the river, six fled away in all directions, four fell in the battle, four returned back and Bhillama fled in confusion from the battle-field with the remaining six hundred horsemen.[60] But as pointed out by Mr. Venkatasubbiah, the testimony of the inscriptions and the *Vyavahāraganita* clearly show that Bhillama was not killed in this battle as taken by almost all scholars.[61] The battle of Sorāṭur was fought before December 23, 1190 A.D., the date recorded in an inscription which also states that "Ballāla put them (Yādavas) to flight and slaughtered them from Sorāṭur to the banks of Kṛṣṇaveṇi."[62] Ballāla having defeated Bhillama captured the forts of Kuṛugoḍ, Sorāṭur, Erambaṛage (modern Yellburga in the Nizam's dominions), Guṭṭi, in the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency, Bellitṭige, Raṭṭihalḷi, Hangal and Lokkiguṇḍi in the

57 *EC.*, vol. XI, Dg. No. 25.

58 *Ibid.*, Kannada Ms. No. A, 14, Govt. Oriental library, Madras, pp. 42-3, 46; *IHQ.*, vol. IV, pp. 126-7.

59 *EC.*, vol. XI, Dg. No. 25; vol. V, Cn. No. 179.

60 *IHQ.*, vol. IV, p. 127; Kannada Ms. No. A, 14, G.O. Lib. Madras, pp. 42-3, 46.

61 *IHQ.*, vol. IV, p. 124.

62 *EC.*, vol. XI, Dg. No. 25; *IHQ.*, vol. IV, pp. 125-6.

Bombay Presidency and Ballale (Bellary), Haḷuve, Māṇṇūr, Malanga hill Dhorevadi, Gṭṭavalaḷu, Udhare and Kalāḍi.[63]

When Ballāla was busy in capturing these forts, Bhillama once again reorganised his forces, and with a fresh army he again crossed the river Kṛṣṇā and as his Gadag inscription dated June 23, 1191 A.D. shows, he pitched his camp at Heṛūru, 30 mlies north of Gadag.[64] This inscription again indicates that Bhillama had once again recaptured a part of the lost territory.

Death of Bhillama

The Hoyasaḷa Ballāla lost no time to check Bhillama. The two armies again met in the neighbourhood of Gadag, possibly at Heṛūru, where Bhillama, as stated above, had pitched his camp. In this battle the Yādava Bhillama lost his life and Ballāla gained a signal victory once again over the Yādava army. After the death of Bhillama, as indicated by the Gadag inscription of Ballāla II dated November 21, 1192 A.D., the command of the Yādava forces was taken by Jaitrasiṃha or Jaitugi, son of Bhillaṃa. The Gadag inscription states that Ballāla had his victorious camp at Lokkiguṇḍi and had defeated Jaitra-Siṃha, i.e. Jaitugi, "right hand of Bhillama."[65] Jaitugi, successor of Bhillama, continued the struggle and was fighting from the fort of Lokkiguṇḍi. Ballāla defeated Jaitugi and recaptured the fort.[66] An inscription of later date records that by "plunging it into water, namely, the blood of the enemy, Pāṇḍya king so that it hissed and splittered, Vīra Ballāla whetted the sword, which he bore in his valorous arm, on the whetstone, namely the head of Bhillama and sheathed it in the lotus mouth of Jaitugi."[67] Again Ballāla II is referred to as the "smiter

63 *EC.*, vol. XI, Dg. No. 25; vol. V, Cn. No. 179.
64 *EI.*, vol. III, p. 219.
65 *Ibid.*, vol. VI, p. 93.
66 *Ibid.*
67 *EC.*, vol. V, Bl. No. 77.

on the cheek of Bhillaṃa's army" "driver of Jaitrahuta."[68] An inscription dated 1194 A.D. records the capture of Lokkiguṇḍi from Jaitugi as follows" when he (Ballāla) fought Jaitugi, who was with an army in the great fortress, which with high ramparts, lofty bastions, mounted with astonishing flag-staves, even combined masses could not attack and escape, he soon captured Lokkiguṇḍi."[69] Ballāla again recaptured the fort of Kuṛugoḍ in 1195 A.D.[70] and was residing at Eṛambarage, modern Yellurga in 1196 A.D.[71]

In the meantime Ballāla had also defeated the Pāṇḍyas. The last known date of the Pāṇḍya Udayāditya, also known as Tribhuvanamalla, is January 24, 1194 A.D.[72] Noḷambavāḍi 32,000 province seems to have passed in the hands of the Hoyasaḷas as an inscription records: "Thrashing the Pāṇḍya king on the field of battle, terrifying and putting to flight hostile kings, by the might of his arṃ, (Ballāla) ruled the celebrated Noḷambavāḍi."[73] Another inscription records that Ballāla had his capital in the Noḷambavāḍi country.[34] Ballāla also defeated the Kadambas for rebelling against him. The fort of Udhare was beseiged and captured.[75] Having captured this Kadamba outpost, the Hoyasaḷas advanced towards Hangal, the Kadamba capital in 1196 A.D. Ballāla pitched his camp at Muttaḷa-Keregeṛi and the city was beseiged. He was opposed by the Kadamba general Sāhani, but he was defeated and killed in the battle.[76] Hangal was also beseiged, but there is no evidence to show that it was captured.[77] The Kadambas were subdued at least for some years, though they continued raids in the neighbouring territory.

68 *Ibid.*, vol. VI, Kd. No. 117; Cm. No. 72.
69 *Ibid.*, vol. V, Ak. No. 5.
70 *Ibid.*, Bl. No. 204.
71 *Ibid.*, Ak. No. 104.
72 *Ibid.*, Bl. No. 77.
73 *EC.*, vol. V, Hk. No. 56; vol. XI, Hn. No. 70.
74 *Ibid.*, vol. VI, Mg. No. 4.
75 *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, Sb. No. 439.
76 *Kadambakula*, App. III, No. 16, pp. 453-4.
77 *Ibid.*

Ballāla seemed successful in establishing his supremacy. The Yādavas were defeated and driven away and the Kadambas and the Pāṇḍyas were compelled to submit. The Hoyasaḷas gained possession of all the territory upto the Kṛṣṇā and the Mālaprabhā rivers.

The last phase

The Yādavas had suffered crushing defeat and retired from the field. Jaitugi had not the generalship of his father. The Hoyasaḷas, when their boundary reached the Kṛṣṇā and the Mālaprabhā rivers, did not press their victories further northward. Both sides stopped the struggle. But the struggle was not finally closed. Though the main struggle between the Yādavas and Hoyasaḷas was closed, the Kadambas continued to maintain a suppressed hostility, and the inscriptions suggest that raids were carried by the Kadambas into the Hoyasaḷa dominions in 1203,[78] 1207 and 1208,[79] but the Hoyasaḷas could not be exterminated from their territory. Dr. Fleet also thinks that the Kadambas were subjugated by the Hoyasaḷas after 1196 A.D., but they continued to carry raids.[80] Mr. Moraes seems to be opposed to this view, but his arguments are not conclusive.[81] Ballāla also defeated the Kadamba Vijayāditya of Goa and exacted tribute, but shortly after that he seems to have freed himself from all obligations.[82]

The Yādava Jaitugi was succeeded by his son Singhaṇa. The date of his accession is still a matter of dispute among scholars. The available epigraphic evidence is also very meagre and conflicting. Some inscriptions would suggest that Singhaṇa came to power in 1197 A.D.,[83] and another inscription may suggest that Jaitugi was killed by Ballāla in about 1197 A.D.[84] Contemporary inscriptions

78 *B.G.*, vol. I, pt. ii, p. 563.
79 *EC.*, vol. VII, Sb. Nos. 171, 305.
80 *B.G.*, vol. I, pt. ii, p. 563.
81 *Kadambakula*, p. 146.
82 *Ibid.*, p. 202.
83 *A.S.R.*, 1928-29, p. 172.
84 *EC.*, vol. V, Bl. No. 77.

also show that Ballāla was in possession of the territory upto Kalyāṇī in the north, but the city itself was not included.

For some years Singhaṇa seems to have consolidated and organised his kingdom after the severe disruption caused by the constant Hoyasaḷa aggression and with the opening of the 13th century, he began his invasion of the south. The accession of Singhaṇa marks a new epoch in the Yādava regime and the political and diplomatic history of the Deccan. The southward drive had begun in full swing and Singhaṇa personally seems to have conducted the campaign. Raids by freebooters for plunder and loot specially of the cows and the young girls was a conspicuous dark trend of the early mediaeval political condition of the Deccan. From an inscription dated 1206 A.D., it seems, that Singhaṇa had recaptured all the territory upto the Bijapur district, and Keśavadeva Daṇḍanātha, governor of Tāravāḍi 1000, was governing over that part.[85] Another inscription dated 1211(?) records that when Ballāla was at Haḷḷevūr i.e. Vijayasamudra Singhaṇa carried raid upto that part[86] (i.e. modern Hassan district, Mysore State). In 1212 A.D. the Yādavas raided Bandalike in the Shimoga district and seized the people and the cattle and closed the stores of grain.[87] Singhaṇa carried a second raid in the same year.[88] Ballāla does not seem to have been able to put a stiff resistance and Singhaṇa slowly maintained his advance. Before 1215 A.D. Singhaṇa was able to reconquer Banavāsi and other territories, lost by Bhillama. A Belgaum inscription dated Thursday, September 24, 1215 A.D. clearly designates him as the ruling sovereign. It records that having accomplished conquest over many kings Singhaṇadeva gave charge of the kingdom to his minister Sarvādhikāri Rāya-nāyaka Nārāyaṇa and himself was engaged in various pleasures. The minister also claims to have defeated many enemies

85 *S.I.E.A.R.*, 1927-8, App. E, No. 264.
86 *EC.*, vol. V, Ak. No. 137.
87 *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, Sb. No. 309.
88 *Ibid.*, No. 376.

and granted some taxes and tolls on silk and two oil mills to the Brāhmaṇas.[89] Singhaṇa had thus recovered all the lost territories before 1215 A.D.[90] The Udri inscription dated 1217 A.D. states that Singhaṇa defeated Ballāla and captured Banavāsi 12000.[91]

The Kadambas had been playing a dubious game. They also began raids along with Singhaṇa and diplomatically avoided to recognise either the Hoyasaḷas or the Yādavas as their sovereign.[92] Singhaṇa had also succeeded in extending his sway upto the Anantapur and the Kurnool districts of the Madras Presidency.[93] A part of the Kadamba territory was also incorporated into the Yādava dominions.

Complete supremacy over the Deccan was established by Singhaṇa by the year 1215 A.D. The Kadambas resented an encroachment on their territory, but their resistance was broken down.

When Singhaṇa was busy in his bitter struggle against the Hoyasaḷas, his generals were waging wars against minor feudatory chieftains.

Bhoja, a Silhāra prince, was ruling over the Koṅkaṇa country. The famous fortress of Panhālā, then known as Paṇṇāla or Poṇṇāla was included in his territory. Bhoja had gained independence in 1179 A.D.[94] and during the turmoil, he is said to have attained great power.[95] Singhaṇa invaded his territory and Bhoja shut himself in the Panhālā fort. It was stormed and Bhoja had to fly away.[96] As a result of this victory, all the Silhāra territory was annexed by the Yādavas and an inscription dated 1217 A.D. in the

89 *EC.*, vol. VII, Sk. No. 95.
90 *IA.*, vol. II, p. 297; *S.I.E.A.R.*, 1927-28, App. E, No. 264; 1928-29, Nos. 50-1, 53, 55, 63; 1929-30, App. E, No. 62.
91 *EC.*, vol. VIII, Sb. No. 135. 92 *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, Sb. Nos. 439, 478.
93 *S.I.E.A.R.*, 1920, No. 345; *H.I.S.I.*, p. 133; *I.M.P.* vol, I, Ap. 186; vol. II, Kl. No. 221.
94 *EC.*, vol. II, No. 424. 95 Graham's *Kolhapura*, p. 397, No. 7.
96 *EC.*, vol. VIII, Sb. No. 135; *B.G.*, vol. I, pt, ii, p. 254, f.n. 1.

Panhālā fort indicates that the conquest took place before 1217 A.D.[97]

Singhaṇa appointed his general Vicaṇa to conduct military campaigns in the southern part of his dominions. He was appointed Viceroy over the southern provinces. His father's name was Cikka and had a brother named Malla. Vicaṇa in one of his campaigns defeated[98] and overthrew the Kadamba Sovadeva Tribhuvanamalla[99] of Goa, whose known date is 1218 A.D.[100] The Kadamba principality was also annexed but later on it was restored to the Kadamba Śaṣṭhavarman.[101] The Raṭṭa chieftain Lakṣmīdeva II, who had succeeded his father Kārtavīrya IV in about 1218 A.D.[102] was also defeated by Vicaṇa[103] and the Raṭṭa territory was incorporated in the Yādava dominions. The Guṭṭas, who were ruling in the present Dharwar district of the Bombay Presidency were also defeated, but they were not exterminated and allowed to govern their principality.[104] Vicaṇa also claims to have erected a pillar of victory on the banks of the river Kāveri[105] and relieved Singhaṇa of the anxieties from the southern part of his dominions. Vicaṇa extended the frontier of the Yādava kingdom so that in the south it reached the river Tuṅgabhadrā and to the west it was bounded by the Arabian Sea.

The struggle closed

By the middle of the second decade of the 13th century the Yādava Singhaṇa established his complete supremacy over the Deccan. The Hoyasaḷas, who were the only powerful competitors in the field were driven away. The Hoyasaḷa Ballāla II also realised

97 *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, Sb. No. 135.
98 *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, vol. XV, p. 387, L. 28.
99 *Kadambakula*, pp. 206-7.
100 Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, pt. II, No. 68; *Kadambakula*, p. 206.
101 *IA.*, vol. XIV, p. 288.
102 *B.G.*, vol. I, pt. ii, p. 557.
103 *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, vol. XV, p. 387.
104 *Ibid.*, p. 389.
105 *Ibid.*, p. 387.

that any more fighting on that front was a mere waste of energy. His family had made a hard struggle, but in 1215 A.D. they had not an inch of that territory. This probably cannot be taken as the only reason for the termination of this long-drawn and bitter struggle.

A peep into the history of the southern India gives a more definite and weighty cause. The Coḷa kingship had slowly begun its decline. The Pāṇḍyas of Madurā, their feudatories, had begun to strengthen their position, while the king of Ceylon was waging war with the Coḷas. Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara was followed by Māravaram Sundara Pāṇḍya in 1216 A.D.[106] and the Coḷa Kulottuṅga was succeeded by his son Rājarāja III in the same year.[107] The Pāṇḍyas had sufficiently strengthened their position by this time, while Rājarāja III was an incapable ruler. As suggested by Mr. Nilakantha Shastri, 'old memories of help by Kulottuṅga to Vikrama Pāṇḍya vanished away during the new reigns of Rājarāja III and Sundara Pāṇḍya' and according to "the law of life in those days among Indian kings that he who could not be a hammer had to be an anvil,"[108] Sundara Pāṇḍya became hostile to the Coḷa Rājarāja III. Māravarnam Sundara Pāṇḍya had no obligatory scruples towards the Coḷa Rājarāja III and immediately after his accession, he invaded the Coḷa country. Now began a bitter struggle between the Coḷas and the Pāṇḍyas. The Coḷa empire had clearly begun to show sings of disintegration. The Hoyasaḷas grasped the situation rightly. The policy of expansion towards the north met with an utter failure. The south now afforded a better and lucrative field for expansion. The Coḷas were fighting a defensive game against the Pāṇḍyas, who were very aggressive. If the Coḷas could be helped against the Pāṇḍyas some territory may be gained

106 K.A.N. Shastri—*Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 143; *EI.*, vol. VIII, App. II. p. 24; *S.I.E.A.R.*, 1927, para 41.

107 *EI.*, vol. VII, pp. 9, 174f.

108 *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 146.

for this and the Hoyasaḷas immediately took the side of the Coḷas and they now began their struggle in the south. The Yādava Simhaṇa also did not continue the struggle when the Yādava dominions touched the river Tuṅgabhadrā. He had also better attractions in the north. The Paramāra kingdom of Mālava and the Cauḷukya kingdom of Gujrāt had merged into chaos and became weak. After he had attained his objective in the south, Simhaṇa turned towards the north. The two combatants, the Hoyasaḷas and the Yādavas, in this way began their struggle in different fields and closed their struggle for supremacy in the Deccan.

SANT LAL KATARE

Contributions to the Bhāsa Question

It is a matter of regret that the evidences in Indological studies are still so unreliable that the age of a certain *pièce de literature* cannot be placed even between centuries, still more regrettable is the persistency with which the literary productions in India try to camouflage the age of a specific work. The plays, ascribed in the years of their discovery to the poet Bhāsa, have been enquired into from the linguistic, grammatical and literary points of view but practically with no definite result. The opinion favoured mostly is that *Svapnavāsavadatta* and *Yaugandhārayaṇa* are works from the pen of Bhāsa, and these two dramas, as they are preserved, may be regarded as adapted copies not deviating much from their originals. While for the other plays there seems to exist no sufficient reason to ascribe them to Bhāsa. The main argument advanced against this assumption, consists in the agreements in style and language, repetition of phrases and stanzas. The late Prof. Winternitz tried to show[1] the differences between the plays, the subject of which was borrowed from the *Mahābhārata* with regard to their style, metrics, literary merits, and general character. It seems, however, that also these arguments are more or less the outcome of subjective reasoning. Nobody will or can deny that the *Ūrubhaṅga* is superior in language, using the *kāvya* style, to the other one-act-plays, thus creating a gap between the former and even plays like *Bālacarita, Pañcarātra.*

There exist some possibilities with regard to the claim of originality and adaptation respectively. First, these plays believed to be of high quality, like *Y.*, *Sv.*, *Ū.*, are well written originals, the other plays are not well written, but they are also originals.

1 Bulletin of the Rāma Varma Research Institute, V, 1937, 1ff.

Secondly, as for the hypothesis that the plays are adaptations and compilations, it must be concluded that these supposed adapters and compilers have in some cases maintained (*Y.*, *Sv.*, *Ū.*) the beauty of the original, but not so in all cases; in other words, some plays represent the originals fairly well, but not all. Thirdly, the plays believed to be written by a poet of great literary merits are not adapted, the other plays of less literary value are adapted versions, and even the contrary is possible, *i.e.*, the merits of the better plays are due to able adapters. Thus the view, brought forward by Dr. Sukthankar,[2] that Y., and Sv. are by the same author while the authorship of the rest of the dramas is still quite uncertain, is contradicted by the same scholar's list[3] of common passages, in verse and prose, of longer and shorter extent. The explanation[4] that "the coincidences in formal technique are almost certainly to be explained as due to the activity of adapters" leads to the conclusion that the plays, other than Y., and Sv., may represent originals in some way adapted as Y., and Sv., and that becomes obvious if the conspectus of common passages is arranged not only according to the wording, but according to the relation between the single plays. Not only in different plays occur common places, but also in the very same play the wording is repeated *verbatim* in different places. This feature seems to be in accordance with the assumption that the plays are adaptations by some literateurs whose poetical wealth might have been not great and is responsible for these repetitions. Then, of course, the originality of none of these plays can be maintained. To quote some instances:

Sv., 21, 6f. = 34, 5f.; 43, 10f. = 58, 14f.[5]
Dūtav., 32, 5 = 34, 6f.

2 JBRAS., N.S. I, 1925, 143.
3 ABORS., IV, 1923, 167ff.
4 JBRAS., I, 139.
5 Quotations for convenience according to the *editio princeps*.

Pratim., 11, 1f. = 12, 12f.; 67, 3 = 93, 2; 17, 1 = 102, 7; 12, 2f = 14, 2f.; 63, 17f. = 109, 2f.; 29, 16 = 31, 1.
Cārud., 40, 12f. = 46, 13f.
Pañc., 9, 9 = 42, 20.
Abiṣ., 15, 2 = 56, 6f. 11, 9 = IV, 15.

One could object and explain these repetitions by pointing out that they are merely stereotyped formulas originating from a given situation. This argument, however, loses its weight in view of a case like that in Pratim., 66, 8-11 = 110, 10-13, where a whole verse is repeated, or, in view of Ū., verses 41 and 62:

हृतं मे भीमसेनेन **गदापातकचग्रहे**।
समं ऊरुद्वयेनाद्य गुरोः पादाभिवादनम् ॥
संयुगे पाण्डुपुत्रेण **गदापातकचग्रहे**।
सममूरुद्वयेनाद्य दर्पोऽपि भवतो **हृतः** ॥

Still more the homogeneous wording becomes evident from a conspectus of identical passages in two or more plays:

Avim., 45, 1f. Bālac., 10, 1f.
Abhiṣ., 27, 4f. 71, 15f. Ū., 95, 18/96, 1. 99, 16f./100, 1. 110, 13 Dūtav., 28, 4f. Karṇabh., 72, 8f. Pratim., 91, 9-11. Pañcar., 5, 9-11. Cārud., 8, 1.
Abhiṣ., 23, 10f. Sv., 25, 9. 56, 5 (Sukth., 38).[6]
Prat., 63, 15. 65, 15. Ū., 99, 15. Sv., 1, 12. 2, 6. (46),
Sv., 66, 15. Abhiṣ., 42, 16. (8).
Bālac., 7, 7-10. Cārud., 17, 8-10. (39).
Abhiṣ., 6, 3. Ū., 103, 4. Prat., 17, 9. Bālac., 6, 9. Sv,; 9, 5. (49).
Abhiṣ., 30, 15. 59, 5. Pañcar., 30, 5. 31, 22. 32, 1. Bālac., 58, 1, 11f. (29. 58a).
Abhiṣ., 27, 1f. Pañcar., 24, 8. (20).

6 The numbers in brackets refer to Dr. Sukthankar's numbers in his "List of Recurrences and Parallelisms" in ABORS., IV, 170ff.

Sv., 24, 5f. 28, 5. Avim., 105, 15. Pratim., 5, 2. 58, 1.
Abhiṣ., 66, 5. Prat., 63, 3.
Dūtav., 31, 18. Sv., 7, 9.
Prat., 25, 19. Abhiṣ., 43, 14. (60).
Abhiṣ., 16, 11. Bālac., 8, 2.
Avim., 54, 3. Sv., 56, 8. (40).
Abhiṣ., 62, 3. Ū., 87, 14. 88, 15. (47).
Abhiṣ., 54, 12f. Dūtav., 30, 20 (cf. Bālac., 22, 11).
Pañcar., 39, 12. Bālac., 61, 7. (43).
Pratim., 42, 18f. Abhis., 3, 14f. (124).
Pratim., 86, 6f. Abhiṣ., 10, 11f.
Pratim., 86, 11f. Abhis., 10, 14. } (34)
Dūtagh., 52, 4. Pratim., 58, 2f.
Abhiṣ., 12, 4. Ū., 114, 10. Pratim., 38, 14.
Pratim., 73, 3f. Madhy., 25, 1-3. (45).
Abhiṣ., 26, 3f. Pratim., 90, 8f. cf. Abhiṣ., 52, 3f. (31).
Dūtagh., 69, 8. Pratim., 20, 11. (56).
Prat., 62, 8f. Pratim., 25, 10. 86, 13f. 113, 9f.
Karṇabh., 71, 14. 72, 2. Dūtagh., 49, 14. Pañcar., 23, 9. 45, 3. Pratim., 60, 16-61, 1.
Avim., 107, 5. Ū., 93, 3.
Cārud., 8, 10. Sv., 64, 12. cf. 69, 4. Avim., 83, 1f. (42),
Pañcar., 48, 9. Dūtagh., 66, 1. Prat., 67, 8. 71, 14. (41).
Madhy., 12, 4. 13f. Dūtav., 32, 5. 36, 4f.

Apart from the recurrences of verses or parts of them at the end of the plays,[7] passages of the *sthāpana*[8] or stage directions, the list shows that practically all the plays are interconnected by repetitions[9] of the expressions of some length. Thus it seems unfound-

7 Sukthankar's List, ABORI., IV, 1923, Nos. 1. 2. 5. 6. 17.
8 Ibid., No. 23.
9 Ibid., p. 179ff.

ed to assert any difference between certain plays like Prat., and Sv., and the other plays.

A further argument raised against the authorship of Bhāsa are passages quoted in sources other than dramas of the same title as the printed texts, but missing in the latter. It must, however, be stated that prejudice or subjective reasoning may have influenced the decision. The materials[10] can be classified under these heads:

A references to Bhāsa or works ascribed to Bhāsa in the printed texts

B quotations from his plays which are not found in the published texts

C quotations which occur in the published texts

(a) without being ascribed to Bhāsa or

(b) a play ascribed to Bhāsa or a specific work.

D Uncertain allusions.

A. 1. A reference to Bhāsa ascribed to Rājaśekhara in the Sūktimuktāvali (1)

2. Kālidāsa mentions Bhāsa in Mālavikāgnimitra (3)

3. Features of Bhāsa's works are described in Harṣacarita (5)

4. Bhāsa is called a "friend of fire" in the Gauḍavaha (10)

5. Bhāsa is mentioned along with other poets like Urva, Bhāravi, Bhavabhūti in Somadeva's Yaśastilaka, IV (vol. II, p. 113)

6. A reference to *krīḍā* in Sv., in Abhinavagupta's Commentary on Nāṭyaś., and to a *nāṭaka* Sv.,[11] (13)

10 Collected in C. R. Devadhar's edition of the Bhāsanāṭakacakra. Plays ascribed to Bhāsa (Poona Oriental Series—No. 54), Poona 1937, Appendix C, pp. 573-577 to the numbers of this list mention the numbers given above in brackets. On the verses ascribed to Bhāsa in Anthologies see App. D, pp. 578-580. These verses are not considered here.

11 Ed. GOS. 36, p. 39, I, 106 (?), p. 87 respectively. For an explanation of the word *krīdā* cf. a forthcoming paper of the late Prof. Winternitz in the Woolner Comm. Volume.

7. A reference to the *artha-* and *kāmaśṛṅgāra* in the Ṭīkāsarvasva of Sarvānanda.[12] (18)
8. The same reference, nearly *verbatim,* is found in the Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa (ed. Dillon, p. 117, lines 2826ff.), but Sv., is not mentioned there . (21)
9. An identical verse, occuring twice in Kaumudīmahotsava,[13] II, 15 and V, 9, mentions the hero Avimāraka and the heroine Kuraṅgī, but refers perhaps only to the story, and not to the play Avimāraka. (24)
10. Commentary on Śākuntala, attributed to the 14th century A.D.,[14] says that the Sūtradhāra in the play Cārudatta uses Prākṛt, a fact found in the edition of this play. (25)
11. The Nāṭyadarpaṇa (p. 53) mentions a play Darida Cārudatta.

B. 1. A verse quoted by Abhinavagupta from a work of the "great poet Bhāsa" in his Commentary on Nāṭyaśāstra (ed. GOS. No. 36) p. 320. The verse is defective in its first *pāda* and seems to refer to a play the plot of which is the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa; the verse contains the prediction of Rāma's revenge. Such a verse could have had its place in Pratim., VI, 16 where Bharata is mobilizing all his forces to help Rāma as well as in Abhiṣ., II, 15 where Hanūmat gets enraged against Rāvaṇa.[15] (11)
2. A passage, occurring in Abhinavagupta's Commentary on Nāṭyaśāstra, p. 251, seems to quote a poet Hāsa, for which Bhāsa has been proposed as an alternative reading by the

12 No edition of this Commentary on Amarakośa is at my disposal; Devadhar quotes under No. 18 from p. 147, under No. 21 the same passage from the Nāṭakalakṣ.

13 Ed. Dakshina-Bharati Sanskrit Series, 4, Madras 1929.

14 IHQ., V, 1929, 726.

15 Less probable is the passage in Abhiṣ., III, 21, as Hanūmat here is addressing Rāvaṇa directly.

Editor,[16] and a verse of his "in some nāṭaka."[17] This is quite uncertain.

3. The verse, quoted by Abhinavagupta on Dhvanyāloka, III, 14, is not found in Sv., but could have stood before V, 7 in Sv. This verse shows some similar expressions: *niṣkrāman, dvārapakṣeṇa, tāḍitaḥ* correspond to the words of the quoted verse: *praviṣṭa, sañcitapakṣmakapāṭam nayanadvāram, svarupaṭāḍanena udghāṭya.*[18] (18)
4. The verse *mṛteti* etc. in Kāvyādarśa, II, 230 and Bhojadeva's Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa refers to a scene like that in Sv., V where Udayana meets Vāsavadattā, but it is not stated that the verse is taken from Sv., though it would fit in the episode. (14)
5. The verse quoted in Nāṭyadarpaṇa from Sv., (GOS. No. 48, p. 84) is not found in the printed text, but fits in the surroundings of Sv., IV.[19] Both *śilātala* and *sephalikā*-blossoms have been mentioned in the dialogue between Padmāvatī and her maid already, and by the Vidūṣaka addressing king Udayana.[20] (22).

16 This reading has been accepted by P. V. Kane, Pathak Comm. Vol., 394.

17 The verse runs:

दिवं याताश्चित्तज्वरेण कलिरित एवाभिवर्तते अशक्यमस्य पुरतोऽवस्थातुम् ।

18 The common picture to both the passages is the *hṛdayagṛha*, not the door of the *samudragṛhaka*, as the late Gaṇapati Śāstri explained in his Commentary; the latter building had hardly any doors. For the beginning of the verse see F.W. Thomas, JRAS., 1925, 100ff.

19 See Sukthankar, JBRAS., N.S. I, 1925, 136f.

20 A similar incident with the contrary conclusion is found in Sv., V, after verse 3; when the Vidūṣaka observes that Padmāvatī must have been in the *samudragṛhaka* and left, the king answers she cannot have been there and explains the reason for this surmise by the verse V, 4:

शय्या नावनता तथास्तृतसमा न व्याकुलप्रच्छदा
न क्लिष्टं हि शिरोपधानममलं शीर्षाभिघातौषधैः ॥

6. In the Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa a verse is quoted (p. 41, line 970/2) from Cārudatta:

   शुष्कद्रुमगतो रौति ? आदित्याभिमुखं स्थितः ।
   कथयत्यनिमित्तं मे वायसो ज्ञानपण्डितः ।

   The contents of this verse appear in the monologue of Cārudatta in the 9th Act of Mṛcchak. in a more detailed description of bad omens accompanying him on his way to the court. The second of the verses there (IX, 11) runs:

   शुष्कवृक्षस्थितो ध्वांक्ष आदित्याभिमुखस्तथा ।
   मयि चोद्यते वामं चक्षुर्घोरमसंशयम् ॥

   The words *vāyasa, animittam* and *mama* are found in the preceding verse (IX, 10) in Mṛcchak.:

   रुक्षस्वरं वाशति वायसोऽयमात्यभृत्यो मुहुराह्वयन्ति ।
   स्वयं च नेत्र स्फुरति प्रसह्य ममानिमित्तानि हि खेदयन्ति ।

   It is nowhere said that the verse belongs to Bhāsa, but it is quoted from a play Cārudatta which, as the printed text of this drama shows, is somehow connected with Mṛcchak. The contents of the verse have to be derived from a general belief in omens like those in Bṛhatsaṃhitā, 95 (*vāyasaruta*) where verses as 2, 19, 38 express similar views about the bad omen of a crow sitting on a dry tree or facing the sun. The verse, however, points to the conclusion that a play Cārudatta existed, of which the edited text would represent a torso only, as Sāgaranandin in other places refers to the Mṛcchak. or to acts 5 and 8 of the same play under special names like Durdināṅka and Motakāṅka (p. 118, lines 2857 ff.; p. 130, lines 3122 ff.; 3130 f.). But Bhāsa is not mentioned as the author. (23)

7. A verse quoted by Somadeva in his Yaśastilaka, V (II, p. 251) under the name of the *mahākavi Bhāsa* is found in a

slightly different version in the Mattavilāsa (p. 7, lines 3ff.). Whether this quotation, attributed to Bhāsa, has anything to do with the poet and does not merely range with the alleged quotations of his in Anthologies cannot be decided.

C. a 1. The verse in Prat., IV, 3 which occurs in Kauṭ., Arthaś., X, 3, 150-52 and the last *pāda* of which is quoted in Vāmana's Kāvyāl., V, 2, 28, might have been so famous that it formed a common-place; neither the authorship of Bhāsa is stated nor is the source, while the Nayacandrikā (p. 180) ascribes the verse to a Manunīti (2 and 7)

2. The verse Bālac., I, 15 and Cārud., I, 19, quoted by Daṇḍin, Kāvyād., II, 226 and found again in Mṛcchak., I, 34, seems to be of a general character and is so well known that no author had to be stated. At least neither Bhāsa nor a play of his is mentioned in connection with this verse. (6)

3. In Bhojadeva's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa XII the scene is described as found in Sv., V and takes place in the *samudra-gṛhaka*. (16)

4. Vāmana quotes without stating his source in Kāvyāl., V 1, 3 a verse found in Cārud., I, 2 in a slightly different version which, however, is nearer to Cārud., than to Mṛcchak., I, 9.[21] (8)

5. Vāmana quotes in the same work IV 3, 25 again without indicating the author the verse found in Sv., IV, 7. (9)

6. Śaradātanaya does not mention Bhāsa in his quotation, Bhāvaprakāśa, VIII (GOS. No. 45, p. 239), referring to the incident in Sv., how the king recognizes a peculiar ornament on Padmāvatī's forehead which induces him to

21 Cf. Morgenstierne, Ueber das Verh. zwischen Cārud. und Mṛchak., 12.

believe that Vāsavadattā is still alive. The explanation must be that only Vāsavadattā could have done this ornament, a similar scene is found in Kathāsarits., III., 16, 31ff. 70. 101-103. This scene could have had its place in the last scene of Act IV in Sv., where Uḍayana meets Padmāvatī; in IV, 5 the king agrees with Vasantaka's words that Vāsavadattā is no more. (17)

7. In the Bhāvaprakāśa (p. 239) the author quotes from Sv., the words: *ehi Vāsavadatte; kva kva yāsi?*, a passage which is not found in the printed text, though it corresponds to the prose before Sv., V, 7: *Vāsavadatte, tiṣṭha tiṣṭha, hā dhik.* It is, therefore, possible that Śaradātanaya has not quoted *verbatim;* as both versions have eleven syllables, but that in Bhāvaprakaśa fits in the Śloka, it may be that *metri causa* its author has changed the wording; or, the quotation is taken from another source or version of Sv., (17)

8. Sāgaranandin quotes in the Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa (p. 51, lines 1203 ff.) from Sv., the words of the Sūtradhāra after he has heard behind the scene shoutings for help, in a different, more detailed wording than found in the printed text. (20)

C. b 1. Sāgaranandin quotes from Sv., the verse VI, 3. (17)

2. The Commentary on Śākuntala[22] gives the contents of the beginning of Cārudatta where the Sūtradhāra on account of the wish of the Naṭī who likes to have a meal after her fast, looks for some Brāhmaṇa to invite him and seeing Cārudatta's friend Maitreya approaches and invites him. This is in accordance with the *sthāpanā* of the published text; the Naṭī has undertaken a vow, called *abhirūpapati,*

22 IHQ., V, 726.

and wants a Brāhmaṇa who is fit for a meal with people like her, i.e. who is poor, to be invited. The Sūtradhāra is looking for a poor Brāhmaṇa (*dariddabahmaṇa*) and meeting Maitreya invites him for dinner. His words: *nimantido si, āmantaṇassa mā daridda tti maṃ avamaṇṇahi* are reflected in the Commentary's āṃantraṇanimantraṇārtham, i.e., for addressing and invitation.

3. The same Commentary[23] quotes the verse 2 from Dūtagh., attributing it to the Sūtradhāra in the *sthāpanā;* the author is not stated.

4. The Commentary[24] quotes the words of the Sūtradhāra from Sv.

D. As uncertain allusions must be considered the following:

1. The verse in Bhāmaha's Kāvyāl., IV, 40ff. seems to contain a reminiscence of Prat. I, prose after verse 8, but no reference is given nor is it certain that the Sanskrit verse has anything to do with the Prākṛt prose-passage. (4)
2. The verse in Bhojadeva's Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa, V, 411 has nothing to do with the plays ascribed to Bhāsa. (15)
3. The reference in Sarvānanda's Ṭīkāsarvasva (on Amarakośa, p. 305): *kūṇaṃ bāhuyugam iti Bhāsakaviḥ* is in this form not quite intelligible, as in Amarakośa *kūṇa* does not occur and Bhāsa could not have explained like a lexicographer a word by a synonym. (19)

The conclusions arrived at by these references are:

1. A poet Bhāsa is known since Kālidāsa (A. 1. 2. B.1 [2 doubtful]. 5. D. 3.)
2. His works are known since Bāṇa (A. 3. 4), *expressis verbis* ascribed to him is Svapnavāsavadattā (B. 3)
3. Among the works which have been published the t i t l e

23 IHQ., V, 727.

24 Ibidem.

of the following plays, without giving the name of the author, are mentioned in the sources:

Sv., (A. 5. 6. 7[?]. B. 5. [see under] C. a [7, 8. b 1.4]

Cārud. (Daridra°) (A. 9. 10. B. 6)

Dūtagh., (C. b 3); cf. below.

Avimāraka and Kuraṅgī may refer to a play Avim. (A. 8).

Avim., is referred to along with the titles Pañcar., and

Bālac.[26] in the Commentary on Sākuntala, without the author's name.

4. Some verses are quoted which are not found in the printed texts (B. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6, C. a 7, 8) but are not entirely out of place; a scene is referred to, also not found in the present text of Sv., (C. a 6)
5. References to characteristics of the plays, contents, and quotations of prose passages and verses are in agreement with the respective passages in the printed (A. 5. 6. 7. C. a 3. 4. b 1. 2. 3. 4).
6. From the quotations in the Śākuntala-Commentary can be concluded that there existed a play Cārudatta which comprised more acts than the printed text has preserved. (B. 6).
7. From the quotation in Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa is to be seen that there existed a version of Sv., with a different *sthāpanā* at least. (C. a 4 but cf. C. b 4). To a more extensive text of Sv., point also the quotations not contained in the printed

25 IHQ., 725.

26 There exists, however a play Bālacarita dealing with the story of the Rāmāyaṇa, mentioned in Sāhityadarpaṇa, VI, 35; the same verse in Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇaratnakośa, p. 26, lines 611-13, but further quotations p. 23f., lines 540 ff.; p. 32, lines 751-53.

text. (B. 3. 4. 5., C. a 5. 7). Finally a scene missing in the published version (C. a 6).

That the printed texts are not the only existing versions of the plays is to be seen further from the statement in the Śākuntala-Commentary (p. 726) according to which the Sūtradhāra appears in one-act plays like Dūtagh., without an antagonist like a *naṭa,* etc., but also in plays comprising more than a single act as in Kalyāṇa-saugandhika,[27] in Pañcar., and this play is not considered to be a *nāṭaka,*[28] in Bālacarīta. The Commentary refers to the *sthāpanā* in Bālac., and Sv., and to Avimāraka, in the latter, however, the dialogue between the Sūtradhāra and Naṭī is called *āmukha,* as in the play Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa,[29] which does not correspond to the printed text. The circumstance that with two exceptions (B. 1. 5) the author Bhāsa is not connected with the quotations or plays does not speak against his authorship as the same attitude has been taken and had to be asserted for other authors too, as the Commentary on Śākuntala does not give the name of the author in connection with his quotations, and so does the Nāṭayalakṣaṇaratnakośa too. Lastly, the published texts cannot be taken as the only existing versions.

It has to be borne in mind that the editions are based on a few manuscripts and further finds of them may lead to more complete texts. But even with the material at disposal it can be shown that the existing editions offer some verses missing in the *editio princeps.* Thus Pañcar., (ed. 1917), I contains 57 verses against 55 verses of the first edition (1912), verses 13 and 14 are new. In Act II of the same play verse 57 reads in the 2nd edition *yotra-*

27 Cf. IHQ., V, 726, note 2, where reference is made to the edition of the play by Dr. Barnett in BSOS., III, 33ff. and to a (not yet published) re-edition by Mr. V. Venkataram Sharma; this play, however, contains only a single act. This points again to a different version of this play also!

28 It is a *samavakāra.*

29 Published in TSS., XI.

yitvā against *tulayitvā* of the first edition. Verse 72 of the 2nd edition is new. Whether Prat., IV in the prose portion at the beginning an Āryā is hidden, is doubtful; it would not change the text. In Madhy., (ed. Devadhar) verse 50 is not found in the previous editions:

अज्ञानात् तु मया पूर्वं यद् भवान् नाभिवादितः ।
अस्य पुत्रापराधस्य प्रसादं कर्तुमर्हसि ॥

It is doubtful whether this verse is necessary as its second line expresses the same contents as the following prose: *putracāpalaṃ kṣantum arhasi,* and as uncertain is whether the verse, is not modelled in accordance with the prose or *vice-versa,* though the prose fits closer in with the admonition of Hiḍimbā: *abhivādehi piḍaram...ahaṃ sa ...abhivādaye.* Moreover, Ghaṭotkaca was under the conditions of his meeting the father unable to salute him, still less in the manner appropriate for a son towards a father; in the prose version, therefore, Ghaṭotkaca does not beg his father's pardon for not having saluted him, only for his rashness, and now, at his mother's admonition he salutes his father. This passage is too insignificant to allow conclusions; nevertheless, it shows the incompleteness of the manuscripts, the unreliability of the editions, and gives some insight into the relation of prose and verse, the fabrication of which was so easy.

Unsatisfactory as the result may be, in the present stage of knowledge no more can be asserted. It seems, however, that there exists a possibility to ascertain from the cultural data the standard of life, religion, state organization, science, etc. By comparison with the corresponding conditions in other sources which can be dated definitely or approximately, an upper limit for the age of the plays, an indication even of their genuineness—with regard to the hypothesis of their adaptation in circles of actors—could be arrived at.

One of the most striking features in the plays is the *pratimāgṛha,* after which the *Pratimānāṭaka* got its name. The *pratimāgṛha* is a temple-like special building, containing a central hall (*garbha-*

gṛha). In this central hall there are nest pigeons, as to-day in the Gopuras of South-Indian temples. The outer walls are marked with *pañcāṅgulas* of whitewash mixed with sandal; the doors are festooned with garlands of flowers, fresh sand is strewn on the floor, in front of the building, flowers and fried grains before the entrance indicate an oblation by pious hands. While other temples have as an external sign emblems like weapons and banners, this building has nothing of this kind. The statues within the hall are made of stone. A *devakulika* is in charge of the *pratimāgṛha*, a priest. These statues represent deceased kings, but of a king during his lifetime no statue is made.

The custom to imprint the hand with five fingers spread upwards is known from the Buddhist literature in Pāli and "mixed Sanskrit;"[30] in Brāhmaṇical literature the custom is mentioned in Mṛcchak., X, 4; Kādambarī, 224; 16; the term occurs in Harṣac., (ed. Fuehrer) 92, 2; 201, 3f.; Vāsavadattā, (ed. Hall) 183, 3;[31] in Somadeva's Yaśastilaka, I, p. 49, 1; 490, 4; it is known from the basement of a Stūpa- and *caṅkrama*- relief of Barhut.[32] New, as it seems, is the cult of ancestors by erecting statues of them. The fact that the statues are executed in stone refers to a time which cannot be much earlier than the beginning of the Christian era.[33] In the Nānāghāṭ cave inscriptions the names of members of the Andhra dynasty are mentioned above the position of heads of what were

30 Cf. PTS., Dictionary s.v. Part V, p. 11 and the material collected by Vogel, Verslagen en Mededeelingen d. K. Akademie van Wetenschappen, Aft. Letterkunde, R. V, D. 4, 1920, 218ff.

31 Śivarāma's Darpaṇa gives the vernacular word *cuṭaka* and says at festivals they paint the walls for *ātarpaṇa*.

32 Vogel 222f. and Plate.

33 Coomaraswamy, Gesch. d. ind. Kunst 47 refers to the wooden image of Ketu mentioned in the Khāravela Inscription of the Hāthigumphā as to the earliest human image. No passage of this sense is found in the inscription, as the corrected reading of line 11, against JBORS., VI, 155f. 337ff., has been established by Sten Konow, Acta Or., I, 22 and accepted in Ep. Ind., XX, 79.

relievo figures now entirely destroyed,[34] of the king Simuka-Sātavāhana Sirimat, of the queen Nāganikā, of king Siri-Sātakani, of prince Bhāga, of the prince Hakusiri, and of the prince Sātavāhana. Here are no ancestors represented, as the father of the queen Nāganikā, the *mahārathi* Tranakayira is found among the names, and contemporary personages, apart from the fact that these figures are no statues and not erected in a special building. Historical personages, however, are represented in large statues found in the mound Tokrī Ṭilā near the village Māṭ, nine miles north of Mathurā, the inscriptions on which disclose them as Kaniṣka;[35] in the inscription on the pedestal of the second statue of Vima who is titled as *mahārāja rājātirājo Devaputro Kuṣāṇaputro Ṣahi Vema Takṣama*, a *bakanapati Huma...kṣa* mentions to have erected a *devakula*, garden (*ārāma*), tank (*puṣkariṇī*), and well (*udāpāna*).[36] Prof. Vogel has found the remains of the foundation walls and plinth of a building made of large bricks; about the centre of the building the main body of the statue, the head of which is missing, was discovered. Near the seated statue of Vima the standing statue of Kaniṣka was found inside the building. Close by, an inscribed pedestal of another statue was recovered. This inscription[37] mentions that a *bakanapati* Śaukra, son of the *mahādaṇḍanāyaka Maṣa*, ordered for the increase of the life and strength of the *mahārāja rājātirāja Devaputra Huviṣka*, the *devakula* of the grand-father of Huviṣka to be repaired which was in ruins. Lastly, in the same temple the statue

34 Lüders=List Nos. 1113-1118; Smith, ZDMG., 56, 653f. quotes the late Bhagavan Lāl Indraji, JBRAS., XIII, 311, on the custom of Jains and Nepalese Buddhists to have the figures of members of their families carved in their temples known by the name of Sālika. The order: father, mother, himself, wife, brothers, sons, etc., nearly agrees with the order in the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions.

35 Vogel, Verslagen en Meded., R. IV, D. 12, 1913, 272ff., recently La sculpture de Mathura, 21f., Pls. I-III.

36 For the reading cf. AR., ASI., 1911/12, 120ff.; Vogel, Versl. 297; Jayaswal, JBORS., VI, 1920, 12ff.

37 Daya Ram Sahni, JRAS., 1924, 401ff.

of Caṣṭana has been found.[38] Thus the *devakula* of the Kuṣāṇa rulers seems to have contained statues of Vima, Kaniṣka, and Huviṣka erected or repaired by a *bakanapati,* besides the statue of Caṣṭana the identity of which has not been established as yet with certainty. The term *devakula* appears in a Śārada inscription from Hund[39a] which record written in a barbaric Sanskrit mentions that the queen Śrīkāmeśvarīdevī has caused to be erected something (*satka*) in a *devakula;* the name of the architect and of the scribe of the inscription are given, further, the time within which the building was constructed (168-169, probably of the Harṣa era, i.e. 774-775 A.D.), but no clue as for the character of the *devakula* itself is found therein.

The Moṛā well inscription[39] mentions the erection of the *pratimā* of five heroes (*pañca vīrāṇāṃ pratimā*) by a Bhagavat Vṛṣṇa in the time of the Mahākṣatrapa Rājūvula's son, the name of which is not preserved; these five vīras are hardly ancestors of a ruling dynasty.[40] Reliefs of two kings of the Pallava dynasty, of Mahendravarman I and of his son Narasiṃhavarman Siṃhaviṣṇu I, each of these rulers accompanied by two queens, have been executed and labelled with inscriptions in the rock-cut temple of Ādivarāha-Perumāḷ at Mahābalipuram which may belong to the time of Parameśvaravarman I,[41] i.e. end of the 7th century A.D.[42] Though these kings are grand-father and father of Parameśvaravarman, the reliefs cannot be called ancestor-statues as also their two queens represented, as the reliefs are found, in a temple dedicated to Viṣṇu-Ādivarāha. In the temple at Tiruvañcikulam, a suburb of

38 Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, JBORS., VI, 1920, 51ff.

39a Edited by Rai Br. Daya Ram Sahni, *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, 97f.

39 Vogel, Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura, 184.

40 Sir John Marshall, JRAS., 1912, 120 believes this expression of heroes to refer to the five Pāṇḍavas.

41 R.B. H. Krishna Sastri, Memoirs ASI., No. 26, 1926.

42 See Ep., Ind., XIX, 112.

Cranganore the statue of Bhāskara Ravivarman is set up and worshipped.[43] It has been objected that such a statue cannot be compared with those of the *pratimāgṛha*.[44] This is true, as there exists a difference within the locality, a Śaiva temple, containing the statue of one ruler and his consort, on one hand, and a special building containing the statues of all male ancestors of the visiting prince, on the other hand. The custom to install statues of deceased kings in temples is known from South India and countries with Indian culture. Into the 17th century leads the statue of king Tirumal (1623-1659), a Nāyak of Madura, who for the reception of the presiding deity of the place built the Vasanta or Pudo Maṇḍapa (New Hall) the erection of which took more than twenty years (1623-1645). His statue is found in front of the great (eastern) Gopura of the Sundareśvara temple, Madura.[45] The hall has four rows of pillars, and at each side of the central corridor are five pillars representing ten of the Nāyak's dynasty; Tirumalla is distinguished by having a canopy above his statue and two figures at his back, the figure at the left is his consort, a princess of Tanjore.[46] Thus it seems that in later times statues of kings, accompanied by their consorts, and ancestors were erected in temples of deities. This custom of erecting the statues in temples seems to be connected with and based upon a conception according to which the deceased

43 A. K. Pisharoti and K. R. Pisharoti, BSOS., III, 108, n. 2. Cf. Menon, History of Kerala, I, 309.

44 T. Gaṇapati Sastri, ibid., 629f.

45 Fergusson-Burgess, History of Indian Archit., I, 386ff. with plans and a photograph of the building. For the reign of the Nāyak see R. Sathyamatha Aiyar, History of the Nayaks of Madura, Madras, 1924, 110ff.

46 Jouveau-Dubreuil, Archeologie du Sud de l' Inde (Annales du Musée Guimet 26) I, 147ff.; photograph of the entrance and interior of the "Tirumalla-choultri" Pl. XLVI, XLVII A, of the statues Pl. XLVII B. Sewell, List of Antiquarian Remains in the Madras Presidency I, 292.—On horseback is the figure of Āryanātha, the Madaliyar, the prominent general of Viśvanātha who erected the thousand pillar Maṇḍapa in the shrine dedicated to Sabhāpati.

king becomes deified after his decease and identified with the deity of the temple.

Such a custom can be traced in Kamboja from the 9th century to the 12th century A.D.[47] Not only deceased rulers, their ancestors, even living kings, erecting their own statues, were worshipped, or their consorts, or nobles who had sacrificed their life for the king, were honoured in this way; the identification of the royalty with the god, *kamrateñ jagat ta rājya,* the god is the kingship, led to the cult of deification of the king in the form of idols, Liṅgas, statues of Viṣṇu, Buddha, and Bodhisattvas, according to the often tolerant faith of the dynasty. Besides the temples of Bako and Lolei, the Bayon in Ankor Thom represent Hindu deities, Buddha and tutelary deities the majority of which were deified men in two forms: as portraits and as deities the names of which they had received posthumously, thus forming a real gallery of historical portraits and a national pantheon.[48] The same custom prevailed in Java for which the best example is the statue of king Erlangga (1010-1042), worshipped as Viṣṇu at Belahan, erected in 1043[49] besides other kings.[50] In Campā the kings associated their names with Liṅgas or

47 G. Cœdès, Bulletin de la Commission archéologique de l' Indo-Chine 1911, 38ff.; 1913, 89f.; B. R. Chatterji, Indian Cultural Influences in Cambodia, Calcutta 1928, 93ff., 243ff.

48 Coomaraswamy, l.c. 213f.

49 Coomaraswamy, ibid., 209, Fig. 360.

50 Chatterji, l.c. 245. For the Javanese and Balanese custom of installing the image of a deceased king in a temple as a god of which the royal personage was considered to be an incarnation, see Stutterheim, JAOS., 51, 1931, 1ff. The author is not right in declaring (p. 4) "that in India there has never been found any statue of a deceased king in the guise of a god which was worshipped." On the divinity of kings cf. Hopkins, ibid., 309ff.

51 R. C. Majumdar, Champa (Punjab Oriental Series 16), Lahore 1927, 184ff.

52 Ep., Ind., XIV, 283, lines 20f. Rāchamalla I, in the time of Rāchamalla II, Śaka 1103=1181 A.D. A Liṅga was adored probably in the Bayon under the the title of *kamraten jagat ta rāja* or *devarāja.* On the Liṅga in this meaning cf.

gods, kings and nobles associated the names of their relatives with the gods of temples founded by them, according to inscriptions from the 5th to the 13th century A.D.; they identified or associated themselves with the gods by adding their names to that of the god, and also at times by making the image of the god resemble their own.[51] There are instances of identification of deceased rulers with gods in India also, though statues of the king-god are not used, but they occur in the form of Liṅgas;[52] other instances are met in the time of the Candella king Pṛthvīdeva, and two queens of the Cālukya king Vikramāditya II, Lokamahādevī and Trailokyamahādevī, installed images of Śiva called Lokeśvara and Trailokyeśvara respectively; the Rājataraṅgiṇī furnishes instances where temples were dedicated to gods named after their founder.[53] In the year 1274 king Narasīhapati of Pagān finished the Mengala-dzedi (Maṅgalacaitya) where besides holy relics, golden images of the disciples of the Buddha, golden models of the holy places, golden images of the king's fifty-one predecessors in Pagān and of the king and his family were deposited.[54] The custom to instal Liṅgas of deceased Gurus called according to their names in a *guru(v)āyatana* perhaps with the portraits of the deceased is testified by a Mathurā inscription of the year 380 A.D.[55]

Bosch, Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde uitg. d. het K. Bataviaasch Genootschap LXIV, 1924, 236ff., who establishes a trinity of ruler, Liṅga and priest the latter being the Purohita of the king and high-priest of the *devarāja* in Kamboja; the author believes that the texts refer to an "original" Liṅga in Southern India (p. 278ff.). Majumdar, 186; Elliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, III, 116; Ep. Ind., III, 1ff.

53 Majumdar, 186; Elliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, III, 116; Ep. Ind., III, 1ff.

54 Marco Polo, 3rd. ed., by Yule-Cordier, II, 114; for the date of the king, the 13th century, cf. vol. III, 87f.

55 Ep. Ind., XXI, 1 ff. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar believes (pp. 4f.) the *gurvāyatana* adverted to in the inscription to resemble the *pratimāgṛha*, but in the latter are to be found statues of the ancestors, in the former portraits or Liṅgas only, a carving of an ascetic, perhaps representing Lakulīśa, is found on the pilaster, and a trident; one would expect the portraits of the teachers mentioned in the inscription

The fact should not be overlooked that, though there exists a similarity of ancestor-worship, the *pratimāgṛha* is a special building with statues of deceased rulers, even if the mythological character has to be taken into consideration. This institution of a special hall in a temple without any identification of the ancestors with deities is referred to in Haribhadra's Nemināhacariu.[56] Pṛthivīpāla erected in Vimala's temple a Maṇḍapa in which the statues of seven of his ancestors were represented riding on elephants. The hall and the elephants are still to be seen in the *hāthi khānā* or elephant room of the Dilwārā temple at Mount Abu; but there are only nine elephants of white marble, the figures of which have been explained to represent Seth Vimala (who had built in 1031 the Vimala vasati under Bhīma 1022-64), and his family going in procession to the temple; they are destroyed and an equestrian statue of Vimala of stucco and painted has been placed in the doorway. The names of nine of the riders are carved on their seats, six are dated in 1149, and three in 1180. Rāṇā Kumbha (1433-68) erected, as Tod[57] relates, a citadel on a peak of Abu, within the fortress of the ancient Praṃara; in a rude temple the bronze effigies of Kūmbha and his father Mokal (1397-1413) received divine honours. It is well known that in Rājputana States the *chattris* or "umbrellas" are erected, of kings, of illustrious dead people and more specially of those who fell in battle. Royal cemeteries, sometimes containing the statues of the deceased, are set apart at one place, as at Jaipur, Jodhpur and Udaipur; in Bikaner the place containing the royal *chattris* is called *devagaḍh* where statues of all the Bikaner rulers are found, from the fourth downwards, being worshipped every day and food being offered to

56 H. Jacobi, Sanatkumāracaritam, ein Abschnitt aus Haribhadras Nemināthacaritam (Abhandl. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wissensch., Philos.—philolog. u. hist. Kl. XXXI, 4, 1921) XIf. For a description of the temples see Fergusson-Burgess, History, II, 36f.

57 Tod, Annals (ed. Crooke, London 1920) I, 336.

them.[58] But the *pratimāgṛha* is not a cemetery, nor are there *chattris*. Statues of ancestors, however, are found at Mandor, the former capital of Marwar, 5 miles north of Jodhpur, where, besides some deities the ancestor-statues are cut out of the rock, but entirely detached from it, with their horses, weapons, all painted.[59] "Another saloon, of similar architecture and still greater dimensions, adjoins that just described; it is termed *Taintis kula devata ra than*, or 'abode of the (tutelary) divinities of the thirty-three races': in short, the Pantheon of the Rajputs."[60] In a cave in the ground where the statues are installed, there is an altar sanctified by the name of Nahar Rao; a Nai, or barber, performs worship to the manes of this Rajput, while the ancestor-statues seem to be under the care of a priest.

The archæological instances prove the existence of a custom to erect statues of ancestors and sometimes of their worship. The most fitting parallel to the *pratimāgṛha* dates from the time of the Kusāṇas, but the customs prevailed till Rājput times in a modified way.[61] The literary references not so numerous are still not insignificant. To mention first a less important passage: in Dharmacandra's Malayasundarīkathoddhāra, a Jaina work of the 14th century, the story is told how king Śatabala, instructed by the nun

58 Mm. Haraprasad Shastri, JBORS., V, 1919, 559; cf. Tod, Annals, I, 325 on Raghudeva: "His image is on every hearth, and is daily worshipped with the Penates. Twice in the year his altars receive public homage from every Sesodia, from the Rana to the serf." Further see II, 678 on the worship of the ancestorial manes by the Rāṇā in the cemetary at Ara (Udaipur), the cenotaphs of which are described II, 912f.

59 A description and reproductions of all the figures are given in Tod, Annals, II, 842ff.

60 Tod, ibid., 844; this pantheon is more correctly called *tetis karor devatan sthān* "the abode of the 330 millions of gods."

61 The date of the Mandor statues seems to be unknown.—Newspapers brought not long ago a notice that Sardar Chandroji Rao Angre who is in charge of the Foreign and Political Portfolio, Gwalior intends to erect an imposing statue in memory of his ancestor and founder of the Angre family, Kanoji Angre, on the Kasa Rock, Bombay harbour.

Malayasundarī comes to know that his father has attained *mukti;* he orders a temple to be erected in the place where his father has attained *mukti,* and an image of his father to be installed.[62] More important is the passage in the drama Kundamālā, Act I; Sītā, who after her return from Laṅkā is led into a forest on the Ganges by Lakṣmaṇa and informed that she has been exiled on account of her residence in Rāvaṇa's palace, she asks her husband's brother taking leave from him to salute Ayodhyā and to wait upon the king who is embodied in a statue (*sussūsidavvo paṭimāgado mahārāo*).[63] This points to a statue of Daśaratha; Sītā who did not know personally the other ancestors had no reason to mention them, except her father-in-law. It is curious that Bharata in the Pratim. is not acquainted with the custom of erecting statues of the deceased rulers; the explanation that he lived since his childhood in his uncle's house (Act III), practically as an exile (Act VI, dialogue between Bharata and Kaikeyī), is not quite convincing as the young prince could have learnt even there something about the custom observed in his family; but from the dramatic point of view the author of the play had to eliminate such a knowledge of the prince whose surprise at his return is as great as the reader's impression of this scene. In Varāhamihira's

62 According to the German translation by Hertel, Indische Märchen, 267. The devakula in Mṛcchak. II, is an empty temple in which the Saṃvāhaka tries to pose as a *pratimā,* an idol of a deity; Māthura and his partner discuss the question whether the statue is of wood or of stone.

63 Ed. by Jai Chandra Shastri and translated by Veda Vyasa and S. D. Bhanot, Lahore 1932, p. 36; cf. p. 10 of the translation and p. 14 of the Notes. In the edition of the Dakshina-Bharati Series No. 2 by M. Ramakrishna Kavi and S. K. Ramanatha Sastri p. 10. The date of the drama the author of which is supposed to be Diṅnāga, in the Mysore Ms., Dhīranāga in the Tanjore Ms., is dated by the former Editors in the 5th century A.D. For a discussion on this passage which indicates nothing more than stated above in the text, cf. ABORI., IX, 333f.; X, 155; 157; XII, 97f; on the date Woolner, ibid., XV, 236ff.; S. K. De, XVI, 158. The expression *pratimāgata* is found in connection with the Ayodhyādevatā which were worshipped in the prescribed temples (*praśastāyatanārcitāḥ*) in Raghuv., XVII, 36. It would go too far to see in this passage a hint to the *pratimāgṛha.*

Bṛhats., 58, 3 the size of a statue (*pratimā*) of Rāma is prescribed: *Daśarathatanayo Rāmo baliś ca Vairocaniḥ śataṃ viṃśam* i.e. the statue of Daśaratha's son Rāma and that of Bali, Virocana's son, should be 120 *aṅgulas* in height. Though Rāma's shrine has to be built in the South-eastern corner of a Viṣṇu temple,[64] thus indicating Rāma as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, there existed sculptures and bronzes of Rāma, of Sītā, and of Lakṣmaṇa.[65] The identification of Rāma and Viṣṇu caused the similarity of their representation.[66] The Śilpaśāstras do not mention the statues of Rāma's ancestors as they are not understood as deities the abodes of which belong to the topics of this discipline; the term *pratimāgāra, pratimāmaṇḍapa* occurs in Mānasāra, 34, 24, 27f; a kind of pavilions, where the idol of a god is to be installed. In 34, 24, however, this pavilion (*pratimāgāra*)[67] is mentioned as the fourth among seven pavilions to be erected in front of a *prāsāda,* as the fifth the *sthāpanamaṇḍapa* is prescribed which is again a room for installing the idol of a deity. The *pratimāgṛha* of the Pratim. appears not only to the returning of Bharata like a temple; it is higher than a palace (Act III); the man in charge of it is called *devakulika* who has to fulfil his duty (*naityaka*), consisting probably in daily offerings. The *devakula* is according to the Śilpaśāstra the private temple of the king (*Samarāṅgaṇas.* 15, 45) to be built in the North-eastern or South-western corner of the palace, with high pillars and *vedikā* (platform or balustrade?). In the palace of the king representations of all the gods are permitted (34, 5), as in *devakula* also (34, 1) only the god to which the ruler is devoted and

64 Gopinath Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, I, 191; Mānasāra, IX, 132.

65 Rao, I, 186ff.

66 Bhojadeva's Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra, 77, 40 (in 42 Bali is mentioned as in Bṛhats.) prescribes Dāśarathi Rāma to be made with two or eight arms; cf. Rao, I, 203.

67 The translation by P. K. Acharya (p. 340) takes pratimāgāra as a pavilion "for the image (chapel)."

the *kuladevatā*[68] can be represented (34, 21). The term *devakula*[69] used in the Mathurā inscriptions proves that a building like the *pratimāgṛha* could be called a temple, but the Śilpaśāstra do not know a special building with statues of ancestors.

Incomplete as this survey may be, it shows that the custom to erect statues of ancestors, of historical personages, of rulers was known in Northern India since the 3rd century A.D.; since the 5th century A.D. the custom is found in Campā, and later on in other countries which were influenced by Indian culture. The custom of erecting statues was prevalent in mediaeval India as well; monuments and literary sources prove that the custom was not so strange as it appears, though an exact date of the use of a *pratimāgṛha* is not yet possible.

Another custom which occurs in the same play, in the Pratim., seems to be in some way surprising, it is the veiling of women of high rank. Sītā (Act I) is ordered by Rāma when leaving the town with her for his exile, to take off her veil (*avaguṇṭhana*), as Rāma puts it (verse 29): "He, he, you citizens! Listen! Listen!

"Gaze freely on this my wife with your eyes full of tears; for without offence women can be looked at during a sacrifice, a wedding,[70] when in calamity and in the forest."

68 *bhartṛkuladevatā* are mentioned in Śākunt., V when Śakuntalā appears before her husband. *devakulika* occurs in the Mahāvyutpatti, 186, 78.

69 D. R. Bhandarkar, Ep. Ind. XXI, 5 points out that there is a difference between the Kuṣaṇa's *devakula* and the *pratimāgṛha* as the former was "a cluster of *devakulas* commemorating the different Kuṣāṇa rulers"; if one should be so rigorous at all, though the statues seem to have stood on the same ground (see JBORS., VI, 53), their purpose was hardly different from that of the *pratimās* in the Pratim.

70 At the wedding ceremony the bride is covered with a new garment, cf. Winternitz, Das altind. Hochzeitsrituell 45 and 47 (for modern times). With the verse above may be compared Rām., VI, 114, 28:

व्यसनेषु न कृच्छ्रेषु न युद्धेषु स्वयंवरे न क्रतौ नो विवाहे वा दर्शनम् दूष्यते स्त्रियः ।

In Rām. VI, 111, 61f. Mandodarī, Rāvaṇa's first queen, lamenting in view of her husband's body, mentions that she is not veiled and the other females have also put off their veils with their shyness.

The widowed queens of Daśaratha, when entering the *pratimā-gṛha* (Act III) and meeting Bharata there, put off their veils; the prince reflects upon this gesture: "The presence (of yours, i.e. Sumantra) at every conduct (of them) reveals you to me."[71] The use of veils by Indian women is known since the classical drama. In Kālidāsa's Śākuntala, V, Śakuntalā appears veiled before her husband, king Duṣyanta, who does not recognize her, even when Gautamī unveils her with the words: "Don't be ashamed for a moment!" Perhaps the veiling of Śakuntalā serves the dramatical purpose as the king, though admiring the beauty of his consort, does not recognize her, neither the veiled nor the unveiled. In Mālavikāgn., V, Mālavikā is veiled with a silken veil to give her the position equal to that of a consort of the king (*devī*). An explanation of the value of the veil offers the scene in Mṛcchak., IV when Vasantasenā releases Madanikā, giving her the status of a free woman enabling her to enter matrimony with a Brāhmaṇa; her becoming husband Śarvilaka says that the veil by which Madanikā is entitled to be looked at as a free woman, is difficult to obtain. The same role is played by the veil at the end of the drama where the king confers upon Vasantasenā the title *vadhū*, i.e. lady, free woman, and Śarvilaka veils her. While in Mṛcchak., Vasantasenā gets the veil bestowed upon her by the king as an ornament of her ladyship, she possesses a veil already in Act IV (beginning); may be that this veil is used only for going out by a palanquin. Just so in Cārud., IV (ed. 1922, p. 89) the mother of the courtesan asks her by a maid to put on the veil after having done her finery along with the ornaments. On the other hand, in this play Vasantasenā presents her ornaments to Madanikā, she calls her an *āryā*, neither the courtesan nor Sajjalaka mentions the veil. Perhaps there existed veils

[71] Woolner-Sarup translate (Thirteen Trivandrum Plays I, 177): "So intimate on all occasions, that tells me something." Perhaps instead of *māṃ sūcayati* should be read: *tvāṃ*.

of different kinds, one for private use, one bestowed upon a woman of lower rank by the king electing her to the status of a free woman, and one belonging to high class women by birth. The scene in Ratnāvalī, III where Vāsavadattā unveils herself, has no deciding value. The *avaguṇṭhana,* worn over the garment, is mentioned in Kādambarī (ed. Peterson), 10, 20; not only the Caṇḍāla girl, the cloth of which may be used to cover her, the woman of good family uses her veil when meeting secretly her lover (Sāhityad. 3, 77 and verse before). On the other hand, within the house or palace women move freely, at least in the presence of the members of their family or well known officials and friends. Vāsavadattā, still a young princess uses an open palanquin when she left with her nurse as there is no offence for a maiden to be seen in public (Prat., III). When Udayana meets her as his wife (Sv., VI), he sends her to the *abhyantara,* the rooms for the queen (Prat., Act II end).

It would exceed the frame of these lines to give a comprehensive picture of the cultural life as offered by the plays. But just such an enquiry could bring some results as for the question of the homogeneous character of the plays. To quote only one instance: in Prat. III the palanquin is carried on shoulders by men; in Cārud. Vasantasenā uses a palanquin on wheels (Act IV); it may be that both kinds existed or that ladies of the court did not use the latter kind of palanquins. The palace, town, the formulas of addressing, law, art, literature and religion, all that needs a careful consideration and comparison with corresponding sources. At least the discussion on the age and authorship of the thirteen plays would be brought in this way on a more objective ground than that on which it took place hitherto.

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